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OF

SCARCE, CURIOUS, and ENTERTAINING

PAMPHLETS and TRACTS,

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WITH

A Table of the CONTENTS, and an Alphabetical INDEX.

VOL. VIII.

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TO

The Right HONOURABLE

JOHN,

LORD *GOWER*,

This EIGHTH VOLUME

OF THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY

Is moſt humbly inſcribed by

Your LORDSHIP'S

Moſt faithful and

Moſt obedient Servant,

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

Thomas Osborne.

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THE CONTENTS TO THE *HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.*

A Relation of the Carriage of the Marriages that ſhould have been made between the Prince of *England*, and the Infanta Major, and alſo after with the younger Infanta of *Spain*. Written by Sir *Charles Cornwallis* to the Lord *Digby*. MS. Page 1

A good Expedient for Innocence and Peace. Being an Eſſay concerning the great Uſefulneſs and Advantage of laying aſide publick Oaths. *Edinburgh*, printed by Mr. *Andrew Symſon*, 1704. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages 9

The Honour and Courage of our *Engliſh* Parliaments, in the Reign of Queen *Eliſabeth*, of ever bleſſed Memory, in Defending of her, and the Proteſtant Religion. Expreſſed in ſome of the Preambles of the Acts for Subſidies, granted to that famous Princeſs.

Poſt tot———
Tendimus in Latium?

That Man who doth not defend his Religion and Country, having the Law on his Side, will, either through ſlaviſh Fear, or for baſe Intereſt, when Times change, moſt certainly give up, and ſacrifice both.

London, printed for *John Wickins*, at the *White-Hart* againſt St. *Dunſtan*'s Church, in *Fleetſtreet*, 1681. *Quarto*, containing twenty-four Pages 16

The Marquis of *Argyle*'s Laſt Will and Teſtament, with his Character. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages 26

The Mirrour of worldly Fame. Compoſed by *I. H. Æ.*

Ad hunc modum te forma, atque ita inſtitue, ut paratus ad omnia, promptus ad ſingula, dulcia pariter, & amara deſpicias.

London, printed for *James Shaw*, and are to be ſold at his Shop near *Ludgate*, 1603. *Twelves*, containing ſixty Pages 31

The Vindication of the Parliament, and their Proceedings: Or, their Military Deſign proved loyal and legal. A Treatiſe, wherein theſe Things are ingenuouſly and ſincerely handled; to wit,

1. That the Militia, as ſettled by the Parliament, is lawful.
2. That it is lawful for us to obey it, ſo ſettled by them.
3. That the Parliament is not by us to be deſerted.
4. That, in Aiding the Parliament, the King is not oppoſed.
5. That the Parliament, as the Caſe ſtands, may not confide in the King.
6. That this neceſſary Defenſive War of theirs is indubitably juſtifiable.

Pulchrum pro Patria mori.

London, printed in the Year 1642. *Quarto*, containing thirty-four Pages 46

The Summarie of certaine Reaſons, which have moved Quene *Elizabeth* to procede in Reformations of her baſe and courſe Monies, and to reduce them to their Values, in Sorte, as they may be turned to fine Monies. Appointed to be declared by her Majeſtie, by Order of her Proclamation, in her Citie of *London*. *Black Letter*, *Octavo*, containing ſix Pages 67

Bibliotheca Fanatica: Or, The Fanatick Library. Being a Catalogue of ſuch Books as have been lately made, and, by the Authors, preſented to the College of *Bedlam*. Printed in the Year 1660. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 69

The old Phariſee, with the new Phylacteries of Preſbytery. *Quarto*, containing twenty-ſix Pages 71

A ſhort, legal, medicinal, uſeful, ſafe, and eaſy Preſcription to recover our Kingdom, Church, and Nation, from their preſent dangerous, diſtractive, deſtructive Confuſion, and worſe than *Bedlam* Madneſs; ſeriouſly recommended to all *Engliſh* Freemen, who deſire Peace, Safety, Liberty, Settlement. By *William Prynne*, Eſq; a Bencher of *Lincoln's-Inn*.

JUDGES xix. 30.
Conſider of it, take Advice, and ſpeak your Minds.

PROV. xii. 19, 20.
Deceit is in the Heart of them that imagine Evil, but to the Counſellors of Peace is Joy. There ſhall no Evil happen to the Juſt, but the Wicked ſhall be filled with Miſchief.

Printed at *London*, and are to be ſold by *Edward Thomas*, at the *Adam* and *Eve*, in *Little-Britain*, 1659. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages 80

Nennius, a worthy *Briton*, the very Pattern of a valiant, noble, and faithful Subject, encountering with *Julius Cæſar*, at his firſt Coming into this Iſland, was by him Death-wounded; yet nevertheleſs he got *Cæſar*'s Sword, put him to Flight, ſlew therewith *Labienus*, a Tribune of the *Romans*, endured Fight till his Countrymen won the Battle, died fifteen Days after: And now encourageth all good Subjects to defend their Country from the Power of foreign and uſurping Enemies. About the Year before Chriſt, 52. *MS.* 85

St. *Edward*'s Ghoſt, or, *Anti-Normaniſm*: Being a pathetical Complaint and Motion, in the Behalf of our *Engliſh* Nation, againſt her grand, yet neglected Grievance, *Normaniſm*.

Quænam (malùm) eſt iſta voluntaria Servitus?
CICERO, *in Orat.* Philip. I.

London, printed for *Richard Wodenothe*, at the *Star*, under *Peter*'s Church in *Cornhill*, 1647. *Quarto*, containing twenty eight Pages 89

Two Ordinances of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, for the ſpeedy Demoliſhing of all Organs, Images, and all Manner of ſuperſtitious Monuments in all Cathedral or Pariſh Churches and Chapels, throughout the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, the better to accompliſh the bleſſed Reformation ſo happily begun, and to remove all Offences and Things illegal in the Worſhip of God.

Die Jovis, 9 Maii, 1644.
Ordered by the Lords in Parliament aſſembled, that theſe Ordinances ſhall be forthwith printed and publiſhed,
Jo. Brown, Cler. Parliamentorum.

London, printed for *John Wright* in the *Old-Baily*, *May* 11, 1644. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 101

A Diary of the Siege of *Luxembourg*, by the *French* King's Forces, under the Command of the Marſhal *de Crequi*; containing a full Account of all that paſſed in the Siege and Surrendry of the Town. *London*, printed by *J. G.* for *D. Brown*, at the *Black Swan*, without *Temple-Bar*; and are to be ſold by *W. D.* in *Amen Corner*, 1684. *Quarto*, containing fifty-ſix Pages 103

A Juſtification of the preſent War againſt the United *Netherlands*. Wherein the Declaration of his Majeſty is vindicated, and the War proved to be juſt, honourable, and neceſſary; the Dominion of the Sea explained, and his Majeſty's Rights thereunto aſſerted; the Obligations of the *Dutch* to *England*, and their continual Ingratitude: In Anſwer to a *Dutch* Treatiſe, intitled, *Conſiderations upon the preſent State of the United* Netherlands. By an *Engliſhman*.

Pompeii *omne Conſilium Themiſtocleum eſt: Exiſtimat enim, qui Mare teneat, eum neceſſe rerum potiri.*
Cicero ad *Atticum*, Lib. x. Ep. 7.

Pudebat nobilem *populum*, *ablato* mari, *raptis* inſulis, *dare* tributa *quæ jubere conſueverat.*
Lucius Florus.

London, printed for *Henry Hills* and *John Starkey*, and are to be Sold at the *Bell* in St. *Paul*'s Churchyard, and the *Mitre* within *Temple Bar*, 1672. *Quarto*, containing eighty-eight Pages 123

Camilton's Diſcovery of the deviliſh Deſigns, and killing Projects, of the Society of Jeſuits, of late Years projected, and, by them, hitherto acted, in *Germany*, intended, but graciouſly prevented, in *England*. Tranſlated out of the *Latin* Copy. Dedicated to the High Court of Parliament, by *W. F. X. B.* Miniſter of Chriſt's Goſpel.

From all Sedition, and privy Conſpiracy; from all falſe Doctrine and Hereſy,
Good Lord deliver us.

London, printed by *T. Fawcet*, dwelling in *Grub-ſtreet*; 1641. *Quarto*, containing thirty-ſix Pages 165

Diviſion our Deſtruction: Or, a ſhort Hiſtory of the *French* Faction in *England*.

Nought elſe but Treaſon from the firſt this Land did foil.
Spencer's ſecond Book of the Fairy Queen, *Cant.* 10. *Stan.* 48.

London, printed, and ſold by *John Nutt*, near *Stationers-hall*, 1702. *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages 176

The laſt Confeſſion, Prayers, and Meditations of Lieutenant *John Stern*, delivered by him on the Cart immediately before his Execution, to Dr. *Burnet*;

Burnet: Together with the laſt Confeſſion of *George Borosky*, ſigned by him in the Priſon, and ſealed up in the Lieutenant's Pacquet. With which an Account is given of their Deportment both in the Priſon and at the Place of their Execution, which was in the *Pall-Mall*, on the Tenth of *March*, in the ſame Place in which they had murdered *Thomas Thynn*, Eſq; the Twelfth of *February* before, 1681-2. Written by *Gilbert Burnet*, D. D. and *Anthony Horneck*, D. D. *London*: Printed for *Richard Chiſwell*, at the *Roſe* and *Crown* in St. *Paul*'s *Church-yard*, 1682. *Folio*, containing twenty-eight Pages 184

A Conference between the two great Monarchs of *France* and *Spain*, concerning theſe our preſent Proceedings in *England*. Wherein is diſcourſed of the Being of our Runaways under their Dominions, with a Conſideration of their Dangers paſt, in the Wars betwixt *England* and them. Printed in the Year 1641. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 209

The Character of a certain great Ducheſs deceaſed, by a certain great Poet lately deceaſed. *MS.* 212

The Concluſion of the Travels of three *Engliſh* Gentlemen, *&c.* MS. *ibid.*

England's Tears, for the preſent Wars, which, for the Nature of the Quarrel, the Quality of Strength, the Diverſity of Battles, Skirmiſhes, Encounters, and Sieges, happened in ſo ſhort a Compaſs of Time, cannot be paralleled by any precedent Age.

Hei mihi, quàm miſerè rugit Leo, Lilia *languent*,
Heu, Lyra, *quàm mœſtos pulſat Hiberna ſonos.*

Printed at *London*, according to Order, by *Richard Heron*, 1644. *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages 240

Mock-Majeſty: Or, the Siege of *Munſter*, being a true Story of thoſe fine Things, wherewith King *John Becock*, at firſt a Botcher of *Leyden* by Profeſſion, and his Companions the Anabaptiſts, pleaſed themſelves, after they were become Maſters of that City. You ſhall here likewiſe have the Iſſue of the whole Mock-ſhow.

Quidam, ut imperium ſubvertant, libertatem profeſſi ſunt; ſi ſubverterint, ipſam aggredientur.
C. TACITUS.

Magnitati falſa ſpecies libertatis ineſt.
Idem, Hiſtor. Lib. i.

ELEUTHEROPOLI, *ANNO* ΄ΑΝΑΒΑΠΤΙΣΤΟΜΑΝΙΑΣ, C. XIIX.

Imprimatur, *James Cranford*,

London, printed for *J. S.* and *L. C.* 1644. *Quarto*, containing thirty-two Pages 248

The grand Deſigns of the Papiſts, in the Reign of our late Sovereign *Charles the Firſt*, and now carried on againſt his preſent Majeſty, his Government, and the Proteſtant Religion.

Imprimatur, *Guil. Jane*, *Nov.* 2, 1678.

London, printed by *Henry Hills*, *Anno* 1678. *Quarto*, containing forty Pages 265

An authentick Relation of the many Hardſhips and Sufferings of a *Dutch* Sailor, who was put on Shore on the uninhabited Iſle of *Aſcenſion*, by Order of the Commodore of a Squadron of *Dutch* Ships. With a remarkable Account of his Converſe with Apparitions, and evil Spirits, during his Reſidence on the Iſland. And a particular Diary of his Tranſactions from the Fifth of *May*, to the Fourteenth of *October*, on which Day he periſhed in a miſerable Condition. *Taken from the Original* Journal *found in his Tent by ſome Sailors, who landed from on Board the* Compton, *Captain* Morſon *Commander, in* January 1725-6. *Octavo*, containing twenty-eight Pages 285

A true Narrative of the Occaſions and Cauſes of the late Lord General *Cromwell*'s Anger and Indignation againſt Lieutenant Colonel *George Joyce* (ſometimes Cornet *Joyce*, who ſecured the King at *Holmby*) and his Proceedings againſt him to caſhier him from the Army, and impriſon and deſtroy him in his Eſtate. *Folio*, containing four Pages 293

Day Fatality: Or, Some Obſervation of Days Lucky and Unlucky; concluding with ſome Remarks upon the Fourteenth of *October*, the auſpicious Birth-day of his Royal Highneſs *James* Duke of *York*.

Atavis qui Regibus editus,
Auguſtiſſimo CAROLO *proximus.*
NUM. XXVII. 8, 9.

In hoc Die tuo. In this thy Day. LUC. XIX. 42.

Printed in 1679. *Folio*, containing eight Pages 297

An Eſſay towards Carrying on the preſent War againſt *France*, and other publick Occaſions. As alſo, for Paying off all Debts contracted in the ſame, or otherwiſe. And new Coining of all our Monies, without Charge, to the great Increaſe of the Honour, Strength, and Wealth of the Nation. Humbly propoſed for the Parliament's Conſideration, and ſubmitted to their great Wiſdom, and Love to their Country, *&c.* *Octavo*, containing thirty-two Pages. To which is added an Appendix, *MS.* 304

The Queen's Wells: That is, a Treatiſe of the Nature and Vertues of *Tunbridge* Water. Together with an Enumeration of the chiefeſt Diſeaſes, which it

it is good for, and againſt which, it may be uſed, and the Manner and Order of taking it. By *Lodowick Rowzee*, Doctor of Phyſick, practiſing at *Aſhford*, in *Kent*. *London*, printed for *Robert Boulter*, at the *Turk's Head*, in *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet*. 1670. *Octavo*, containing eighty-two Pages 316

A View of St. *Helena*, an Iſland in the *Ethiopian* Ocean, in *America*, now in Poſſeſſion of the honourable *Eaſt-India* Company, where their Ships uſually refreſh in their *Indian* Voyages. With an Account of the admirable Voyage of *Domingo Gonſales*, the little *Spaniard*, to the World in the Moon, by the Help of ſeveral Ganſa's, or large Geeſe. An ingenious Fancy, written by a late learned Biſhop. *Duodecimo*, containing forty-three Pages 332

Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Obſervations in his Travels, upon the State of the Seventeen Provinces as they ſtood, *Anno Domini* 1609, the Treaty of Peace being then on Foot. Printed in 1626. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages 349

Reaſons for ſettling Admiralty-Juriſdiction, and giving Encouragement to Merchants, Owners, Commanders, Maſters of Ships, Material-Men, and Mariners. Humbly offered to the Conſideration of his Majeſty, and the two Houſes of Parliament. Printed in the Year 1690. *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages 358

Theeves falling out, True-men come by their Goods: Or, The Bel-man wanted a Clapper. A Peal of new Villanies rung out: Being muſicall to all Gentlemen, Lawyers, Farmers, and all Sorts of People that come up to the Tearme: Shewing, that the Villanies of lewd Women doe, by many Degrees, excell thoſe of Men. By *Robert Greene*.

Goe not by me, but buy me, and get by me.

London, printed for *Henry* and *Moſes Bell*, 1637. In *Black Letter*. *Quarto*, containing forty-eight Pages 369

A true Declaration of the Arrival of *Cornelius Haga* (with others that accompanied him) Ambaſſador for the General States of the United *Netherlands*, at the great City of *Conſtantinople*. Together with the Entertainment unto them given by the *Turk* when they came to his Palace, and what Privileges were, by him, granted unto the ſaid United Provinces. And, alſo, the Copy of certain Letters, ſent unto the ſaid States of the *Netherlands*, from *Conſtantinople*. Faithfully tranſlated out of the *Dutch* Copy. *London*, printed for *Thomas Archer*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in *Pope*'s-*head Palace*, 1613. *Quarto*, containing thirty-two Pages 389

Reaſons humbly offered to both Houſes of Parliament, for Paſſing a Bill for Preventing Delays and Expences, in Suits in Law and Equity. *London*, printed, and are to be ſold by *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall*, 1707. *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages 400

The Pretences of the *French* Invaſion examined, for the Information of the People of *England*. *London*, printed for *R. Clavel*, at the *Peacock*, in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, 1692.

May 25th, 1692.
Let this be printed, *Nottingham*.

Quarto, containing twenty Pages 407

Some Obſervations on the Trial of *Spencer Cowper*, *J. Marſon*, *E. Stevens*, and *W. Rogers*, that were tried at *Hertford*, about the Murder of *Sarah Stout*, together with other Things relating thereunto. *Quarto*, containing twenty Pages 414

The Nine Worthies of *London*: Explaining the honourable Exerciſe of Armes, the Vertues of the Valiant, and the memorable Attempts of magnanimous Minds; pleaſant for Gentlemen, not vnſeemely for Magiſtrates, and moſt profitable for Prentiſes. Compiled by *Richard Iohnſon*. Imprinted at *London*, by *Thomas Orwin*, for *Humfrey Lownes*, and are to be ſold at his Shop at the Weſt Doore of *Paules*. 1592. In *Black Letter*. *Quarto*, containing forty-eight Pages 422

A Diſcourſe, ſetting forth the unhappy Condition of the Practice of Phyſick in *London*, and offering ſome Means to put it into a better; for the Intereſts of Patients, no leſs, or rather much more, than of Phyſicians. By *Jonathan Goddard*, Doctor of Phyſick, Fellow of the *College of Phyſicians*, and of the *Royal Society*, and a Profeſſor of Phyſick in *Greſham-College*. *London*, printed by *John Martyn* and *James Allestry*, Printers to the *Royal Society*, 1670. *Quarto*, containing ſixty-two Pages

January 19, 1669-70.
Imprimatur, *Rob*, *Grove*, *R. P. Domino Epiſc. Lond. à Sac. Dom.* 442

A Cry againſt a Crying Sin: Or, a juſt Complaint to the Magiſtrates, againſt them who have broken the Statute Laws of God, by Killing of Men merely for Theft. Manifeſted in a Petition long ſince preſented to the Common-Council of the City of *London*, on the Behalf of Tranſgreſſors. Together with certain Propoſals, preſented by Colonel *Pride*, to the Right Honourable the General Council for the Army, and the Committee, appointed by the Parliament of *England*, to conſider of the Inconveniencies, Miſchiefs, Chargeableneſs, and Irregularities in their Law.

JER. v. 4, 5, 6.

Therefore I ſaid, Surely theſe are poor, they are fooliſh; for they know not the Way of Jehovah, *nor the Judgment of their God.*

I will get me unto the great Men, and I will ſpeak unto them; for they have known the Way of Jehovah,

vah, the Judgment of their God; but these have altogether broken the Yoke, and burst the Bonds.
Therefore, a Lion out of the Forest shall slay them; a Wolf of the Evenings shall spoil them; a Leopard shall watch over their Cities; every one that goeth out thence shall be torn in Pieces, because their Transgressions are many, and their Backslidings are strong.

HOSEA v. 10, 11, 12.

The Princes of Judah *were like them that removed the Bound; I will pour out my Wrath upon them like Water.*
Ephraim *is oppressed and broken in Judgment, because he willingly walked after the Commandment.*
Therefore, will I be unto Ephraim *as a Moth; and to the House of* Judah *as Rottenness.*

HOSEA viii. 12.

I have written to him the great Things of my Law, but they were counted as a strange Thing.

Printed at *London*, for *Samuel Chidley*, dwelling in *Bow-Lane*, at the Sign of the *Chequer*, 1652. *Quarto*, containing thirty-four Pages, in *Red Letter* 455

The Earl of *Glamorgan*'s Negotiations, and colourable Commitment in *Ireland* demonstrated: Or, The *Irish* Plot, for Bringing ten-thousand Men and Arms into *England*, whereof Three hundred to be for Prince *Charles*'s Life-guard. Discovered in several Letters, taken in a Pacquet-boat by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Forces at *Padstow* in *Cornwall*. Which Letters were cast into the Sea, and, by the Sea coming in, afterwards regained; and were read in the Honourable House of Commons. Together with divers other Letters, taken by Captain *Moulton*, at Sea, near *Milford-Haven*, coming out of *Ireland*, concerning the same Plot and Negotiation.

Ordered, by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that these Letters be forthwith printed and published.

H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London, printed for *Edward Husband*, Printer to the Honourable House of Commons. *March* 17, 1645. *Quarto*, containing thirty-six Pages 469

A Letter to a Country-Gentleman: Setting forth the Cause of the Decay and Ruin of Trade. To which is annexed a List of the Names of some Gentlemen who were Members of the Last Parliament, and now are (or lately were) in Publick Employments. *London*, printed in 1698. *Quarto*, containing twenty-four Pages 484

Taxes no Charge in a Letter from a Gentleman to a Person of Quality; shewing the Nature, Use, and Benefit of Taxes in this Kingdom, and compared with the Impositions of foreign States; together with their Improvement of Trade in Time of War. Licensed, *Nov.* 11. 1689. *London*, printed for *R. Chiswell*, at the *Rose* and *Crown* in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard. 1690. *Quarto*, containing thirty four Pages 491

A Disputation: Proving, That it is not convenient to grant unto Ministers Secular Jurisdiction; and to make them Lords and Statesmen in Parliament. *London*, printed in the Year 1679. *Quarto*, containing thirty-six Pages 505

The grand Concern of *England* explained, in several Proposals offered to the Consideration of the Parliament.

1. For Payment of publick Debts.
2. For Advancement and Encouragement of Trade.
3. For Raising the Rents of Lands.

In Order whereunto, it is proved necessary,

I. That a Stop be put to further Buildings in and about *London*.
II. That the Gentry be obliged to live, some Part of the Year, in the Country.
III. That Registers be settled in every County.
IV. That an Act for Naturalising all foreign Protestants, and Indulging them, and his Majesty's Subjects at Home, in Matters of Conscience, may be passed.
V. That the Act, prohibiting the Importation of *Irish* Cattle, may be repealed.
VI. That Brandy, Coffee, Mum, Tea, and Chocolate may be prohibited.
VII. That the Multitude of Stage-Coaches and Caravans may be suppressed.
VIII. That no Leather may be exported unmanufactured.
IX. That a *Court of Conscience* be settled for *Westminster*, and all the Suburbs of *London*, and in every City and Corporation of *England*.
X. That the extravagant Habits and Expence of all Persons may be curbed, the excessive Wages of Servants and Handicrafts-men may be reduced, and all foreign Manufactures may be prohibited.
XI. That it may be made lawful to assign *Bills*, Bonds, and other Securities; and that a Course be taken, to prevent the Knavery of Bankrupts.
XII. That the *Newcastle* Trade for Coals may be managed by Commissioners, to the Ease of the Subjects, and great Advantage of the Publick.
XIII. That the Fishing-trade may be vigorously prosecuted, all poor People set at Work to make Fishing-tackle, and be paid out of the Money collected every Year, for the Poor, in the several Parishes in *England*.

By

By a Lover of his Country, and Well-wiſher to the Proſperity both of the King and Kingdoms. *London*, printed in the Year 1673. *Quarto*, containing ſixty-four Pages 525

Let me ſpeak too: Or, Eleven Queries, humbly propoſed to the Officers of the Army, concerning the late Alteration of Government. The laſt Teſtimony amongſt Men, both *Grecks* and *Barbarians*, which no Time will aboliſh, is that which, by Oath, calleth the Gods to be Sureties of their Covenants. *Procopius.*

PSAL. XV. 4.

Having ſworn to his own Hurt, he changeth not.

Let your Moderation be known to all Men, for the Lord is at Hand.

London, printed 1659. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 560

A Letter to the Lord *Fairfax*, and his Council of War, with divers Queſtions to the Lawyers and Miniſters: Proving it an undeniable Equity, That the common People ought to dig, plow, plant, and dwell upon the Commons, without hiring them, or paying Rent to any. Delivered to the General and the chief Officers, on *Saturday*, *June* 9. By *Jerrard Winſtanly*, in the Behalf of thoſe who have begun to dig upon *George-hill* in *Surrey*. *London:* Printed for *Giles Calvert*, at the *Black-Spread-Eagle*, at the Weſt End of *Paul*'s, 1649. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages 563

An humble Declaration of the Apprentices and other young Men of the City of *London*, who were Petitioners for Peace; ſhewing the Cauſes of their Petitioning, and the Paſſages concerning it. Together with a true Copy of their Petition, as it was delivered to both Houſes of Parliament, diſclaiming thoſe in Print, which were without their Knowledge.

Nulla Salus Bello, Pacem te poſcimus omnes.

Printed at *London*, 1642. *Folio*, containing eight Pages 570

The Earl of *Strafford*'s Letter to the King, to paſs the Bill occaſioned by the Tumult of the Apprentices. Taken from the Original Copy. *London*, printed for *Thomas Burrel*, 1680. *Folio*, containing two Pages 574

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Speech: Or, his Funeral Sermon, preached by himſelf on the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, on *Friday* the Tenth of *January*, 1644, upon *Hebrews* xii. 1, 2. Alſo, the Prayers which he uſed at the ſame Time and Place before his Execution. All faithfully written by *John Hinde*, whom the Archbiſhop beſeeched that he would not let any Wrong be done him by any Phraſe in falſe Copies. Licenſed and Entered according to Order. *London*, printed by *Peter Cole*, at the Sign of the *Printing-Preſs* in *Cornhill* near the *Royal Exchange*, over-againſt *Pope's-Head-alley*, 1644. *Quarto*, containing twenty Pages 575

A brief Relation containing an Abbreviation of the Arguments, urged by the late Protector, againſt the Government of this Nation, by a King or a ſingle Perſon; to convince Men of the Danger and Inconveniency thereof. Urged by him to many of the Army, at St. *Albans*, *Windſor*, and *White-hall*, a little before the King was beheaded, and at ſeveral other Places. Publiſhed for the Good and Information of Parliament, Army, and People. Printed, *January*, 1658. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 580

A Copie of a Letter lately ſent by a Gentleman, Student in the Lawes of the Realme, to a Frende of his, concernyng D. *Storie*. Black Letter. *Octavo*, containing twenty-two Pages 583

A ſhort View of the Life and Death of *George Villiers*, Duke of *Buckingham*. Written by Sir *Henry Wotton*, Knight, late Provoſt of *Eaton* College. *London*, printed for *William Sheares*, 1642. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages 588

A Letter of Advice to his Excellency Lord General *Monk*. *London*, printed in the Year 1660. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 600

The Chancellor's Examination and Preparation for a Trial. Printed for *W. Cademan*, 1689. *Folio*, containing one Page 602

A brief Diſcourſe concerning the Power of the Peers and Commons of Parliament, in Point of Judicature. Written by a learned Antiquary, at the Requeſt of a Peer of this Realm. Printed in the Year 1640. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages 604

A Re-

A Relation of the Carriage of the Marriages that ſhould have been made between the Prince of *England*, and the Infanta Major, and alſo after with the younger Infanta of *Spain*. Written by Sir *Charles Cornwallis* to the Lord *Digby*. MS.

SIR,

THE Charge I hold having ſo neceſſary Relation and Dependency on that Place, to which your Wiſdom and Deſerts have moved his Majeſty to call you; I have thought it fit, in a Matter of no leſs Conſequence, than a Treaty of Marriage for the Prince's Highneſs, with a Daughter of the King of *Spain* (becauſe I know you ſhall receive the Carriage thereof ſeverally and differently related from many Princes, his Majeſty's Allies, and from his Majeſty's publick Miniſters reſiding Abroad) to ſet down, truly and exactly, the Original, Courſe, and Iſſue of the Buſineſs, to the End that you, who under his Majeſty are like hereafter to direct, may be fully acquainted with what formerly paſſed: And for that it is likely, that the Manner of this Treaty ſhall not only be given out, but cenſured according to the Diverſity of Men's Affections, and unto you (as to the Center where all Advertiſements meet) theſe Contrarieties will come.

I therefore deſired to arm you with this Truth, which, as I affirm unto yourſelf, ſo I am ready to juſtify it to the World, if you ſhall have Occaſion, or that your Wiſdom ſhall think it fit to make more publick Uſe of this Diſcourſe, which contains in it ſo much Truth, that I cannot [illegible] ſees it, for that I know no Man can contradict it.

[illegible] it to your Honour to [illegible] as ſhall beſt pleaſe you, [illegible] of theſe Proceedings, or [illegible] Satisfaction, to which I [illegible]

[illegible] your Honour perfectly, [illegible], and Beginning of this [illegible] and Iſſue to which it is [illegible] leave to take it a little [illegible] time; yet dare affirm [illegible] to contain as exactly [illegible] hath paſſed by myſelf, for that I have received it from his Majeſty's own Mouth, and often from my Lord Treaſurer, and have found it acknowledged by the principal Miniſters here.

Not long after the Concluding of the Peace betwixt his Majeſty and the King of *Spain*, there fell out many Cauſes of Expoſtulation betwixt them, for divers Wrongs offered to his Majeſty's Subjects, contrary to the Articles of Treaty, as alſo for the Readineſs which was perceived in the King of *Spain*, to receive and favour Perſons ill affected to his Majeſty and the State; and, thereupon, his Majeſty was content, that it ſhould be plainly told unto the King's Ambaſſador reſiding in *England*, that he obſerved ſo ſtrange a Proceeding upon the new Amity, as he had Cauſe to ſuſpect that the former Alienation was rather diſguiſed for the Contriving of ſome future Ends, than ſo extinguiſhed, as he might be able to build upon ſuch a Friendſhip: Whereupon many Arguments being uſed by divers of the King's Miniſters, in Excuſe of what had paſſed, imputing ſome to the ſlow Stile of their Proceeding in *Spain*, and ſome others to the Concurrence in Matter of Conſcience, with thoſe Perſons which made their Retreat into this King's Dominion.

And, for the better expreſſing and intimating of this King's clear and ſincere Affections towards his Majeſty, both the Conde *de Villa Mediana* in his Time, and Don *Pedro de Zuniga* ſince, declared and proteſted to know ſo much of the King their Maſter's good Intents unto his Majeſty, as if he would be pleaſed, according to Nature and Cuſtom, by both which the Man is to ſpeak firſt, to begin a Motion for a Marriage betwixt the Prince of *Wales* and the Infanta, the ſame ſhould be ſo well heard, as it ſhould appear, that their King deſired not only to continue in Amity, but to unite himſelf by neareſt Alliance to his Majeſty. To all which, though his Majeſty could not but return kind and thankful Anſwers in

general; yet, for many Respects, it pleased his Majesty to pass over all these Occasions given him by these Invitements, without making any particular Answer, until the Time of Don *Alonzo de Velasco*, yet Leiger there, who renewing these former Overtures, his Majesty could no longer have remained in Silence, but he must have given just Occasion to retort that Opinion of Coldness upon himself, for which he had, formerly, challenged the King of *Spain*. And here I can enter to speak of the Sequel of the Business upon my own Knowledge.

In *March*, 1611, the Duke of *Savoy* sent an Ambassage unto his Majesty, in which he gave Commission to his Ambassador to make Offer of the Prince of *Piedmont*, for the Lady *Elisabeth*'s Grace, with Insinuation likewise, how glad the Duke of *Savoy* would be, if the Prince of *Wales* would dispose himself to like of his eldest Daughter.

To the First, his Majesty made Answer, That he would not refuse to treat thereof upon the Duke's own Motion, if it were propounded singly, as it had formerly been moved by the Ambassador of *Spain*; but if it came accompanied with the Condition of reciprocal Marriage for the Prince, his Majesty could herein give no Answer, as not being yet resolved about the Bestowing of him. At the same Time that the *Spanish* Ambassador made the first Overture for the Prince of *Piedmont* (for the Motion thereof came from him as so directed by the King of *Spain*, as he affirmed and shewed in Writing) he said, that in Case his Majesty should be pleased to make the like Overture to the King his Master, for the Prince of *Wales*, to match with the Infanta, he did assure himself, that his Majesty should receive a kind and an honourable Answer; intimating, indeed, that the Intent of this Match with *Savoy* was to be as a Forerunner of the Match desired, betwixt the Prince and the Infanta, by which all Difficulties in Matters of Religion might be facilitated, that the other might find the less Stays and Hinderances, when it should come to be negotiated.

Myself, at the same Time, being appointed to come as his Majesty's Leiger Ambassador in *Spain*, to supply the Place which had been two Years vacant, with Charge to procure some better Satisfaction in the Merchants Businesses, than they had yet received; and being so near my Departure, that I had my Instructions ready drawn and perfected, and had also taken my Leave of his Majesty, thinking, within very few Days, to have begun my Journey.

My Lord Treasurer, upon this new Invitation of the Ambassador, sent me down to *Royston* unto his Majesty, to make him acquainted therewith, whereupon his Majesty was pleased to give me Order how to behave myself in the Business, and caused particular Directions to be added and adjoined to my former Instructions; wherein before there was no Kind of Mention for any such Motion; an evident Argument, that the Overtures of the Ambassador, and the Assurance he gave his Majesty, that the Proposition should have all kind Acceptance, were the only Motives which caused his Majesty to propound this Match; this being the very true Form in which this Business was, by the Ambassador, revived, and by which his Majesty and this King have proceeded.

At my Arrival here in *Spain*, having procured Audience of the King; after I had presented unto him his Majesty's kind and affectionate Salutations with all Princely Offers of Love and Friendship, I gave particular Notice unto him of the Overture made by Don *Alonzo*, his Ambassador; and, in his Majesty's Name, gave him Thanks for yielding so clear and apparent a Testimony of his Affection. And then I declared the extraordinary Value and Estimation his Majesty made of the Person and Fortune of the Infanta in every Respect, and that to shew his Willingness to maintain the Amity, and increase the Alliance betwixt them, he was willing to lay hold on that which the Ambassador had intimated unto him, and therefore had given me Instructions to propound a Marriage unto him, for the Prince of *Wales*, his Majesty's Son and Heir, with the Infanta, his eldest Daughter.

The King hereunto made Answer, That these Testimonies of his Majesty's Love were very acceptable unto him, and told me, concerning this Business, the Duke of *Lerma* should have Orders to treat with me.

Within two or three Days the Duke of *Lerma* came Home unto me, to my House, to whom, when I had signified how grateful it was to his Majesty to understand of his good Inclination towards him, and his Estate; I declared as much unto him as before I did unto the King; and told him, that herein the King had referred me to negotiate and treat with himself. The Duke then begun, with a great deal of Protestation, to declare how much he

desired

deſired as great a Strictneſs and Nearneſs of Amity and Alliance as might be betwixt the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*; and that, by his Means, this Propoſition had been divers Times handled, both by the Conde *de Villa Mediana*, and ſince by Don *Pedro de Zuniga*, as alſo by Don *Alonzo*, now Reſident in *England*; and that he well knew of how great Conſequence it was, both for the Good of *Spain* and of *England*, to be ſo nearly and firmly united. One Thing there was, which he apprehended as the greateſt and only Difficulty, which was, the Diſparity of Religion; for the Accommodating whereof, he would make no preciſe Judgment, being a Thing depending on the Pope, and in which, neither the King, nor the State here, could make any certain Determination.

I then made him Anſwer, that the King, my Maſter, would, herein, have to do with no others but the King and his Miniſters; and that I ſuppoſed, that if the Pope's Inclination had not already been tried herein, and that there might be a Probability of his giving Way unto the Match; I ſhould have thought, there would not have been given Commiſſion to Don *Alonzo de Velaſco*, to give ſuch Encouragements to the King, my Maſter, for the Propounding of it; and that, if I was not much miſtaken, I had heard Don *Alonzo* ſay, That the Match with *Savoy* had been already propounded to the Pope, and that he ſhould ſeem not to be much averſe thereunto, which Match, I conceived, had been a Preparation and a Way-maker to this other.

To this the Duke replied, that the King dependeth on none but the Pope, and that Depending he could not, nor muſt not deny; neither could he proceed therein, without the Pope's Approbation. And as for the Matter of *Savoy*, though the Pope ſhould give Way unto it, yet there would be great Difference in their Caſes, in Regard that there might be great Hopes of the Lady *Eliſabeth*'s Converſion, being matched to a Catholick Prince, and being come to live in a Catholick Country: Whereas, contrariwiſe, there might be great Danger of the Infanta's Perverſion, ſhe being to be matched, and ſo to be governed by a Prince that was not Catholick, the which if the King ſhould ſuppoſe, he could not, nor would not do, though it were for the Saving of his Kingdom.

This ſeeing the Duke ſtand upon ſo ſtrict Terms, dehred him not to miſtake my Manner of Propoſition, which was with theſe Conditions and Reſtrictions, that if this Motion ſhould not be received with full as much Forwardneſs of Diſpoſition from the King of *Spain*, as by the King my Maſter, in his Deſires to have it effected, this Buſineſs would quickly be at an End; for that I had no Commiſſion to treat, until I ſhould be aſſured, both that the Propoſition in general was very welcome unto them, and that they would undertake the Clearing of ſuch Difficulties as on their Side might ariſe.

So that, unleſs this by them might be undergone, the Iſſue of this Buſineſs, I conceived, was like to be no other, but that the King, my Maſter, had expreſſed a Willingneſs to lay Hold of any Intimation, that this King ſhould make of working a greater Nearneſs and Strictneſs between them.

The Duke then ſeemed to be a little altered with this my Directneſs, and begun to qualify his Manner of Speech; telling me, He well knew the Good and great Happineſs that might ariſe, not only to theſe Crowns, but to the Chriſtian World in general, if this Match might take Effect; and that what he now had ſaid, was not by Way of Anſwer, but by Way of Propoſition of the only Difficulties he foreſaw; but that the King had herein given him Order, that ſhortly I ſhould receive Anſwer, the Care whereof he would undertake; willing me to aſſure myſelf, that it ſhould be ſuch as ſhould be agreeable, both to the King my Maſter's Honour, and full Satisfaction: Upon theſe Terms we parted.

I then ſuffered them to take the Leiſure of a Month or ſix Weeks, without uſing any new Inſtance, until their Stay was ſuch, as I held it expedient to preſs them for their Anſwer, and to make Means for a new Acceſs unto the King, on whom I was commanded to wait at the *Eſcurial*. My Audience with him was very ſhort, being again referred by him to the Duke of *Lerma*, whom I then found very ſick in Bed of a Fever, and ſo offered to have attended him ſome Day or Hour of his better Diſpoſition.

But he intreated me to ſit down by him, and told me, he would briefly ſignify unto me the Subſtance of the King's Anſwer, which ſhould be more at large declared unto me, by Don *John des Idiaques*, who was there preſent.

He then willed me to ſignify to the King my Maſter, that this Propoſition, which he had made, was very welcome and grateful unto this King, taking it as an aſſured Teſtimony of his Affection and Good-will unto him; and as he had found from the King a worthy and direct Proceeding in the Propounding of it, ſo would he uſe much Sincerity and Directneſs in the Anſwer: For that the Truth was, that before this Overture made by me in the King's Name, for the Prince of *Wales*, with the Infanta, the Lady *Anna*, the King was elſewhere engaged; and that the Reaſon, why my Anſwer had been ſo long delayed, was to ſee how other Treaties (which were already on Foot) proceeded, to the End that, if the King ſhould have found himſelf free of ſuch Engagements and Promiſes, as he had formerly made, he might have given that Acceptance which he deſired to his Propoſition; the which he could not now do, on the Behalf of the eldeſt Daughter, the Lady *Anna*, becauſe the Promiſes and Engagements, which he formerly had made, were proceeded in with great Likelihood of taking Effect.

But ſuch was his particular Deſire of giving Satisfaction to the King, that having other Daughters, born of the ſame Father and Mother, and of equal Dearneſs and Eſteem unto him; that if for either of them it ſhould pleaſe the King to make a Motion, for the Prince of *Wales* (if that the King did think the Matter of Religion might be accommodated, and without Danger of his King's Daughter to be altered and perverted from her Religion) the King here would be very willing unto it, and would, upon his Majeſty's Anſwer herein (which he wiſhed me to procure) give Order for the Negotiating herein, to the King's full Content.

He then told me, what he then ſaid ſhould be more amply delivered unto me by Don *John des Idiaques*, to whom I might likewiſe ſay any Thing I had to ſpeak; for that his Indiſpoſition was ſuch, that with much Pain he had forced himſelf to ſay thus much, and ſo I was accompanied to my Chamber by Don *John des Idiaques*, and Don *Roderigo Calderon*; from Don *John*, I received the ſame Anſwer, in Effect, that I had done from the Duke of *Lerma*, though ſomewhat more enlarged; with whom, though I held it to little Purpoſe to argue or expoſtulate; yet, when they urged the King's former Engagement to be long before my Overture, I replied, that I much wondered at that, ſince the Motives, that had incited the King my Maſter to this Overture, had proceeded from Don *Alonzo*, their Ambaſſador, now Reſident in *England*, who had not only formerly aſſured the King, my Maſter, that if he ſhould be pleaſed to make this Motion, it ſhould receive a kind Acceptance, and an honourable Anſwer; but likewiſe of late, upon the Inſtant of my Departure, he confirmed, that he was newly inſtructed from his King, that in Caſe the Alliance with the Prince was then ſpoken of, not only not to refuſe it, but to embrace it as a Matter that ſhould be moſt agreeable to his King, if Matter of Religion might be accommodated.

Don *Roderigo* ſuddenly and peremptorily denied his having any ſuch Directions from hence, ſaying, it could not be, for that this Treaty had been many Months in Speech; but Don *John des Idiaques* ſeemed to qualify, or rather, wittily to excuſe it, by taking Hold of the general Word *Alliance*; ſaying it might be, that he might have Directions, in Caſe the Alliance of the Prince with *Spain* ſhould be ſpoken of, he ſhould not refuſe it; for that it then was, and is ſtill deſired, though not particularly with the King's eldeſt Daughter, concerning whom, the King had been already, many Months, engaged by Promiſe.

They ſeemed much to deſire, that the King might reſt ſatisfied with this Anſwer, telling me, that there was little Advantage (in the main) with Daughters, that the King much eſteemed, and would do as much for the Younger, as for the Elder. I told them, I knew not how the King, my Maſter, might herewith reſt ſatisfied; yet I could not [illegible] conceive many Differences between the Younger and the eldeſt Daughter. Firſt, [illegible] doms could not come into [illegible] that a Prince of nine Years of Age [illegible] married to a Lady [illegible] another of Eighteen [illegible] for an Infanta of [illegible]

And this is [illegible] at that Time, [illegible] Account unto [illegible] ceived Direction [illegible] ply: That the [illegible] their Anſwer [illegible] gruities, and [illegible] held it fit to [illegible] Conference, wi[illegible]

for the Juſtifying of what had paſſed from him; and had likewiſe commanded me, to underſtand from this King the Reaſon of theſe Proceedings, which he found both unſuitable to his Expectation, and no Way to anſwer the Promiſes of the Ambaſſador; for that he had not only, in former Times, aſſured the King, my Maſter, that if he ſhould be pleaſed to propound a Match for the Prince of *Wales*, with the Infanta, the King's eldeſt Daughter, he ſhould receive a kind and an honourable Anſwer; but alſo, a very few Days before my Departure, he confirmed his former Speeches in his King's Name, acknowledging, that by a late Direction from hence, he was newly inſtructed, that, in Caſe the Alliance of the Prince of *Wales* were ſpoken of in *England*, that he ſhould not only not refuſe it, but embrace it as a Thing that ſhould be moſt agreeable to his Majeſty, if Matter of Religion might be accommodated.

Now the King, my Maſter, ſeeing theſe Encouragements, given by the Ambaſſador, ſo contrary to what he found here; for having, but two Months before, received Aſſurance, that if he ſhould propound the Match, for the Prince with the Infanta Major, it ſhould find kind Acceptance, that he ſhould now receive Anſwer, that ſhe was already diſpoſed of! His Majeſty could not but judge, that either this King's Proceedings were not with that Clearneſs, that he expected; or that the Ambaſſador, whom the King, my Maſter, had Cauſe in all Things to believe (he having the publick Faith and Credence of his King) had herein much exceeded. Wherein his Majeſty deſired firſt to receive Satisfaction; for that he was advertiſed from myſelf, that ſome of the King's principal Miniſters here abſolutely denied to me, that any ſuch Direction or Commiſſion was given to the ſaid Ambaſſador.

His Majeſty, therefore, thought it fit, to have this Point cleared, Whether he had any Warrant from his King to ſpeak what he had ſaid, or not? For that whenſoever it ſhould appear, that any publick Miniſter ſhould ſo much forget himſelf, as to deliver that, in the Perſon of his Maſter, which is but his own, or, having ſpoken the Truth, ſhould afterward be diſavowed by thoſe that employed him; one of theſe two Things muſt follow, that he is either become unworthy of the Place, he holdeth, by his own Act, or made unworthy by his Maſter.

Having delivered this, both to the King, and to the Duke of *Lerma*; from the Duke, in the King's Name, I received this Anſwer: That it was true, that his Majeſty had great Reaſon to take Exceptions, and to be diſpleaſed with this Manner of Proceeding, if their Ambaſſador had, in this Sort, dealt with his Majeſty; but that he herein muſt abſolutely clear the King, whoſe Proceedings were, and ever ſhould be found with much Love and Sincerity unto his Majeſty, and that the Blame and Fault hereof muſt light upon the Ambaſſador, who had received no ſuch Commiſſion nor Directions from hence: Telling me, that it was Juſtice, firſt, to hear their Ambaſſador, before they ſhould proceed againſt him; but in Caſe he ſhould not clear himſelf, but that he had proceeded in the Manner, which I had ſet down: The Courſe, which his King would take with his Ambaſſador, ſhould both fully give his Majeſty Satisfaction, and ſufficiently witneſs, that the King had given him no ſuch Commiſſion. He then deſired to know the Particulars, which, I alledged, the Ambaſſador had ſaid to his Majeſty, which I repeated unto him, in this Manner:

Firſt, That upon the Motion of the Match with *Savoy*, he told his Majeſty, that in Caſe he would be pleaſed to make the like Overture to the King his Maſter, for the Prince's Highneſs with the Infanta, his King's Daughter, he did aſſure himſelf, that his Majeſty ſhould receive a kind and an honourable Anſwer.

Secondly, In *April*, 1611, he confirmed his former Speeches, in the King his Maſter's Name, acknowledging to be newly inſtructed from *Spain*: That in Caſe the Alliance for the Prince's Highneſs were ſpoken of in *England*, he ſhould not refuſe it, but embrace it, as a Thing that ſhould be moſt agreeable to his King, if Matter of Religion might be accommodated.

Thirdly and Laſtly, He confirmed in a Conference, with the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, that he was warranted and authoriſed to hear and embrace any Overture, for the Prince's Highneſs, concerning the Infanta Major, and that upon juſt and reaſonable Conditions, ſo that Means might be made for the Accommodating of Matter of Religion. All which Conjunctions without allowing ſome, and diſallowing the reſt, the Duke of *Lerma*, in his King's Name, abſolutely diſavowed, denying,

denying, that any ſuch Commiſſion had been given unto him.

The Duke then ſeemed much to labour to expreſs his King's Affection, and good Intents to his Majeſty, alledging, that indeed it was true, there had been formerly ſome Speech of the Conveniency of this Match, but, ſeeing it in no Kind proceeded in, the King had taken this Reſolution, which was now likely to take Effect, for the Beſtowing his eldeſt Daughter upon the King of *France*; but that all other Means of entering into Alliance with his Majeſty, by beſtowing any other of his Daughters upon the Prince, his King had willingly offered, and was ready to perform, if Matter of Religion could be accommodated, aſking me, Whether I had no Anſwer concerning this Offer, which his King had made unto him? I told him, I had therein, as yet, received no Direction at all; and thus, for this Time, we concluded and parted: This being in the Middle of *September*, 1611.

In the Beginning of *February* next following, I having Occaſion, for many Buſineſſes of the Merchants, to repair unto the Duke; after long Diſcourſe therein, he expreſſing an extraordinary Deſire, that all Things might be carried with much Love and Kindneſs betwixt their Majeſties, and that a greater Nearneſs might be wrought betwixt them, if it were poſſible, aſked me whether I had yet no Directions concerning his King's laſt Proffer? I told him, Not: Then falling into many Diſcourſes of having *England* and *Spain* united; he telling me, there were very few Kings Daughters now left in *Chriſtendom*, and that, in the Matches of great Princes, there were commonly greater Inconveniencies, than the Diſproportion of ſome few Years, and urging me to ſpeak what I conceived thereof. I told him, that out of the Confidence I had in him, and for the Expreſſing of my own good Inclination, of doing all good Offices betwixt their Majeſties, whom I conceived were both well inclined to unite themſelves more nearly, if fit Means could be found for them, I would tell him, both what I thought in this Particular, and what ſhould be the moſt probable Means of working ſuch an Effect.

I then ſaid, that the King, my Maſter, having only two Sons, I ſuppoſed he would regard no one Thing ſo much in the Match of the Prince, as the Hope of a ſpeedy and a plentiful Iſſue, and the Prince being already at Man's Eſtate, and his King's youngeſt Daughter, not paſt ſix Years of Age, he ſhould be forced to the Attendance of many Years, and the Prime of his Youth be ſpent, before there could be Hope of any Iſſue by him: Which Conſideration, I apprehended, was the Cauſe, which made his Majeſty take ſo much Deliberation, in giving Anſwer unto the Proffer. But that, if he would give me Leave, merely as a private Gentleman, as having no other Commiſſion, but the Warrant dormant (which all Leiger Ambaſſadors have) to propound, and diſcourſe of all Things, which they think may tend to the Increaſing of Amity and good Correſpondence betwixt the Princes, where they are employed, I ſhould be glad to expreſs my good Intentions and Deſires in this Kind, by declaring unto him all the moſt likely and probable Ways, which I could foreſee, for the Producing of ſuch an Effect: And ſo, among other Things, told him, I ſuppoſed, that a Daughter of *Savoy*, being ſo ſuitable in Years, and ſo neer in Blood to his King, might, by being taken into his Care, and being as it were adopted a Daughter of his, and made fit by him, in Regard of her Fortune, as ſhe was in all Things elſe, to be a Wife unto the Prince, ſhe might very well prove a fitting Subject to ſet the mutual Deſires at Work, which I conceived were in both their Majeſties, of uniting themſelves.

The Duke thanked me very much, both for the free Proceeding with him, and for the good Inclination which I expreſſed of working a greater Nearneſs betwixt their Majeſties, telling me, he would conſider of what I had ſaid, ſeeming much to approve it, and that he would again ſend for me, that we might confer further thereof.

I earneſtly intreated him, becauſe this was a mere Project and Propoſition of my own, without any Kind of Authority or Direction, that it might paſs with much Stillneſs and Secrecy: And that, if it ſhould appear upon better Conſideration not convenient to be further proceeded in, that it might die betwixt us two, leſt otherwiſe my good Intentions might perhaps turn to my Prejudice; the which he was pleaſed not only to promiſe, but very ſolemnly to ſwear unto me.

Within ſome few Days the Duke ſent to call me unto him, and [illegible] well my good In[illegible]

good Offices were accepted; and particularly, my laſt Diſcourſe that I had with him, and that he would requite my kind Proceeding, with a real Freeneſs: For that though the Buſineſs of *Savoy*, whereof I had ſpoken, might have, in his Opinion, any Probability of taking Effect; yet as the Caſe now ſtood, he thought the preſent no fit Time to deal in it. For in Regard his King had made an Offer of his own Daughter, to which his Majeſty had yet given no Anſwer; he held it convenient, that this or any other Propoſition of this Nature might be reſpited, and ſuſpended, until the Buſineſs of his King's own Daughter were fully cleared; in which he conceived his Majeſty had now taken much Leiſure, and therefore deſired me, herein to require his Majeſty's Reſolution.

Thereupon I wrote unto his Majeſty, that in a late Conference betwixt the Duke and myſelf, in which many Diſcourſes paſſed betwixt us, and I uttering my private Thoughts of ſuch Things as I held probable to produce a greater Amity and Nearneſs betwixt their Majeſties; the Duke declared unto me, that the King his Maſter was in Expectation to receive from his Majeſty a direct and certain Anſwer, concerning the Overture for a Match betwixt the Prince of *Wales* and this King's ſecond Daughter. I write unto you this Paſſage, though it were a Thing merely of my own, without any Kind of Inſtruction from his Majeſty, for theſe two Regards: *Firſt*, For that I am ſo deſirous herein to ſet down the Truth, that I would not conceal ſo eſſential a Circumſtance, though I were certain to incur great Blame by it. *Secondly*, For that this Occaſion drew from his Majeſty his Anſwer to this King's Offer of his younger Daughter; whereby the Buſineſs, being again revived, hath been brought to that final Iſſue, where, I conceive, it is like to ſtay.

His Majeſty, upon this Inſtance of mine for his Anſwer, firſt directed me to alledge the Reaſons, which had hitherto detained him from making any Reply, and then to anſwer in this Manner:

That in the Offer made by this King of his younger Daughters, both as it was delivered unto myſelf, and likewiſe as it was confirmed by this King's Ambaſſador there, his Majeſty ſtill found this Clauſe and Condition inſerted, that this King would be moſt willing to entertain a Motion for a Match betwixt the Prince of *Wales* and any of his younger Daughters, if Matter of Religion might be accommodated. And therefore, to the End that all Proceedings betwixt them might be with much Clearneſs, he commanded me to move this King, that he would be pleaſed to declare the Intent of this Clauſe, and what was meant and excepted, in the Accommodating of Matter of Religion, and why that Difficulty was ſo often repreſented.

Thus much I delivered unto the King, and to the Duke of *Lerma*, from whom, after the Deliberation of two Months I received this Reply: That the King his Maſter, out of the Deſire he had to make Alliance with his Majeſty, had conſulted with the Pope, and other grave Perſons, requiſite for ſo weighty a Buſineſs: And if that, for the Accommodating of Matter of Religion, the Prince would become a *Roman* Catholick, he would willingly embrace and eſteem him as his own dear Son.

I told him, that in ſuch Treaties and Negotiations betwixt Princes, there was a great Difference betwixt what might be wiſhed and deſired, and what was reſolutely demanded; and that I conceived, the King rather expreſſed herein what he would be glad might be, than what he expected ſhould be: But that my Directions were to intreat this King, that he would be pleaſed to declare, not what he could wiſh, but what he would demand.

The Duke then anſwered, That without the Prince's being a *Roman* Catholick, it was not poſſible, but that the Perverſion of the King's Daughter muſt needs be hazarded, which for the World, he would neither be the direct nor indirect Cauſe of.

Hereupon I ſignified to the Duke, that the King my Maſter had given me Directions and Inſtructions how to behave myſelf, according to the Anſwer which I ſhould receive; and therefore I intreated him, for a Day or two, to give me Leave to confer this Anſwer with my Directions; and that he would give me Acceſs, and procure me Audience with the King, for the further Proceeding in this Buſineſs, as the King my Maſter had commanded me.

Within two or three Days after, I was appointed to return again unto the Duke, to whom at firſt I made Repetition of the Anſwer, which the laſt Day I had received from him, the which he likewiſe then confirmed again.

I then deſired him to conſider ſome few Grounds which I ſhould lay before him, the which being preſuppoſed, I conceived he could not but think that the Reply, which the King

my

my Maſter had directed me to make, was grounded upon much Equity and Honour.

The *firſt* Thing, I deſired this King ſhould conſider, was, That when his Majeſty dealt with him, and his Miniſters, he preſumed ſo much, of the Equity of this King's Judgment, and promiſed himſelf ſo much of his Affections and Reſpect unto him, as he ſhould never hear from him any Demand unworthy of him, or which this King would not judge fitting to be propounded to himſelf, were the King my Maſter's Caſe his own.

The *ſecond* Thing, which I deſired that this King ſhould know and believe, was, That there was no Prince whatſoever more confident and certain in the Truth of his Religion, than the King my Maſter was in his, in which he was not only reſolved to live and die, but for the Protection and Defence thereof, had by ſeveral Means declared himſelf as far, and would ever be ready to adventure as much for the Maintenance thereof, as any Prince living ſhould do.

Thirdly, I deſired it might be remembered, that though it be true, that the King my Maſter cauſed the Propoſition, for the Prince, with the Infanta Major, to be made, yet he was firſt moved and invited thereunto, by the Aſſurance which this King's Ambaſſador gave unto him, how welcome this Motion would be to his Maſter.

And for that which hath now paſſed in this of the ſecond Daughter, it hath been likewiſe only ſtirred and moved from hence, by the Offer of her made by this King; and to this Offer, thus accompanied with theſe Demands and Conditions, I was out of theſe Grounds, by the Direction of the King my Maſter, to make this Anſwer:

That whereas it is demanded that, to match with this King's ſecond Daughter, the Prince ſhould become a *Roman* Catholick, the King my Maſter deſires to refer it to this King's own Judgment, what Cenſure that King ſhould deſerve, both from the Hands of God, and the World, that having ſo many Ways expreſſed his Conſtancy and Love to the Faith and Religion, which he profeſſeth, ſhould ſhew himſelf ſo full of Impiety and Diſhonour, to perſuade his Son to make a Change of his Soul, for a Wife, or any earthly Fortune whatſoever.

And if this King would not for a World, as he profeſſed, be either the direct or indirect Cauſe of the Hazard of his Daughter's Perverſion: The King may be pleaſed to conſider, that if he be therein ſo exact, as befitteth a King, in Point of Religion and Honour, the King my Maſter is likewiſe ſo, in no Degree leſs: And therefore hath commanded me, plainly to declare, that though he could not but make a kind and princely Conſtruction of the Offer, which this King made of his Daughter, as judging her moſt worthy of any Prince whatſoever, yet, for this Demand of the Prince's becoming a *Roman* Catholick, the King my Maſter holdeth it unworthy of him, and would abſolutely refuſe to beſtow the Prince, his Son, upon theſe Conditions, were the Perſon offered the ſole Heir of the Monarchy of the whole World.

Hereunto the Duke made little Anſwer, not expecting, as I conceive, ſo direct and concluſive a Proceeding; only ſaid, that his King did ſuppoſe, that God might have been pleaſed to have made this the Means for the Reducing of the Prince, and *England*, to the Catholick Religion.

And ſo from the Duke I went unto the King, with whom I was appointed at that Time to have Audience; unto whom I made an ample and full Relation of the whole Courſe of the Buſineſs, and particularly ſignified unto him the Anſwers, which, in his Name, I had received from the Duke of *Lerma*, and likewiſe, his Majeſty's Reply.

He told me the Duke of *Lerma* had in all Things proceeded as he directed him, and therefore he would only confirm thoſe Anſwers, which I had already received from him.

Thus having made unto you a true and exact Relation, how this Buſineſs hath hitherto been carried, I will refer the Judgment thereof to your own Wiſdom; only, theſe Paſſages I ſhall recommend unto you, as moſt remarkable:

Firſt, That his Majeſty's Propoſition, for the King of *Spain*'s eldeſt Daughter, was from the ſeveral Invitation of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, neither can the Diſhonour of their indirect Proceedings be removed, but that another will neceſſarily fall upon them. For if Princes ſhall not give Credit and Belief to the Ambaſſadors and publick Miniſters, one of the beſt Means of Negotiating between them will be taken away.

Herein they [illegible] his Majeſty Sat[isfaction] their Ambaſſador, *Pedro de Zuniga*, [illegible] Coming of Don [illegible]

whom they have nominated for that Employment.

Secondly, In this Buſineſs concerning the ſecond Daughter, it never was, in any Kind, any Motion of his Majeſty's, but merely an Offer of the King of *Spain*, which God, I conceive, appointed, as a fitting and a worthy Means, for his Majeſty to make Declaration, both to them here, and to the World, of his Conſtancy and Reſolution, in the profeſſing and proteſting of his Religion.

So that I muſt conclude, that if any Thing hath paſſed herein, leſs honourable, or leſs ſincere, than befitted the Greatneſs of two ſuch mighty Princes; there cannot ſo much as any Reflexion of it light upon his Majeſty, whoſe Proceedings clear throughout have been with all Directneſs. Whereas they, if they do not juſtly incur the Cenſure of ſome Falſehood, yet it cannot but be a great Unluckineſs to them, in a Matter of ſo great Conſequence, to be forced to renounce their Ambaſſador. Neither have they any Advantage in Point of Honour, that a Daughter, whoſe Sex giveth ever the Privilege to be ſought, being offered, hath not been accepted.

A good Expedient for Innocence and Peace. Being an Eſſay concerning the great Uſefulneſs and Advantage of laying aſide publick Oaths. *Edinburgh*, printed by Mr. *Andrew Symſon*, 1704. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages.

IT is agreed to on all Hands, that nothing does ſo much contribute to the Ruin of Kingdoms and Societies, as the Abounding of Vice and Immorality: Wickedneſs, where it becomes outrageous, challenges Heaven to vindicate its own Authority, and arms God for Vengeance againſt a People; and the more ſpreading and univerſal it grows, the greater Maſs of Wrath is thence treaſured up, and Deſtruction thereby the more infallibly aſcertained. And then, What overflowing Inundations of Fury may juſtly be apprehended beyond whatever this poor Land has hitherto ſmarted by, from thoſe monſtrous Heights of gigantick Vice, which has ſwelled to Degrees, that ſcarcely our very Fears could have probably ſuggeſted? Witneſs all Sorts of the moſt licentious Villainies, that refuſe to know any Bounds or Reſtraints! We have now beheld Atheiſm ſo bold, that it no more ſkulks in Corners, but outfaces the Sun and Men: We have lived to ſee Religion openly ſcoffed down, and expoſed as the only befitting Quality of the more ſegmatick melancholy Kind of People; Swearing and Drunkenneſs the genteel faſhionable Form of Behaviour; Luſt and Whoredom the ordinary Topicks of Diſcourſe; Adultery, and vile Uncleanneſs, brought to be the Mode? Perfidy and Murder authoriſed: Finally, A Contempt of all that is ſacred and ſerious; and then it can be no Wonder if we ſhall find Iniquity become our Ruin.

And now, that Matters are brought to ſo dreadful, ſo deſperate an Iſſue, the Land groaning under ſuch an intolerable Load of Sins and Calamities; What Man is ſo hard-hearted, ſo regardleſs of God, ſo unconcerned for the publick Good of his native Country, ſo void of all Senſe of his own, and his Neighbour's Danger, in their higheſt and deareſt Concerns, as will not contribute the utmoſt that in him lies, to put the moſt effectual Stop to theſe common National Sins, that otherwiſe will make the Kindlings of the Divine Anger break out and conſume all?

Did we live in an Age that ſhewed any tolerable Meaſure of Reſpect to the Divine Laws, it might be hoped, that whatever were made to appear to be ſinful, ſhould inſtantly be abandoned; whatever were underſtood to be a Crime, would be accordingly avoided; and then the plain Diſcovering a Vice would go a great Way towards the Cure; but ſo far is it otherwiſe, that moſt Men ſeem ſo utterly to have diveſted themſelves of all Fear of God, that they can defy their own Convictions,

charge through all Kinds of Sins, and own no further Difference of Good and Evil, than their preſent worldly Intereſts, or viler Appetites ſuggeſt, or prompt them to; and then, What Succeſs can be promiſed from any Attempt for our Cure?

But yet no Wickedneſs, how general ſoever, ought to ſuperſede Endeavours of a Recovery; but the more prevalent and univerſal Vice grows, the more ſtrenuous Labours ſhould be employed to controul it.

It is, ſure, one of the beſt Offices a Perſon can undertake, in Days of general Backſliding, to draw the notorious reigning Sins of the Land in their juſt Colours, to paint them in their true and horrid Shapes, that Men, by beholding the natural Uglineſs and Deformity of them, and by conſidering what they will end in, may be cautioned to forſake them, and ſo may flee from the Wrath to come.

It were a vaſt Work to attack all; I ſhall ſingle out one of the firſt Magnitude, *viz.* the Swearing of inconſiſtent Oaths; which, I preſume, will, by all, be confeſſed to be an Impiety of the greateſt Size, and to have a moſt powerful Energy in drawing on all thoſe Woes and Calamities we have been ſo deeply plunged into.

It will be readily acknowledged by all the wrangling Factions amongſt us, that the Land has been involved in no leſs than the horrid Guilt of Perjury; as, indeed, where there has been ſo much Swearing and Counterſwearing, How could it poſſibly eſcape? Every new Turn of Affairs muſt be accompanied with new modelled Oaths, adapted to the Circumſtances of the prevailing Party, right or wrong; and then all muſt to Pot, who cannot ſwear and ſign theſe, how flatly ſoever contradictory to thoſe others that preceded them, without the leaſt Regard paid to the former Obligations, though as ſolemn as any latter that can be ſubſtituted in their Room. I need not give Inſtances; the *Solemn League*, and *Declaration*, the *Tender*, the *Teſt*, &c. are too notorious pregnant Inſtances to be denied: And the Crime, upon an ordinary Examination of the Terms, thence too apparent; than which there can be no higher Contempt put upon the tremendous Majeſty of God, nor any Wickedneſs which raiſes a louder Cry at the Tribunal of Heaven for Vengeance; and if Men can once be habituated to, and harden themſelves in ſuch Courſes, there is an End of all that is holy and heavenly, tender and apprehenſive in human Nature, and all thoſe Storms and Tempeſts of the Divine Indignation to be expected which reſult from the Juſtice of an affronted, Sin-revenging God.

Now, Can there be any Man ſo devoted to all that is execrable and accurſed, ſuch a Lover of Miſchief, as that he would not heartily wiſh for a proper Remedy of ſo great an Evil? And here it may be propoſed to Conſideration, What might be the moſt expedient Mean, to prevent ſuch groſs Commiſſions in this Particular, as if, not obviated, muſt needs overwhelm and confound all, ſink and ruin the Nation and ourſelves? And whether, conſidering that Faith has ſo ſenſibly failed from amongſt Men, it were not, at preſent, adviſeable, for ſaving the Land from farther Heights of Sin, and ſo to ward off the moſt formidable Judgments, that otherwiſe threaten us; whether, I ſay, conſidering theſe Things, it were not adviſable to forbear the Impoſing of thoſe cuſtomary Obligations, and to diſpenſe with all publick Oaths, the Swearing of which, in the preſent Depravation of Men's Manners, can afford no poſſible Security to the Publick, but only tend to inflame our Guilts, and more highly to incenſe God to pour out his fierceſt Anger upon us.

It cannot, indeed, be denied, but that the Cuſtom of binding Subjects, by Oaths of Allegiance, to the ſupreme Powers, hath been very univerſal, and ſpread itſelf, far and nigh, all the World over: It was ever judged reaſonable to provide the moſt effectually for the common Safety, and to guard moſt carefully againſt all Diſturbance of the publick Peace and Tranquillity; and to make ſure of this, nothing was ſo promiſing, as to [illegible] ſacred Ties of Reſtrai[illegible], that [illegible] God Judge and Aver[illegible] back from whatever [illegible] found Affairs; that, [illegible] diaries might hope [illegible] Power, they might [illegible] querable Dread of th[illegible] would unavoidably p[illegible] holy Vows; but th[illegible] that Men made Conſ[illegible] they had undertaken, [illegible] ed, with an unſhake[illegible] Hazards, to ſtand by [illegible] ly engaged to, as th[illegible] on the Contrary: Bu[illegible] Degeneracy and Cor[illegible]

up amongſt us, and there ſeem to be no longer any Impreſſions of Religion or Morality left on the Minds of Men, but they can as eaſily burſt aſunder all the moſt ſacred Bonds of Allegiance, as if they were only Threads of Cobweb; no other Fruit of their Oaths being diſcernible, but the horrid Guilt of breaking them; while Matters are brought to this Paſs, it ought ſadly to be laid to Heart, Whether, out of pure Reſpect to the Honour of God, and holy Reverence to his Name, it be not the far ſafer Courſe to lay aſide the Impoſing, or Swearing of thoſe Oaths, which do ſo notoriouſly tend to the farther Debauching of Men's Minds, and Searing their Conſciences? And to incline Men to favour this Overture, theſe few obvious Conſiderations may be briefly inſiſted on:

I. That no Party ſooner gets the Aſcendant over their Opponents, but their utmoſt Invention is ſtretched, all Art employed to ſecure themſelves in the Poſſeſſion of what, it may be, only their Force and Violence has wreſted, and quite to ſuppreſs and bear down all that cannot juſtify their Proceedings, and applaud, like enough, the groundleſs Fictions of their diſtempered Brains; and then Oaths muſt be deviſed with particular Reſpect to their own, and their Adverſaries Tenets, that ſuch as have different Sentiments of Matters from them, may be brought either to diſclaim what they have formerly profeſſed to believe, or expoſed to all the Hardſhips and Calamities, that their perſecuting inſulting Foes have the Power to inflict upon them. And theſe Obligations being countenanced by the Authority in Being, at the Time when they are impoſed, are cried up by all the Abettors thereof, as religious and neceſſary, and all that refuſe them, branded with the moſt odious Names their Spite can load them with: And though nothing be leſs intended than the Welfare of the Community, or the Advancement of Religion; yea, let Religion ſuffer the moſt mortal Wounds their Artifices can give her, and the Strengthening the Faction be the only Aim of their Contrivances; yet, O profane Mockery! God is intitled to the Faction, their fiery Violence is chriſtened Zeal, and the Standing or Falling of Religion muſt ſtraight be made to depend on the Intereſt they have eſpouſed; and he that comes ſhort of their bitter Fury is lukewarm, and all Non-compliance is downright Enmity to the Goſpel: And then their Way being neceſſary, nothing leſs can ſuffice, than the Interpoſing the moſt ſolemn Oaths to ſupport and perpetuate the Cauſe; but when the fulſome Hypocriſy becomes abominable, and God, for the Tranſgreſſions of a Land, or in Pity to the Miſeries of it, ſends another Change; no ſooner is the Scene ſhifted, but, as the ſure Concomitant of that, there ſucceeds a new Revolution of Oaths, and theſe again framed in the plaineſt contradictory Terms to thoſe that went before; ſo as, to be ſure, the former ſhall be openly abjured by the latter; and when the Oppreſſed get from under the Rod of their Perſecutors, they reckon the ſevereſt Treatment they can repay, but a juſt Retaliation; their Reſentments grow more ſtubborn than can be eaſily appeaſed, and the Heap of Injuries they have ſuſtained is too great for all their Charity to pardon: Thus, as the Scales turn, there is nothing but Swearing backward and forward; and what we are now required to abjure, ſhall, by the next Change of Affairs, be impoſed as indiſpenſable neceſſary Duty. Now I would deſire any ſober Man, in God's Name, to tell me, Whether he thinks there can be a more dreadful Sin than ſuch a deſultorious Playing with Oaths? What greater Contempt can poſſibly be put upon the glorious Majeſty of God? What can more expoſe the Gravity and Wiſdom, the Piety and Probity of the Nation? Or prepare ſadder Plagues, and a more certain intolerable Ruin? Sure I am, ſuch as have the Power in their Hands to prevent ſo great an Evil, are concerned to lay it ſadly to Heart; for they that can hinder a Sin, and do it not, are highly accountable to God for it. And in this Reſpect it may ſeem reaſonable to diſpenſe with Oaths: Eſpecially if we farther,

II. Conſider, what ſmall Reckoning Men have now unhappily learned to make of them: Publick Bonds for Money, and publick Oaths, are reputed mere Matters of Form, that lay no Obligation upon the Conſcience; and there are but a few that judge themſelves any longer bound by them, than a fair Occaſion offers of emancipating them: Whatever the Importance of their moſt ſolemn Promiſes have been, they make no Difficulty, on the firſt Temptation, of engaging themſelves to the other Side of the Contradiction. A Guilt this is, of ſuch an atrocious Nature, as muſt needs utterly lay waſte the Conſcience, and render it inſenſible and callous; it is not the Opinions we take up, that can alter the Nature of our Duty; the

Heinousness of Perjury is nothing abated by the stubborn Confidence of our Fancies; the divine Sanctions cannot be altered by any Power of our Imaginations; all our Belief can have no Efficacy towards the making that Venial, which God has made Damning: Sin will retain its native Venom, its own proper deadly Nature, whatever slight perfunctory Notions we force ourselves to entertain concerning it. Would Men, therefore, summon up their serious Attention, and in God's-Fear deliberately weigh what is to be done; it is fairly supposeable, they would utterly abolish a Practice, whereby, because of Men's wild mistaken Notions, they do unwarily deceive their own Souls, and most palpably provoke and dishonour that all-powerful and just Judge, to whom Vengeance doth belong. It is proper here to remember, that the Swearing *pro* and *con*, in the Contests, betwixt the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, was so heinous a Transgression, as could, it seems, be expiated by no less Sacrifice, than of a hundred-thousand Lives; for no fewer were slain, in that Quarrel.

III. Let it be considered, that these Oaths are a plain Force and Violence to most, even of those that swear them: Some Men, for Worldly Advantage, are tempted to take them, though with reluctant Consciences. A great many stand condemned by the Sentence of their own Hearts, in the very Moment of the Solemnity. Interest is the great Deity, that has by far the most Votaries; there is nothing so hazardous, which the Prospect of Gain will not make Men adventure on; there are but few such virtuous Souls, as are able to resist a Temptation of getting. For a Piece of Money, one will struggle hard with, and worst his own Conscience, and defy present Convictions, in the very Instant of his grossest Commissions: And then it is obvious, that the Annexing Oaths, to lucrative Places, is one of the most dangerous Snares possible: Profit is a Bait, that will make any Hook be swallowed down. Now sure, hereby comes Evil, that all the Benefit, that can be pretended on the other Side, can never preponderate.

IV. Add, as an unavoidable Consequent of this, the unspeakable Damage, that accrues to the Publick, by the frequent Revolutions and Interfering of Oaths; for, by this Means, the best and most useful Men are often kept back from Places of Trust, and such thrust in, as are the Plague and Reproach of Mankind; he that regards God and himself fears an Oath, and will not swear any Thing, but what he is fully satisfied does plainly consist with his strict Duty, and all the former Obligations, that have, at any Time, passed upon him: Thence he is barred those Stations, wherein he might be a Blessing to his Country. Whereas, on the other Hand, the vicious Man, that by his lewd Conversation has numbed and stifled his Conscience, and blotted out all Sense of Virtue in his Soul, will boggle at nothing; but, at all Rates, will climb up to these Posts of Advantage or Authority, that his Covetousness or Ambition beckon him to: Let him have Money and Honour, and he shall never enquire on what Terms he comes by them! And what is to be expected from the Advancing such to Rule and Dignity? Will they respect Equity, or faithfully administer Justice? Will they dispense the Law with Candor, and equally maintain Truth, between Man and Man? Nay, Will they not notoriously pervert Judgment, and have their Eyes blinded with Bribes? And make the saddest Jumble and Medley of Affairs, from which nothing, but general Confusion and Mischief, shall ensue? For, when the Wicked bear Rule, the City mourneth; and the most dreadful Comets do not so certainly presage future Calamities, as the Preferring vicious Men to Places of Eminence and Government. And yet this Mischief is caused by nothing more visibly, than the frequent Varying the Terms of getting into Employment, which is a Grievance, that calls loudly for Redress.

V. Another Mischief of vast Consideration, that the Imposing of Oaths effects, is, that they do exceedingly tend to the farther Widening of these woeful Differences, already, far too notorious; when the Prejudices of discording Parties are heightened by the Intervention of an Oath, What Hope is there left remaining of the Possibility of a Reconciliation? This fixes a *μέγα χάσμα*, an unpassable Gulf betwixt them; and the Breaches, that might have been cemented before, are hereby rendered irreparable. This is a compendious Way to shut the Door against all Peace, and to make our Wranglings and Contentions endless: Even the more moderate and cooler Tempers are hereby inflamed to the Heighth of Bigotry; and their Alienations wax so inveterate, that they can no longer listen to any Proposals of a Pacification: So that it may, with great Probability, be averred that

that it is the Bandying of Oaths to and fro, to which we owe all the bitter Conteſts, that have been managed with ſuch implacable Hatred; it may confidently be affirmed, they had, at leaſt, otherways never been ſo fierce. For, with whatever Indifference, Perſons may reſpect the oppoſite Parties, before they be engaged; yet when once they are drawn in, by a ſolemn Stipulation, the Support of the Faction is made the Object of their Zeal, and it ſtands them on their Reputation, to aſſert the Neceſſity, juſt or unjuſt, of what they are ſworn to maintain. And then, at all Rates, down with their Adverſaries; and nothing, ſhort of Slaughter and Deſtruction, is breathed out againſt all that ſhall dare to queſtion the Certainty of the Articles, they have embraced, however doubtful theſe Propoſitions ſometimes appeared to themſelves. And then, What more ſeaſonable Charity, than to abſtract the Foment from theſe accurſed Diviſions, by prohibiting thoſe Oaths, that add Fuel to our Flames, and perpetuate our Janglings? For ſo it might be hoped, that, in a little Time, our unnatural Heats would die out, and more of mutual Forbearance and Brotherly Kindneſs ſhould ſpring up amongſt us; our Animoſities would gradually decay, when ſo great a Cauſe of Diſtinction were removed; and Men, by becoming more diſintereſted, would be more impartial in their Diſquiſitions for Truth; and, Prejudices being laid aſide, they would, with greater Freedom of Spirit, embrace that, wherever they found it. Thus, the Miſts of Error might be diſpelled and vaniſh; and that pure and undefiled Religion, which is peaceable, full of Mercy, and good Fruits, and, without Partiality, ſhould ſhine in its true Glory; and our *Zion* might yet riſe in her native Beauty and Splendor, become a peaceable and proſperous Habitation, the Joy and Praiſe of the whole Earth. Let me here but briefly mention, that theſe diſtinguiſhing Oaths do often make fatal Rebounds upon the Authors of them: *Amilcar* made *Hannibal* ſwear at the Altar of his Gods, that he ſhould never make Peace with the *Romans*; and his Wars, at laſt, terminated in the final Overthrow, the utter Exciſion of *Carthage*.

VI. The Diſpenſing with publick Oaths would go a wonderous incredible Length, towards the Removing of thoſe Commotions and Diſturbances, that are of ſuch pernicious Conſequence to human Societies, and to inſtate us in the bliſsful Poſſeſſion of the profoundeſt Peace; there can be no greater Security to any Government, than its being eaſy and gentle; this takes off the Aſperity of Men's Minds, drives out whatever Grudges, and cuts off all Pretenſions for ſullen Murmurs and Complaints. It has a ſweet Force, ſufficient to conquer any Reſiſtance, to reconcile all tractable generous Tempers, and carries a Power in it able to charm the moſt Obſtinate. When there is nothing left for Men to object, What Fears or Jealouſies can be entertained of Plots or Conſpiracies, to undermine that Settlement, that every Body enjoys ſuch deſired Contentment under? It creates mutual Confidence and Aſſurance in Rulers and People, and, of all Things, does the moſt to make the one quiet, and the other ſafe; whereas rigorous harſh Impoſitions make the Spirits ferment, and beget corrupt Humours, that do break out into dangerous Eruptions in the Body Politick, and hurl the World into Confuſions; the depraved infirm Fleſh ſhrinks under what is afflictive, has Averſions to the Croſs, and can with Difficulty be induced, by all the Rhetorick of Heaven, either to take it up, or bear it; when it is loaded with what is grievous, it frets and ſtorms, and is apt to ſtick at nothing that may diſburden it. Ill *Blood* can hardly, by any Means, be ſweetened, and, where Choler predominates, no Authority of any Laws, Divine or Human, can repreſs it. Now all Ground of ſuch dangerous Diſcontent is taken off, by forbearing whatever can be judged ſevere, by laying aſide ſuch diſcriminating Teſts, as factious ſeditious Men make Occaſions of diſquieting the World; and, were every ſuch Thing diſpenſed with, this mild Uſage could not but ſhame Men into Good-nature; and a peaceable Diſpoſition, and a happy Deliverance from all Tumults and Moleſtations, muſt needs be the certain Conſequent of not leaving Men the leaſt Shadow of a Foundation to quarrel on.

Were theſe few Things ſeriouſly pondered, and ſincere honeſt Deſigns of advancing Religion and Virtue entertained in the Breaſts of Men, it might, with ſome Confidence, be hoped, that they would chearfully concur to remove what is attended with ſuch manifeſt Inconveniences, and, by the Diſuſe of which, ſo many ſignal Advantages ſhould be obtained. What Rank of Men is he to be numbered in,

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who will needs pertinaciouſly adhere to what he plainly obſerves to be the Source and Origin of ſo many woeful Guilts and Calamities? Doth he fear God, or love Virtue, who would not baniſh away what, he muſt needs know, God does hate, and will puniſh? And who is he, who, under a lively Senſe of the Divine Juſtice and Holineſs, dares think of Patroniſing the Cuſtom of Swearing contrary Oaths, whereby the omnipotent God is moſt grievouſly offended, and which ripens for the moſt frightful Deſtruction, and for which God's Judgments are already ſo viſibly Abroad in the Earth? Has he any Zeal for the Honour of God, who is not concerned for the profane Contempt caſt upon his Holy Name? Doth he wiſh the Thriving and Proſperity of the Publick, that would not prevent the Occaſion of a Sin, that muſt needs undo and ruin it? Would to God I were able to ſay any Thing on this Head, that might awake and call up Men's Thoughts, rouſe their Attentions, and ſet them in Earneſt a Thinking, as under the all-ſeeing Eye of God, whether what has been ſaid deſerves any Regard from them; and what every one's bound Duty may require from him, in his ſeveral Station and Capacity. Would Men be ſo juſt to their Maker, ſo kind to themſelves, as to be perſuaded to compare the Advantages and Diſadvantages of either Side, and to chuſe the Good and refuſe the Evil, one might promiſe ſoon to hear it become the general Cry, the common Supplication, *No more Swearing! No more publick Oaths!* that, by their Interfering, muſt needs be, of all Things on Earth, the moſt full of Terror, the moſt full of Guilt and Danger.

But whatever the Advantages, the Complying with the Deſign of this Attempt might be attended with, it is not to be doubted, but it will meet with fierce enough Oppoſition (as indeed all healing Overtures have ordinarily the Fate to be treated with the bittereſt Spite and Contradiction) and, upon various Accounts, may have black enough Colours laid upon it.

Some will be Enemies to it, from the Apprehenſion of the private Loſs and Damage that themſelves in Particular might ſuſtain, by the Succeeding of any ſuch Propoſal; this might poſſibly, they will think, make Changes, and ſo they, who are in the preſent Enjoyment of any gainful Poſts, might be diſſeized, and others made to reap the Profits; and therefore ſuch, no Doubt, will furiouſly malign and reſiſt; but, if they be virtuous Perſons, and demean themſelves as Men of Merit and Sufficiency for the Truſt they enjoy, there is no Reaſon for them to ſet themſelves, on this Account, againſt what might be of good Uſe to the Community, for nothing could more ſecure Men of Worth and Merit; but, if they be of another Stamp, it were a general Bleſſing to have them removed; and one of the greateſt Benefits, ſuch an Alteration ſhould effect, would be the Turning out vicious, inſufficient, and ſcandalous Men; And what Harm could come by their Fall? But, whatever Endeavours any Perſons, on ſuch Accounts, may uſe, to oppoſe a publick Good, it ought not to be neglected, to gratify the Ambition or Covetouſneſs of private Men; for Woe to that Self-ſeeking, that wiſhes to thrive upon the publick Ruin.

But others will be ready vehemently to exclaim againſt any ſuch Diſpenſation, as being injurious to the ſupreme Power; it being highly reaſonable that all fulleſt Aſſurance ſhould be taken of the Subject, for the Preſervation and Security of the Government; And how ſhall any Sovereign expect Fidelity, where it is not faithfully promiſed? This is, I confeſs, the moſt material Plea that can be oppoſed to what is now reaſoned for; and truly, if the Safety of the Government could be ſufficiently provided for, and obtain any ſure Warrandice from Men's Vowing Fealty, it might appear a Crime to lift a Lip againſt, or return any Anſwer to this Objection; it being moſt juſt that they ſhould, in the Name of God, engage, not only not to do them Harm themſelves, but take all poſſible Care, and uſe their utmoſt, moſt faithful Endeavours, that none ſhould be done them by others; but then, what they ſo undertake, they ought to adhere to, to their Lives End. But, alas! when nothing is effectuated by any ſuch Means, when daily Experience convinceth us, that all this produces nothing but the blackeſt, moſt dire Guilt, What Ground in the World is there to require or impoſe Oaths, that Men make no Conſcience of obſerving; and which only tend to profane the dreadful Name of God, to contemn and provoke the Divine Majeſty, and to treaſure up a greater Stock of Wrath againſt the Land? For, in a few Words,

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it may be made plain, to a Demonſtration, that, in the preſent Corruption of the World, publick Oaths are abſolutely of no Benefit, or Uſe imaginable: For he, whoſe Principles or Intereſt bind him to a Party, or Eſtabliſhment, will be ſtedfaſt thereto, without the Intervention of an Oath: But, if a Man ſwears againſt his Principles and Intereſt, no ſuch Tie will bind him, Ten-thouſand ſuch Oaths ſhall never hold him faſt, nor does he think himſelf obliged to continue firm to them; but, on the Contrary, the grating Senſe of what he judges himſelf to have treſpaſſed in will powerfully draw, and move him to make the beſt Reparation he is able, for the wrong Step he has taken; whence, it evidently appears wholly vain to expect any Security to the Publick, by the Interpoſition of Oaths.

But the moſt implacable Enmity will ariſe, from thoſe who are of that envious Temper, as to grudge the leaſt Eaſe to tender Conſciences. This, it is true, is of ſo black a Dye, and ſpeaks ſuch a helliſh Diſpoſition, as will find few or none, that will make open Profeſſion of it; for this were barefacedly to vouch themſelves cruel Perſecutors. But yet it is ſhrewdly to be ſuſpected, there are not wanting Men of that malevolent Nature, as would find a Torment in any Favour granted to thoſe whom they bear no Kindneſs to, and take a particular Complacency in whatever may afflict or enſnare them, than which there can be no Quality more contrary to the Spirit of Chriſtianity; for this is to pleaſe one's Self with that which is the Satisfaction of the Devils, who are delighted with the Miſeries and Ruins of Men; and the neareſt Reſemblance, and moſt lively Portraiture of a Devil, is an invidious Nature, that wiſhes, or contrives what is hurtful and prejudicial to another. And then, wherever any Thing of this Spirit is diſcernible (as, alas! a very ſuperficial Scrutiny may too eaſily diſcover it) all that have learned Chriſt muſt own themſelves bound to controul it.

I cannot foreſee any Thing farther, worth noticing, that this Overture can be charged with; and, therefore, would Men, without Biaſs, apply themſelves to ſpend ſome ſerious Thoughts about it, it is hardly to be ſuppoſed it could meet with any Reſiſtance from ſober, pious, and well-diſpoſed Perſons; for, Is there not a God, and is not he the Avenger of Sin? And can any Man, who believes his Being, reckon it indifferent, whether his great and dreadful Name be reverenced or blaſphemed? and, Doth not the religious Obſervance, or profane Violation of our promiſſory Oaths amount to all this? For, let any impartial Man narrowly examine the Importance of thoſe diverſified Oaths that have been impoſed, and let him try his Art of reconciling the Terms if he can; and, by the Time that he has a While employed his Thoughts, as in God's Preſence, about them, he may come to conceive a Difference betwixt him that ſweareth, and him that feareth an Oath. The very Heathens had always the greateſt Tenderneſs and Regard for their Oaths, whereof abundant Inſtances might be given: And ſhall they ſeem to loſe their Sacredneſs amongſt thoſe who are called Chriſtians? God forbid! and yet, What Eſteem can he be thought to hold them in, who ſwear incompatible inconſiſtent Things? What can it be to take the Name of the Lord in vain, if this be not it? And is not it a frightful Impiety, firſt to take them, and then to break them? And what muſt it needs be to require, to urge, and force them? This is what may exact Men's moſt attentive Conſideration; every one, who has a due Care of his Soul, will be ſtudious to examine himſelf in this? Men will find it dreadful, appearing before Chriſt's Tribunal, to anſwer, not only for their own perſonal Sins, but for the Guilts of others which they have cauſed. And, if there was any ſpecifick Kind of Sin, which I did more eſpecially dread the Danger of, that I were to put up my moſt earneſt Suit to God to be kept free from, as being of the moſt atrocious provoking Nature; I think I ſhould not much miſtake in my Condeſcenſions, if my moſt hearty Prayer, when I ſhall at laſt ſtand before the dread Judgment-ſeat of Chriſt, were, 'O God, I pray more particularly, 'that I never be found guilty of the moſt 'horrid Sin of Perjury.' Think what the Character of a perjured Perſon is, in the common Verdict of Mankind, and even in the Eſtimate of our own Laws! And is the Sin ſo black and ſcandalous, when it is Perſonal; and is it leſs ſo, when it is National? No, certainly it is not; for it is ſuch a moſt formidable Piece of Wickedneſs, ſuch a horrid Crime, a *Piaculum*, as may well be judged to forfeit the Divine Protection, and leave a Peo-

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ple and Nation, guilty of it, open to all the Rage and Malice of the Devil, to be hurried on by him, at his Pleaſure, from Sin to Sin, till they fil up the Meaſure of their Iniquity, and the Wrath of God come upon them to the uttermoſt; and therefore, to this Purpoſe, moſt applicable is the Admonition of St. *James*, wherewith I ſhall conclude, *But, above all Things, my Brethren, ſwear not.*

The Honour and Courage of our *Engliſh* Parliaments, in the Reign of Queen *Eliſabeth*, of ever bleſſed Memory, in Defending of her, and the Proteſtant Religion. Expreſſed in ſome of the Preambles of the Acts for Subſidies, granted to that famous Princeſs.

Poſt tot———
Tendimus in Latium?

That Man who doth not defend his Religion and Country, having the Law on his Side, will, either through ſlaviſh Fear, or for baſe Intereſt, when Times change, moſt certainly give up, and ſacrifice both.

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An Act * *of a Subſidy, with two Fifteenths and Tenths granted by the Temporality.*

THE certain Knowledge and perfect Senſe, which we your Majeſty's moſt humble Subjects have and feel, of the great Felicity which ſince your Reign we hitherto have enjoyed, and now preſently do enjoy, far beyond all other Nations our Neighbours; yea, much augmented to our Happineſs, having Regard to the former troubleſome Times amongſt ourſelves; doth vehemently preſs and inforce us, firſt and principally, with all our Hearts and Souls, to acknowledge our moſt bounden Duty to Almighty God, the King of Kings, for his Excellent, Singular, and Divine Goodneſs, ſhewed to us his Creatures, in preſerving for our Safety, after ſo many Storms, your Royal Princely Perſon our moſt Gracious Queen, and in guiding and directing the ſame for our Happineſs, in ſo happy an Age, thus happily, quietly, and providently to govern us his People committed to your Charge: And next for the ſame great Benefits beſtowed upon us by his merciful Goodneſs, and through your Majeſty's Perſon and Regimen, to offer ourſelves moſt ready, with all Obeyſance and Loyalty, to ſerve, and moſt humbly to obey your Majeſty, as God's immediate Miniſter on Earth, and ſupreme Governor over us, to the uttermoſt of our Power and End of our Lives. And furthermore, conſidering with ourſelves, and beholding manifeſtly with our Lives, the many notable, beneficial, and princely Acts

* Raſtal's Stat. 5. Eliz. c. 27.

done

done by your Majeſty, with the Aſſent of God's Favour, in theſe few Years, for the Weal and Surety of this your Realm.

Firſt, In reſtoring us to the Favour, Knowledge, and true Service of Almighty God, by Reſtoration into this Church of *England* of a ſincere, uniform Rule and Order in Chriſtian Religion, by Delivery of us and our Conſciences, from a foreign, unnatural Tyranny and and Power, notwithſtanding the many and great Threatenings of worldly Power to the contrary.

Next, By reducing this your Realm, and all other your Dominions, from War, wherein you found it, to Peace with your Neighbours: Which two godly Acts your Majeſty did accompliſh immediately at your firſt Entry to this your Crown.

Thirdly, By the evident Delivery of this Realm from the great and manifeſt intended Invaſions, conſpired and prepared by Strangers (the ancient Enemies of this Realm) joining therewith the princely and upright Preſervation of the Liberty of the next Realm and Nation of *Scotland*, from imminent Captivity and Deſolation, and ſo without any bloody Battle, moſt providently, though chargeable, delivering the Force of the Enemy intended againſt this Realm to their Reproof.

Fourthly, By repairing, ſtoring, inriching, building, and reinforcing, this your Realm, with the worthieſt Treaſures of Armour, Ammunition, and all Kind of Proviſions, offenſive and defenſive for War, and of a princely Navy of Ships for the Service and Defence of this your Country, and us your People.

And next thereto, as it were in a Time almoſt deſperate and doubtful, for the Weight of the Matter, by converting of the loathſome, and vile great, and long-grown Bulk of Copper and counterfeit Monies, eating and daily conſuming the Honour and Wealth of this Realm, like a Canker, into Treaſures only of Gold and Silver Monies, without having any Piece of Copper Money current in this Realm, a ſingular Pre-eminence above all Countries in *Chriſtendom*.

And, *Laſtly*, By a moſt provident and ſeaſonable Enterpriſe, now taken in Hand this Year, being thereto neceſſarily provoked (beſides the Foreſight for Safety of your own Realm) for the Defence alſo of your Majeſty's tender young Brother, and next Neighbour, the *French* King; being forcibly governed againſt his Laws and Liberty, by Reaſon of the Ambition of certain of his uncontented Subjects, being not diſpoſed to live as Subjects in Quietneſs, as the Experience of them towards this Realm hath alſo proved: And conſequently, in this Enterpriſe, your Majeſty not forgetting the juſt and ſeaſonable Recovery of an ancient Portion of this your Crown, lately and unfortunately ſpoiled and broken off. And we alſo taking and ſenſibly feeling, from the Higheſt of us to the Loweſt, through all Degrees, Places, and Times, an univerſal and moſt bleſſed Fruit of Juſtice, both for our Lives, Lands, Goods, and Behaviour, without Exception of Perſons, to the ineſtimable, yea, and unaccuſtomed Comfort and Joy of all your good and faithful Subjects, and to the ſingular Recommendation of your Majeſty's Happineſs to all Poſterity, being hitherto never compelled to tax or reprehend, much leſs to draw Blood of any Perſon for any Offence to your Majeſty's Royal Perſon (a Bleſſedneſs never enjoyed ſo long by any of your Progenitors, to our Knowledge:) Which princely and notable Acts, with many others not here for Length to be rehearſed, have been, and, for Continuance thereof, muſt needs be ſo burdenous and chargeable to your Majeſty, that, though we cannot indeed find an Example of any one meet Preſent or Gift, by Name of *Subſidy*, or any other Relief or Aid granted to any of your Progenitors, ſufficient to recompenſe and acquit ſome one of theſe your many princely and notable Acts, or the Charges therein ſuſtained; yet we, meaning, and freely of ourſelves intending, according to our bounden Duties, to make ſome Kind of Declaration, Specification, and Recognition of our great Debts of Service to your Majeſty, being not able to make any full Satisfaction, as your Majeſty's moſt humble, obedient, and loving Subjects, humbly on our Knees, beſeech your Highneſs, that at this Time, inſtead of Satisfaction for our great Debts due for your Princely Demerits and Charges, our ſmall Gift may not be meaſured with your Acts, or with our own Debts to your Majeſty, but, of your accuſtomed Clemency, accept it only with the Treaſure of our humble, infinite, and unmeaſurable Thoughts and Intentions of our Hearts towards your Majeſty; and that, for the Acceptation thereof, it may be, by your Highneſs,

neſs, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, enacted as followeth:

An Act of one Fifteenth and Tenth, and one Subſidy, granted by the Temporalty.*

WE your Majeſty's moſt humble Subjects, meaning, according to our moſt bounden Duties, to preſent unto your Majeſty, by Way of Subſidy, ſome Relief for the great extraordinary Charges ſuſtained in the Defence of your Majeſty's Dominions and Countries againſt ſundry dangerous Attempts, cannot forbear but, with all Humbleneſs, moſt thankfully to ſet before the ſame our moſt lowly Thanks for three ſpecial Matters proceeding from your Majeſty, to our Benefit, Joy, and Comfort, in this preſent Aſſembly.

Firſt, For the moſt Princely Conſideration had of us, in the Forbearing at this Time ſome Portion of that, which, according to the Greatneſs and Neceſſity of your Affairs, we of Duty meant and intended to have yielded unto your Majeſty.

Secondly, For the moſt comfortable Aſſurance and Promiſe, by your Majeſty made and declared unto us, That, for our Weal and Surety, your Majeſty would marry as ſoon as God ſhould give you Opportunity to accompliſh the ſame; whereof we have received infinite Comfort, and ſhall pray to Almighty God to further and proſper all your Majeſty's Actions tending thereunto, that we your moſt natural Subjects may ſpeedily ſee ſome noble Iſſue of your Body, to continue perpetually by Deſcent the Succeſſion of this Imperial Crown.

Thirdly, For the great Hope and Comfort we have conceived, by the Means of your Majeſty's moſt honourable Speech uttered and declared unto us, of your Majeſty's moſt gracious and princely Diſpoſition, and Determination, when Time ſhall thereunto ſerve conveniently, with the Surety of your Majeſty's Perſon, and the Weal and Tranquillity of your Realm, to have due Regard to the further Eſtabliſhing of the Succeſſion of your Imperial Crown, as Law and Juſtice ſhall require the ſame, after the Succeſſion of the Iſſue of your Body. In which your gracious Diſpoſition and Care for us, we moſt humbly beſeech Almighty God to continue your Majeſty, and to proſper your Intentions and Actions, to eſtabliſh that, which, with Aſſent of your Realm in Parliament, may be agreeable and conſonant to Law and Juſtice, and to remain to all Ages hereafter inviolable, and to the Praiſe, Honour, and Memory of your Majeſty and yours perpetually; and that, touching the Grant of your ſaid Subſidy, it may be enacted in Manner and Form following:

* Anno 8 Eliſ. Cap. 18. Raſtal.

An Act† for the Grant of one Subſidy, and two Fifteenths and Tenths, by the Temporalty.

WE your Majeſty's moſt obedient, humble, faithful, and loving Subjects, being here in your moſt high Court of Parliament aſſembled, cannot, but at your firſt Meeting and Conſultation, enter into due Conſideration of the great Charges your Highneſs hath ſuſtained, not only in ſeeking, by Way of Prevention, to ſtop ſuch foreign Attempts as otherwiſe, not provided for, might have been made very dangerous againſt this your Highneſs's Realm, and us your Subjects (which hath not, and, as we well conſider, could not be performed, without the Employment, divers Ways, of ſome great Portion of Treaſure) but eſpecially hath been now of late put to an infinite Charge, both by Sea and by Land, in the Proſecution of certain evil affected Members of your Highneſs's Realm of *Ireland*, that moſt diſloyally, unnaturally entered into actual Rebellion, with a manifeſt Intent to ſhake off the Subjection and Obedience, that, by the Laws of God and Man,

† Anno 23 Eliſ. Cap. 15. Raſtal.

they

they are bound to yield: And in as much as in them was to deprive and bereave the Crown of that Realm, from this your Imperial Crown of *England*, to which it hath been ſo many Years joined and annexed, and that principally, by the Procurement of the Biſhop of *Rome*, Enemy to God, your Majeſty, and to all this your Realm, not without the Countenance and Help of ſome other great and mighty Potentates, his Adherents: Although Almighty God, of his Goodneſs, hath hitherto given your Majeſty Victory, and diverted the Attempts, making them vain and fruitleſs.

And, therefore, theſe Things by us conſidered, we cannot, but with all Dutifulneſs, if we did conſider the Charges paſt, without Regard of the Neceſſity to withſtand future Attempts, but preſent unto your Majeſty our Readineſs, yielding unto your Highneſs ſome liberal Contribution: But when we enter into further Conſideration, *Firſt*, how the Fire, kindled in that your Highneſs's Realm of *Ireland*, is not yet quenched, whereby your Majeſty is forced, to your infinite Charges, as well to ſubdue the evil affected of that Realm, as alſo to impeach the foreign Aſſiſtance, that by common Report, and eſpecially by Solliciation of ſundry Traytors that were naturally born Subjects to this, and that your Crown of *Ireland*, but unnaturally are broken off, and become monſtrous rotten Members, is preparing to repair thither, to continue great Forces in Pay, as well by Sea as by Land.

Secondly, What Advertiſements and Forewarnings come, as it were, from all Parts of *Chriſtendom*, of an intended Invaſion, not only againſt your ſaid Realm of *Ireland*, but againſt the reſt of your Majeſty's Realms and Dominions.

And, *Laſtly*, What Practices are lately ſet a-broach, and in Part put in Execution, to breed a Divorce and Alienation of the good Amity that hath been between your Majeſty and your next Neighbour, which, if the ſame ſhould take Place, cannot but be an Occaſion of great Expences and Charges.

Therefore, upon View of the Premiſſes, conſidering the great and moſt neceſſary Charges already paſt, by your Highneſs ſuſtained, and greater like to enſue (if we were ſo ingrate as to forget the great Benefits that we have received through the Goodneſs of Almighty God, under your Majeſty's moſt bleſſed and happy Government, as the like was never enjoyed by any Subjects of this Land) cannot, but in Regard of our own particular Safeties, ſtrain ourſelves, to the utmoſt of our Power, to yield ſuch Contribution, as the Preſervation of your moſt excellent Majeſty, and of ourſelves, your moſt humble Subjects, doth moſt juſtly require.

And, therefore, to ſhew ourſelves, as well thankful towards your Majeſty, as careful to provide that which may be for our own Safety, do, with all Humility, preſent unto your Highneſs a Subſidy, and two Fifteenths and Tenths, towards your Highneſs's great Charges.

*An Act * for the Grant of one intire Subſidy and two Fifteenths and Tenths granted by the Temporalty.*

CONſidering with ourſelves, moſt gracious Sovereign, what infinite Charges your Highneſs hath been driven to ſuſtain, beſides your continual princely Care to prevent and withſtand the ſundry moſt dangerous Practices and Enterpriſes of long Time deviſed, and from Time to Time continually purſued and put in Practice by that capital Enemy unto God and your Majeſty, who, for Maintenance of his uſurped Authority, and to ſuppreſs the true Chriſtian Religion, profeſſed within your Majeſty's Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, hath, by all Means to him poſſible, provoked and ſtirred up others of great Power, to do what they can, for the utter Ruinating of the former happy Eſtates of both the ſame Realms, which through the Aſſiſtance of the Almighty, and by your Majeſty's great Care, and politick Foreſight, hath been hitherto, and by God's Grace hereafter, ſtill ſhall be ſufficiently and effectually provided for and defended: And underſtanding alſo, that, at this Preſent, there are very great Preparations made and making in foreign Parts both for Sea and Land, of Intentions to invade your Majeſty's Realms and Dominions, to the great Danger of all your

* Raſtal's Stat. 29 Eliz. Cap. 8.

good and faithful Subjects: And weighing with ourſelves, how providently theſe their like Intentions have been hitherto prevented and fruſtrate, and the inward Peace of your Realm longer continued, than ever was in any Time of your Progenitors, and how neceſſarily great Quantity of your Treaſure hath been expended in Maintenance of the ſaid Peace, and what dangerous Effects would follow, if by God's Goodneſs, and ſome politick Means, the ſame Courſe ſhould not be continued, and theſe intended Invaſions withſtood without Delay, which we manifeſtly ſee can in no wiſe be done or performed, without a continual and ineſtimable Charge: We, therefore, your Majeſty's moſt loyal and obedient Subjects, having in all Duty, for God's Honour, your Majeſty's Safety, and our own Surety and Liberty, as it behoveth us, due Conſideration of the Premiſſes, ſhould ſhew ourſelves not only moſt unthankful for ſo many, and for ſo ineſtimable Benefits, ſo long Time received by God's Goodneſs, uſing your Majeſty as his ſpecial Diſtributer of the ſame in your princely and careful Government of us, but alſo utterly careleſs, yea, willfully Contemners of our own Quiet and Safety, if we ſhould not make Offer to yield unto your Majeſty (beſides the Service of our Bodies naturally due to be beſtowed in Defence of our common Mother and Country) ſome Contribution of our Lands and Goods to the uttermoſt of our Ability, and that in a better Manner, and more agreeable to the Truth of our Meaning, where the ſame ought of Right to be yielded, than hath been ſeen and executed in many Places amongſt the richer Sort for like Contribution, by Corruption, or great Negligence of them, to whom the ſpecial Care thereof was committed.

*An Act * for the Grant of two intire Subſidies, and four Fifteenths and Tenths, granted by the Temporalty.*

MOST gracious Sovereign, when we enter into due Conſideration of the moſt princely provident Sort of Government, which your moſt excellent Majeſty hath hitherto held, even ſince your firſt Entry into the Poſſeſſion of this Crown, in preſerving this Realm in a perpetual Peace and Quietneſs, free from all Foreign Invaſions, notwithſtanding the ſundry Attempts, as well by open great Forces many Times prepared, and bent againſt the Realm, as by continual Practices, Conſpiracies, and Plots laid by your Highneſs's Enemies Abroad, and by Rebels at Home, which manifeſtly tended, not only to the Interruption of the happy Peace and Repoſe of us, your humble Subjects, and this your Highneſs's Realm, and other your Dominions, but alſo to the utter Subverſion thereof, and Ruin of the ſame. In all which your Majeſty's moſt noble Actions, we have ſeen a moſt notable natural Diſpoſition of your Majeſty, at no Time to have attempted, by Invaſion of any your Enemies Countries, to have poſſeſſed the ſame; as your Majeſty, we know, might many Times have done very readily, and alſo juſtly, in Reſpect of the hoſtile Attempts ſo often offered, both againſt your own Royal Perſon, and your Dominions; which Courſe we do certainly know your Majeſty hath followed, in Reſpect that your continual Purpoſe was to preſerve us in a Peace at Home, by your provident Manner of Defence of your Dominions and Countries againſt open Invaders: And many more like Conſiderations and Obſervations of your wiſe and happy Government. We do alſo further conſider, how the Accompliſhing of theſe your honourable and princely Actions, the great and infinite Charges your Majeſty hath ſuſtained, and that eſpecially the laſt Year, in preparing and maintaining, ſo long Time, ſo puiſſant an Army by Sea, beſides the Forces aſſembled by Land, for the withſtanding the two great and mighty Armies prepared, the one in the *Low-Countries*, and the other brought forth out of *Spain*, with Intent by their mighty joint Forces, far exceeding all others, in any Memory of Man, to have made a full bloody Conqueſt of this Realm, had not the ſame been prevented, through the ſingular, yea, miraculous Goodneſs of Almighty God, and your Highneſs's great Preparations and Forces in Charge and Puiſſance above all other former prepared in this Realm,

* 35 Eliz. Cap. 15. Raſtal.

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at any Time in our Memories, for the withſtanding the ſame. We therefore, your Majeſty's moſt humble, loyal, and loving Subjects, as well in Regard of the humble Duty we owe unto your moſt excellent Majeſty, under whoſe gracious and princely Government, we have received ſo many and ſingular Benefits, as well Spiritual and Temporal, as alſo the natural Care we ought to have of our own particular Preſervation, having due Conſideration both of the Puiſſance joined with extreme Malice of your Majeſty's Enemies, which alſo we have good Cauſe to think to be increaſed, through the great Defeat they received in their late Enterpriſes, by them accounted invincible, cannot but preſent unto your excellent Majeſty, with all Lowlineſs and Humility, beſides the Service of our Bodies, with all our worldly Power, ſome Contribution in Way of Subſidy, out of our Lands and Goods, as in Part of an Acknowledgment of our humble Duties unto your Highneſs, towards the bearing of ſome Part of the great and infinite Charge, your Majeſty hath already ſuſtained, and is like hereafter to ſuſtain, in the withſtanding of ſuch forcible and malicious Attempts, as it is not to be doubted, but that your ſaid Enemies will do their uttermoſt to put in Execution, with the Forces and Aids of all their Confederates: And for that we do perceive, that the granting only of ſuch an ordinary Subſidy, to be levied as hath been commonly uſed in former Times of ſmaller Danger, is no wiſe ſufficient and anſwerable to the unuſual and great Charges ſuſtained, and to be ſuſtained by your Majeſty, for theſe ſo great Actions neceſſary to be taken in Hand, to withſtand ſuch extraordinary Forces, of ſo many mighty Enemies as have been ſeen this laſt Year, both by Land and Sea, and are by Foreſight in Wiſdom to be as greatly doubted, both this Year to come, and in Time following, we know not how long, unleſs the Almighty God ſhall be pleaſed to diſappoint and make fruſtrate the Attempts of your Majeſty's Enemies, as at all Times hitherto of his ſingular Favour he hath done.

An Act * *for the Grant of three intire Subſidies, and ſix Fifteenths and Tenths, granted by the Temporalty.*

MOST gracious and moſt excellent Sovereign, it is deeply engraven in our Remembrance, what puiſſant and mighty Forces were, for ſome few Years ſince, prepared and brought againſt this noble Realm our Native Country, with a violent Reſolution to have made a full bloody Conqueſt of this our Nation, and to have reduced the ſame under a perpetual and miſerable Yoke of Foreign Potentates; which moſt perilous Attempt of Invaſion and Conqueſt, as it was then by the ſingular Goodneſs of Almighty God, with your Majeſty's princely Power and notable Policy defeated, without any the leaſt Interruption of our inward Peace, and publick Security, ſo we have juſt Cauſe to doubt, not only that thoſe your Majeſty's capital and dangerous Enemies continue ſtill a ſettled and obſtinate Purpoſe to renew the ſame with greater Strength and more available Advantage than before, but alſo, that the Time approacheth very near, when their ſuch intended Confederacy is like to be put in Effect and Execution; for entering into due Conſideration, both of ſuch Things as we may of ourſelves reach to obſerve and diſcern, and principally of thoſe high and great Matters of State, which your Majeſty in a moſt gracious Truſt, and favourable Confidence towards us, vouchſafed to open and impart unto us, touching the Projects and Plots of the ſame your Enemies, as we do infinitely acknowledge your Majeſty's moſt prudent and watchful Foreſight; ſo we do evidently perceive that the Enemies of your Highneſs, and this State, do not only purſue a determinate Courſe, as much as they may, to impoveriſh your Crown and Realm, by intercepting the Traffick of your Merchants, but are far proceeded in very great Practices and malicious Enterpriſes, for the ruining and ſupplanting of your Confederates in *France*, and *Scotland*, and for the getting into their Poſſeſſion, or at leaſt to be at their Devotion, the moſt commodious and fit Places and Pieces whence to offend and invade your Majeſty's Dominions; ſo that looking into the Depth of theſe apparent and imminent Dangers, with loyal and zea-

* 35 Eliz. Cap. 13. Raſtal.

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lous Hearts to your Majeſty, and natural Affection to our flouriſhing Country, we reſt perſuaded, that ſuch extraordinary Remedy is needful to be provided, as may in ſome Sort be proportionable to the Peril. And further, we ſee, and with unfeigned Thanks do acknowledge, that your Majeſty's Magnanimity, and moſt rare incomparable Benignity towards us, is ſuch, that having to deal in theſe your long continuing Wars with the greateſt Lords of Treaſure of the World, and making only a defenſive War for our Quiet and proſperous Preſervation, and being of your Highneſs's own Inclination a moſt moderate Diſpenſer of Treaſure; your Majeſty hath nevertheleſs been pleaſed to expend and employ a great Portion of your Revenue and Treaſure, only to ſpare and eaſe the Charge of us your moſt bounden and loving Subjects, wherein we cannot ſufficiently admire the Excellency of your Majeſty's moſt princely Nature; and, therewithal, cannot alſo but continually ſet before our Eyes the ineſtimable Bleſſings, which, by your Majeſty's moſt happy Government, we enjoy; the incomparable Benefit of God's true Religion planted and publickly profeſſed amongſt us; your Majeſty's unmeaſurable Clemency in the Execution of your Laws; your wonderful Providence in preſerving us in this happy Peace, free from any hoſtile Invaſion, notwithſtanding the Might and Malice of your Enemies; and many more notable and unſpeakable Benefits which have accompanied your Majeſty's moſt flouriſhing Times, beſides the great and perpetual Honour which it hath pleaſed God to give your Majeſty Abroad, in making you the principal Support of all juſt and religious Cauſes againſt Uſurpers: So that this Iſland hath, in your Majeſty's Days, been as a Stay and Sanctuary to diſtreſſed States and Kingdoms, and as a Bulwark againſt the Tyrannies of mighty and uſurping Potentates: We therefore, calling to freſh Memory theſe your Majeſty's moſt rare and extraordinary Benefits, and weighing with ourſelves the preſent important Neceſſity, and foreſeeing the Flame of thoſe great Miſeries, whereinto, from ſo great Bleſſings, we might fall without good and timely Proviſion; and particularly deſcending into Conſideration, both what an high Proportion of Charge your Majeſty doth preſently ſuſtain in your Dominions and Countries, far above any of your Majeſty's noble Progenitors, beſides the great Succours in *France* and *Flanders*, which we do conceive to be moſt honourable, in Regard of the ancient Leagues, the Juſtice and Equity of them, and alſo how meet and convenient it is, that your Majeſty be further furniſhed with Treaſure for our Defence; we have thought it our bounden Duty, at this Time, moſt willingly and readily to offer, not only this extraordinary Subſidy, but alſo, like good and loyal Subjects, do proſtrate our Lives and Services to be employed at your princely Commandment. And therefore, becauſe theſe our Doings ſhall remain in perpetual Record, to the View of all Poſterities hereafter, we moſt humbly beſeech your moſt excellent Majeſty, that with your gracious Favour we may teſtify and expreſs, that our Intention is, that this which we have now done upon ſo extraordinary and urgent a Neceſſity, to ſo good and gracious a Princeſs, be not drawn a Precedent for the Times to come. And therefore we do here, with the moſt dutiful Humility we poſſibly may, preſent unto your moſt ſacred Majeſty three intire Subſidies, and ſix Fifteenths and Tenths, towards your Highneſs's great Charges for our Defence.

*An Act * for the Grant of three intire Subſidies, and ſix Fifteenths and Tenths, granted by the Temporalty.*

MOST excellent and moſt gracious Sovereign, the Senſe and natural Feeling of the ſingular and ineſtimable Benefits, which we your Majeſty's loyal and loving Subjects, by the rare and particular Providence of God, do enjoy under your moſt happy and politick Government, daily multiplied unto us, beyond all Example of former Ages, ought, in itſelf, not only to take from us all Dulneſs, or improvident Security, but to increaſe more and more a vigilant Jealouſy of the Interruption or Diſturbance of our preſent State and Condition, wherein we feel ſo effectually the ſpiritual Benefit of God's true Religion planted and

* 39 Eliz. Cap. 27. Raſtal.

poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed amongſt us, the Reſtitution of the Imperial Crown of this Realm to the ancient Juriſdictions and Pre-eminences, and the happy and inward Peace of ſo many Years continued, and joined both with Clemency and Juſtice at Home, as well in the moderate Preſſing, or rather, in the benign Remitting of infinite Penalties of your Laws, as in tender and compaſſionate Relieving and Reſtraining of all common Grievances and Oppreſſions, lighting upon the People of this Land, which is become, ſince your Majeſty's moſt happy Days, both a Port and Haven of Refuge for diſtreſſed States and Kingdoms, and a Rock and Bulwark of Oppoſition, againſt the Tyrannies and ambitious Attempts of mighty and uſurping Potentates. This, with many more unſpeakable Benefits, are ſuch as we cannot but, with all Duty and Devotion, lift up our Hearts to God and your Majeſty, in all Thankſgiving and Acknowledgment; and alſo proſtrate and caſt down our Lives, Subſtances, and Services, and whatſoever we have, to be employed at your Royal Commandment. But when we enter into a ſerious and ſettled Conſideration of our preſent Standing, compared with the extreme Fall and Ruin threatened unto us, by the implacable Malice and violent Attempts of our mighty Enemies, preparing and enterpriſing to make a bloody Conqueſt of this your Majeſty's noble Realm, our Native County, and utterly to extinguiſh our Name and Nation, or to reduce the ſame under a miſerable Captivity and Yoke of Foreign Servitude: We do then find the Law of Nature and Neceſſity no leſs ſtrong and forcible, than the Bond of Thankfulneſs and Duty, to make us think all too little, that we can yield and offer for our Defence and Preſervation. And laſtly, when we do behold the rare and wonderful Felicity, wherewith, it hath pleaſed Almighty God to bleſs, from Time to Time, your Majeſty's moſt prudent and provident Councils, and the Executions of them, in the breaking, diſappointing, and diverting of ſo many hoſtile Attempts, which have been ſtill intended and offered againſt this Realm: And when we do fall into the particular Examination, how infinitely your Majeſty's proper Treaſures have been exhauſted, ſince we had any Opportunity in this Sort to yield your Majeſty any actual Demonſtration of our Zeals and Duties, not only by your Majeſty's Maintenance of extraordinary Armies in *Ireland*, to ſuppreſs that unnatural Rebellion, fed by the King of *Spain*, and by Continuance of Aſſiſtance to the *French* King, and the *Low-Countries*; but alſo, by ſetting forth, both royally and providently, at ſundry Times, your Majeſty's Navy and Army to the Seas, even in the Times, when all Things were at the higheſt Prices. By which your Majeſty's Royal Care and Charge, all ſuch Miſeries, as are inſeparable from all Foreign Invaſions, have been deferred and delivered from us your loving Subjects, and, with no ſmall Terror and Confuſion, reverberated on their own Necks, whilſt we at Home have enjoyed all Peace and Tranquillity: And when we make further Obſervation by that Light, which your moſt excellent Majeſty, in a moſt gracious Truſt and Confidence, hath vouchſafed to give us, by letting us not only know, how far onward their moſt dangerous Attempts againſt this Kingdom had proceeded, but alſo hath imparted unto us, what, to the uttermoſt of all his Power and Means, is daily laboured and contrived with all the Princes or States, whom he can infeſt againſt this Kingdom, upon falſe Suggeſtions, thereby the eaſier to contrive our only Ruin and Deſtruction. We do confeſs, moſt gracious Sovereign, that all theſe natural and neceſſary Conſiderations, being duly weighed, have deeply imprinted in our Hearts, both our own imminent Peril, your Majeſty's infinite Care and Love towards us, for whom nothing of your own hath been too dear, and made us know and feel, that no common or ordinary Remedies can be proportionable to theſe extraordinary, growing, and ſwelling Miſchiefs; but that it is high Time for us to reſolve, that, with all Expedition poſſible, this Realm muſt be thoroughly provided of all Things, fit for Maintenance of War, both by Sea and Land, as well by increaſing and repairing of your Majeſty's Royal Navy, which is truly termed the Walls of this Kingdom, and wherein daily, by new Preparations, the Enemy doth labour and ſtrive, if he could, to exceed your Majeſty; as alſo to provide further, that your Majeſty's Coffers may be, in ſome Meaſure, better ſupplied againſt all ſudden Accidents, whereof, though Time muſt diſcover the particular Miſchiefs, yet the Circumſpection and Foreſight muſt only ſecure us from the Perils: To the Effecting whereof, ſeeing ſo ſmall Likelihood doth appear of any Help from Foreign States or Princes, but that the Burthen of the War,

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beſides the Aſſiſting of others, is like to be thrown ſtill on your Majeſty: We do beſeech your Majeſty (as a Pledge of our internal Zeals and Duties, to be further manifeſted hereafter, by the Hazard of our Lives and Fortunes at all Times, for your Majeſty's Service) to vouchſafe, at this Preſent, the gracious Acceptation of theſe Subſidies and Fifteenths, proceeding from chearful and willing Hearts; and becauſe theſe our Doings ſhall remain in perpetual Record, to the View of all Poſterities hereafter, we moſt humbly beſeech your moſt excellent Majeſty, that, with your gracious Favour, we may teſtify and expreſs that our Intention is, that this which we have now done upon ſo extraordinary and urgent a Neceſſity, to ſo good and gracious a Princeſs, be not drawn a Precedent for the Times to come, unleſs it be upon a like urgent Occaſion.

*An Act * for the Grant of four intire Subſidies, and eight Fifteenths and Tenths, granted by the Temporalty.*

MOST gracious and moſt excellent Sovereign, where we your Majeſty's humble, faithful, and loving Subjects, being here, by your Authority, aſſembled in your high Court of Parliament, having entered into due Conſideration of the great and weighty Cauſes, which ought at this Time, more than any other Time, to ſtir up the Hearts of all, that are either well-affected in Religion towards God, Loyalty towards you their dear Sovereign, or Care of their own Safety, and their Poſterities; to conſult timely, and provide effectually, for all ſuch Means, as are, or may be neceſſary, to preſerve both you and us, from thoſe apparent Dangers, whereinto this State may fall through Lack of ſo much Care and Providence as agreeth with the Rules of Nature, and common Reaſon; and therefore much more to be challenged at our Hands, to whom your Majeſty hath vouchſafed to give ſo great Light of your inward Knowledge, and judicious Foreſight of your Enemy's implacable Malice, and their dangerous Plots, contrived againſt this flouriſhing Kingdom, which is, and long hath been, the principal Obſtacle againſt that ſwelling Ambition, which hath ſo blinded their Underſtanding, as they do not only greedily ſeek, but vainly hope, to attain to their unjuſt Pretenſions, coloured with falſe and vain Pretexts and Inſinuations, as far from Truth, as Light from Darkneſs. Foraſmuch as, in Time of our adviſed and mature Deliberation, we have ſufficiently perceived, how great and how ineſtimable Charges your Majeſty hath ſuſtained many Years in ſeeking, by Way of Prevention, to hinder all ſuch Foreign Attempts, as otherwiſe, not provided for, might, long ſince, have proved perilous to the whole Eſtate of the Commonwealth: And whereas it is apparent to all the World, that, if your Majeſty had not exhauſted the greateſt Portion of your private Treaſures, beſides all other Means, derived from our dutiful Affections, as well in making timely Proviſion of all Things neceſſary for your Army and Navy Royal, as in maintaining and uſing the ſame, at Times convenient, that we ſhould, long before this Day, have been expoſed to the Danger of many ſudden and dangerous Attempts of our Enemies, and failed in all thoſe happy Succeſſes, which have accompanied your Royal Actions, taken in Hand, for the Defence of this Eſtate. And ſeeing alſo that, at this preſent Time, your Highneſs hath been put to ineſtimable Charges, in the neceſſary Proſecution of an unnatural Rebellion, within your Highneſs's Realm of *Ireland*, daily fed by Foreign Enemies, whoſe Actions have not only tended to the Subverſion of God's true Religion planted amongſt us, and to the Bereaving of that Realm from your Imperial Crown of *England*, to which it hath been ſo many Years joined and annexed, but conſequently, to the Ruin and Spoil of this moſt flouriſhing Kingdom of *England*; for the better Effecting whereof, the King of *Spain* hath now openly invaded the Realm of *Ireland*, with an Army already landed in the Province of *Munſter*, having not forborn to publiſh the reſolute Purpoſe to uſurp to himſelf that Crown even by plain Conqueſt, in Caſe of Reſiſtance, though coloured with a vain Pretext of an illuſory Donation from the See of *Rome*, whoſe uſurped Authority we have abandoned, as becometh all good Subjects to do, that mean no leſs in Deed, than they profeſs in Name.

* 43 Eliz. Cap. 18. Raſtal.

Foraſmuch

Foraſmuch as we do ſeriouſly conſider, that your Majeſty, and we your faithful and obedient Subjects, are but one Body Politick, and that your Highneſs is the Head, and we the Members, and that no Good or Felicity, Peril or Adverſity, can come to the one, but the other ſhall partake thereof: We have thought it a Matter incident to the natural Care and Senſe we ought to feel of our preſent and future Condition, ſeeing our Enemies are ſtrengthened by Combination with other States, and do receive from their Confederates great Contributions of Treaſure, for Advancement of this, and ſuch like Enterpriſes, whilſt we do ſee, on the other Side, that your Majeſty's Expences only tend to the Advancement of the true Glory of God, and Defence of the Liberty and Felicity of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and of the Kingdoms and Dominions thereof, and are neither ſupported by any other Prince or State, nor carried on in yourſelf with any vain Ambition, or waſteful Humour of conſuming the Treaſure of this Kingdom, to offer to your Majeſty the Diſpoſition of ſuch Means, as God hath given us, to be employed for the Preſervation of God's Cauſe, for the Maintenance of your own Dignity, and all ſuch Rights and Titles, as be annexed to your Imperial Crown, being fully reſolved to leave both Lands and Goods, and whatſoever elſe, that is deareſt unto us, yea, and this mortal Life, rather than we ſhould ſuffer your royal Eſtate to be in any Part diminiſhed, or the Imperial Crown of this Realm deprived of any Honour, Title, Right, or Intereſt thereunto belonging, or ſuffer any foreign Power to grow on further, or to continue ſo long unremoved, as thereby to leave them any Ground to preſume of good Succeſſes, either in this Action now begun, or in any future Enterpriſe, which may tend to the Diſhonour or Peril of any of your Majeſty's Kingdoms.

In which Conſideration, and many others, needleſs to repeat, we have thought ourſelves bound in Thankfulneſs to God for you, and to your Majeſty for ourſelves, who feel the Happineſs of your gracious Clemency and Juſtice at Home, under your happy and politick Government, daily multiplied unto us, beyond the Example of all Ages, to prepare, and make not only our Perſons ready to withſtand, reſiſt, and ſubdue the Force and Puiſſance of our Enemies, be they never ſo potent, but alſo to preſent unto you four Subſidies, and eight Fifteenths and Tenths, thereby to make up ſome ſuch Portion of Treaſure, as may, in ſome Sort, ſupply the great and ineſtimable Charges, which you, our moſt gracious and dread Sovereign, have, and daily muſt ſuſtain. All which, notwithſtanding it be much leſs than may be ſufficient for the preſent and urgent Neceſſities, yet, being a plain Demonſtration of our due Conſideration of all thoſe neceſſary Cauſes, and important Reaſons, which we have heard delivered by your royal Direction, we have thought meet, not only to make it one of our firſt Works, to conſult of that Matter, which, in other Seſſions of Parliament, hath uſually ſucceeded many other Acts and Conſultations; but, ſo to enlarge and improve the Meaſure of this Obiation, which we ſhall offer to your royal Perſon, as it might give your Majeſty an aſſured Teſtimony of our internal Zeals and Duties, to be further manifeſted hereafter, by the Hazard of our Lives and Fortunes, at all Times, for your Majeſty's Service, whereof we beſeech you to vouchſafe, at this Preſent, the gracious Acceptation, as proceeding from thoſe loving and faithful Subjects of yours, who do deſire to teſtify, both in the extraordinary Form and Subſtance of our preſent Offer, that though there liveth, and ever ſhall, in the Hearts of your moſt humble and obedient Subjects, an extraordinary Zeal to your Majeſty's Perſon; yet, that we deſire, and intend that this, which is done to you at this Time, ſhall be no otherwiſe interpreted, than as a lively Monument of thoſe great Duties and Affections, which we do contentedly and comfortably ſtrain for your Majeſty, and in a Manner, far exceeding any former Precedent, becauſe no Age either hath, or can produce the like Precedent of ſo much Happineſs under any Prince's Reign, nor of ſo continual gracious Care for our Preſervation, as your Majeſty hath ſhewed in all your Actions, having never ſtuck to hazard, or rather neglect, for our Preſervation, any Part of thoſe worldly Bleſſings, wherewith Almighty God hath ſo plentifully indued you, in this Time of your moſt happy Government.

King James's *Speech to his firſt Parliament*, Monday, *the Nineteenth of* March, 1603.

BUT of one Thing I would have the Papiſts of this Land to be admoniſhed, that they preſume not ſo much upon my Lenity, becauſe I would be loth to be thought a Perſecutor, as thereupon to think it lawful for them daily to increaſe their Number and Strength in this Kingdom, whereby, if not in my Time, at leaſt in the Time of my Poſterity, they might be in Hope to erect their Religion again. No, let them aſſure themſelves, that, as I am a Friend to their Perſons, if they be good Subjects, ſo am I an avowed Enemy, and do denounce mortal War to their Errors; and that, as I would be ſorry to be driven, by their ill Behaviour, from the Protection, and Conſervation of their Bodies and Lives, ſo will I never ceaſe, as far as I can, to tread down their Errors and wrong Opinions, for I could not permit the Increaſe and Growing of their Religion, without firſt betraying of myſelf, and mine own Conſcience. *Secondly*, This whole Iſle, as well the Part I am come from, as the Part I remain in, in betraying their Liberties, and reducing them to the former ſlaviſh Yoke, which both had caſt off before I came amongſt them. And *Thirdly*, The Liberty of the Crown in my Poſterity, which I ſhould leave again under a new Slavery, having found it left free to me by my Predeceſſors; and therefore would I wiſh all good Subjects, that are deceived with that Corruption, firſt, if they find any Beginning of Inſtinction in themſelves of Knowledge, and Love to the Truth, to foſter the ſame by all lawful Means, and to beware of quenching the Spirit that worketh within them; and, if they can find as yet no Motion [illegible] Way, to be ſtudious to read and [illegible] with learned Men, and to uſe all ſuch Means as may further their Reſolution; aſſuring themſelves, that, as long as they are [illegible] in Religion from us, they cannot be but half my Subjects, be able to do but half Service, and I to want the beſt Half of them, which is their Souls.

The Marquis of *Argyle*'s Laſt Will and Teſtament, with his Character. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages.

IN the Name of *Smectymnus* and *Hocus Pocus*, ſo be it; I *Archibald*, Marquis of *Argyle*, the Devil's Viceroy in the Highlands, and the moſt ſacred Covenant's Protomartyr in the Low, now a Priſoner in the *Tolbooth* at *Edinburgh*; calling to my Mind, that my prefixed bargained Term of Years is even expired, and knowing that all the Town cannot ſave me: Having recollected all my unparalleled Rebellions, Treaſons, Murders, Rapine, Plunderings, Witchcraft, Perjury, Covetouſneſs, and Sacrilege, for which I do expect to receive good Wages at the Hands of my Maſter, do make and ordain this my laſt Will and Teſtament, in Manner and Form following:

Firſt, Becauſe it is of Form to begin ſo, I believe, with *Pythagoras*, that Souls do tranſmigrate, I myſelf being that very *Machiavel* that lived in *Florence* ſome two-hundred Years ſince; and therefore I will, that mine do forthwith after my Diſſolution paſs into one of his Wild-fowl, thence into a *Soland* Gooſe, thence into a *Scotch* Pedlar, thence into a Man whom *Lilly* by the Stars prognoſticated, ſome Ages to come, to be made a notorious Cuckold, ſo that, by that Means, it may be ſure at laſt to come to Heaven.

Secondly, For my Body (ſince the Parliament ſo deteſt that horrid Barbariſm committed on the Marquis of *Montroſe*, that they think it not fit to retaliate it upon me the prime Author thereof) it being at my own Diſpoſal, I requeſt my Executors hereafter named, to ſee it ſolemnly interred with the Spells of the Directory, and laid ſo ſhallow, that,

that, at the next Trump of Sedition, it may by the ſame raiſe-Devil Directory be conjured up again, and meet my exalted Head, that Bound-mark of Presbytery, its *ne plus Ultra*, Hitherto ſhall you go and no further: But I forbid then any ſuch ſuperſtitious Proceſſion, as to my Scandal, and great Offence of the Brethren, was uſed to the gathered Relicks of that late loyal Martyr.

As for my worldly Goods and Eſtate with which the Covenant, that Goddeſs *Diana*, hath bleſſed me, I ſay to it *Preſto Jupiter*, lightly come, lightly go, the wicked Cavaliers will divide the Spoil; what was got by Oppreſſion, will be booned away by the King's Liberality; Had mine been a mean Fortune, it had not probably met with ſuch Extremes. Nevertheleſs, my dear Brethren in Affliction, I have alſo a Portion for you; as I had Time and Opportunity of getting, ſo I had the Wiſdom of hiding and concealing, and what I thus preſerved I give and bequeath in Manner following:

Imprimis, For that great Reverence and Religion I owe to the ſolemn League and Covenant, I give a Thouſand Pounds to the Paſtors and Miniſters of the Church of *Geneva*, towards the erecting a Shrine, or building a Sanctuary, for the Covenant, now perſecuted and driven out of theſe three Kingdoms; whoſe ſacred Aſhes, if they can be found, I will alſo to be there depoſited in a golden Urn, to be provided at the Charge of my Executors: Streightly requiring, that no Tapers, Lamps, Torches, Links, or other Lights, be uſed near the ſaid Shrine, or in the ſaid Sanctuary; it being popiſh, heretical, and impious, and moſt abominable. And I do hereby lovingly requeſt the ſaid Church, ſince our Kirk hath loſt its Keys, immediately to excommunicate the *London* Hangman, and all other Perſons whatſoever, who have had any Hand in burning, or otherwiſe prophaning that moſt holy Thing.

Item, I give 2000 *l.* more for founding a College or Fraternity there, to be chriſtened by the Name of the Society of the Covenant, and for founding a Covenant Reader in that Univerſity, hoping that well diſpoſed Preſbyters will ſo add to this Foundation, that, in a ſhort Time, it may rival for Villainy with that of the Jeſuits.

Item, Whereas the ſad Caſe of Dr. *Burges* hath mightily affected the tender Bowels of the Sifters, who complain there is not a Stone by a Stone of all his late Purchaſes, particularly the great Loſs he hath had by the Fire of the Covenant in his Deanery of *Wells*, to his utter Undoing, and for which he is never likely to have a Brief, I bequeath to him the Sum of 500 *l.* it being a good Competency to keep him in *Bedlam* all the Remainder of his Life.

Item, I give to that little *David* of the Covenant, that Champion of Preſbytery, Mr. *Zachary Croſton*, an Augmentation of 100 *l. per Annum*, as long as St. *Peter's* Bonds abide; and that, through any Diſcouragement or Reſtraint, he may not faint and fall away, I add a Noble a Day for Caudles and Cordials, charging him to ſtand manfully for the Cauſe, he being the chief Standard-bearer, in which this Impreſs is written, *Tu Patronus, ſi Tu deſeris, nos perimus.*

Item, As next in Order, I give to Mr. *Jenkins*, not out of Reſpect to his Love of the Covenant, for Satan, that buffeted him, knows how weak he is in that Point; but for his ſeditious Preachments, for his Turbulency of Spirit, and Reſtleſneſs againſt the King's Government, 500 *l.* I know that is too much, for I deteſt a Recanter with all my Heart, and it is not according to our ſtrict Diſcipline to revoke a Tittle: But, ſeeing how near the Brink Preſbytery is brought, all Things muſt be done to ſupport it, and therefore we muſt make Uſe of Renegado's——Hang him, he ſhall have it; but the Devil do him Good with it, if he recants again.

Item, I will give 10000 *l.* for erecting a Seminary of ſuch Rogues in *Eutopia*, for I cannot perſuade myſelf, there will ever be the like in any of theſe three Kingdoms.

Item, Not to forget Dr. *Wilkinſon*, I give him 20 *s.* to mend the Bellows of his Mouth and Noſe, againſt the next Opportunity of blowing up the Flames of a Civil War; and for his Subdeanery of *Chriſt-Church, Oxon*, a Fart.

Item, To Mr. *Poole* with the red Head (I like him the better for that) I give 300 Marks to buy him ſome Manners, and 500 Marks to buy him more Wit, elſe Preſbytery will ſoon loſe a prating nonſenſical *Cacofuego*, and his Pariſh a troubleſome Tithemonger.

Item, To all thoſe old Preſbyterian Serpents that have ſlipped their Skins, and are winding themſelves into Favour, in the *A la mode* Caſſock, and, in a ſubmiſſive Compliance, lick the Duſt of the Biſhop's Foot, and yet

Keep their Venom within their Teeth, I bequeath to each a *Scotch* Thirteen-pence Half-penny, for the Uſe of Eſquire *Dun*, who ſhall ſhew them Slip for Slip.

Item, I give 420 *l.* for the Building of an Alms-houſe, for the entertaining of all antiquated, exauthorated Elders, who cannot ſufficiently or quietly live in their own Pariſhes.

Item, I give 1000 Marks for the Building of an Hoſpital or Peſt-houſe, for all ſuch as are or ſhall be infected with the *Scotch* Plague, that is, ſuch as want Cloaths, Money, and Friends.

Item, To the ſeveral Sects of Anabaptiſts, Fifth Monarchy-men, Quakers, &c. I give reſpectively ten Groats, to redeem their Meeting-houſes, on Condition they do not jeer that Covenant in which they voluntarily perjured themſelves.

Item, All my Offices and Preferments whatſoever I give freely to thoſe who are diſabled to bear any in *England*.

Item, For perpetual Memory of Preſbytery, I give 100 *l.* for the Caſting the Figure of the Dog in Braſs, that lay with the Elder's Maid, to be placed where the laſt Provincial Claſſis was held in *London*, as a Deſk for the Directory.

Item, To any that can, or ſhall prove Preſbytery to be *Jure Divino*, I will give him three Kingdoms; for then they will not be worth the having, and the Devil's Proffer, and my Legacy, will be all one.

Item, I give to the Wife of *Oliver Cromwell*, for his Keeping the Covenant in the right Senſe by murdering the King, a Groat a Day.

Item, I give to the late Secretary *Thurloe* my Debt due to me from his Maſter and the *Rump*, for Monies expended by me for their Uſe in *Scotland*, which was to be repaid me out of the Commiſſion for Diſcoveries, when I was laſt in *London*, by *Oliver*'s Direction. I underſtand, and I thank him he hath made ſo large a Progreſs in Diſcovering, that he can pay it now to himſelf—The Devil was in me to ſuffer ſuch a pitiful Fellow to whiddle before me.

Item, I give my Debentures to Captain *George Withers*, Eſq; to purchaſe more Biſhops Lands, in Lieu of thoſe he ſacrilegiouſly kept before; and that he may never ceaſe Scribbling of Rhymes, I will not give him a Farthing.

Item, I give to the Independant gathered Churches, under the Cure and Teachings of *Cockain*, *Brooks*, &c. all the ill Qualities of our gaſping Kirk, that by the Impudence and Deceit of their Paſtors, their Ruin alſo may be expedited.

Item, I give to the Clerk of Mr. *Calamy*'s Church a Ring to wear for my Sake, for his great ſuperlative Zeal yet manifeſted to the Covenant—

Item, To all the Sons and Daughters of Preſbytery, who now mourn and lament, I give a Medal (with my ſquint Eyes in it, leering after other Times, and a better Day) to dry up their Tears.

All theſe Legacies and Bequeſts I will and order my Executors to perform and pay the Morrow of the next Puritan Insurrection in *England*, or at St. *Tib*'s *Eve* at night without any Covin or Delay.

As for my own Country, Relations and Friends, I do alſo diſpoſe of my Estate to them, as followeth:

I will, therefore, *firſt*, That the whole *Scotch* Nation be put into Mourning, in Remembrance of thoſe Ruins, Diſhonour, Conqueſt, and Slavery, which my covenanting covetous Deſigns have brought upon it; tho' I would not have my Brethren of the Preſbytery lay that ſo much to Heart, as that they are like to do ſo no more.

As to my Sept, ſo famous heretofore in this Kingdom, as I never did them Good in my Life, ſo they cannot expect otherwiſe at my Death; they have a *Scotch* Privilege now to beg or ſteal where they pleaſe, without any fruſtraneous Dependence or Expectance on my Greatneſs; if my Name will do them any Service, they may make Uſe of it and ſtern, *ſince they are, I fear, rejected of God and Man.*

Item, To my dear Lady, I give and bequeath her full and intire Jointure, which was ſettled firm enough by Law before, thanking her for all the Kindneſs and Benevolence I had from her, when my Keeper was out of the Way.

Item, To my hopeful Son, the Lord *Lorne*, I give the Inheritance of my Qualities, leaving him an equal Portion and Share of Eſtate and

and Honour; the firſt I forfeited from him, and the laſt he never had from me, nor is like to be capable of, ſince he muſt continue and preſerve my hated Nature: I give him my unneceſſary Bleſſing, as it is preſcribed in that moſt exact Form in the Directory.

Item, To the reſt of my Sons and Daughters, ſince I cannot be too indulgent a Father, I adviſe, for their great Conſolation, to read the *Spaniſh* Curate, and take what Portions they pleaſe.

Item, To all my Servants and Retainers, who I doubt not have learned from me, their Maſter, to carve for themſelves, without Bidding, all they can cheat and purloin from my Eſtate, as well as others, beſides my Pronſim of Oat-meal for their Lives, and Hemp for their Deaths.

Item, To my Vaſſals of my Seigniory, I give their long deſired Freedom.

Item, To the Poor of my Pariſh, for every Curſe they give me, the Sum of 000.

And I do make and ordain my loving and intimate Friends, *Archibald Johnſon*, Lard *Wareſton*, and *William Dundaſs*, ſometime Governor of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, Executors of this my Laſt Will, to whom I freely give all the Reſt and Reſidue of my whole Eſtate not hereby diſpoſed, requeſting them, by all the Obligations of Conſcience and Honeſty, to compeer ſuddenly in this Kingdom, and take upon them the Execution of the Premiſſes; no Way doubting or miſtruſting, but that they ſhall be well rewarded.

All this I ratify and confirm by the Myſteries of the Stool of Repentance, on which I devoutly ſet my Breech, and having done, ſealed it with a———

And I do hereby revoke all former Wills by me made, as not being framed according to that holy Pattern of the Covenant, from which, under Damnation, no Man may recede a Tittle; and which I will further to be cut in Braſs, and laid upon my Tomb-ſtone.

Subſcribed,

ARGYLE.

Done in the Preſence of
Sir *John Cherſly*,
David Leſley.

The Character of the late Marquis of Argyle.

SO many remarkable Accidents, ſuch Alterations of Government, Affairs of ſuch Moment and Intrigues of States, do fall in with this Marquis's Memoirs, that it will rather ſeem a Hiſtory, than a Character, to ſpeak him out. His Birth rendered him very noble, and his Education proffered him the Advantage of making it nobler, though for that he was beholden to the firſt Temper of the Times, being by his late Majeſty, to oblige from the Rebellion then on Foot, created a Marquis. He was of Stature ſomething exceeding the Mean, like his own Countrymen the *Highlanders*, with a Bigneſs proportionable to it, his Face ſomewhat long, his Cheeks wide, the Hair of his Beard red, his Eyes very much a-ſquint, ſo that he was nicknamed, in *Scotland*, *Gleed Argyle*; which remembers me of that Proverb—*Quem Deus in oculo notavit, hunc caveto.* There will no more need to be ſaid of his Perſon, which the Hands of the Executioner have ſo lately profaned; nor was there any Thing in him that was ſo good remarkable as to invite to be curious, and it will be beſt for him that he ſleep forgotten, leſt the Remarks of his Face ſhould fright fanciful People like a Spectre. He was one of that wicked Triumvirate, who began, continued, and lived to the End of our Troubles. A moſt dexterous Artiſt in that prime Quality of a *Scot*, Diſſimulation, which was the Ground-work of all the Exploits he did after. If ever he ſeemed what he was, though that be not to be overbelieved, it was in the Matter of the Covenant, which he entered into ſo eagerly and reſolutely, and left it, and the World together, ſo confidently and avowedly; and yet the Middle agreed with neither, when, in the Criſis of the Sincerity, Honeſty, and Loyalty of that Libel, which it ſo highly boaſted of, as to the Maintenance of the King's Perſon, Dignity, and Authority: By this Marquiſs's Counſel, his late Majeſty was delivered into the Hands of the *Engliſh* at *Newcaſtle*. But it is moſt evident, that the right Spelling of *Covenant* is *Covetouſneſs*, and, according to that, he very well kept it, having ſhared a good Part of that 200000 *l.* given the *Scotch* Army for their Departure. He was as verſatile as a Dye, and like

like that, ſometimes, was played always with very lucky Hands, as thoſe Times were, and was every Way as ſquare, ſtood firm on his own Intereſt, and could oppoſe a Broadſide to every Emergency of Fortune, then adored by the Name of *Providence*. He was in with all the ſeveral Uſurpers, and that not by a ſervile Subjection, but as a petty Prince's Intereſt, that could help them, as well by Informing and Diſcovering, as Supplies and Stores, though the latter to *Cromwell* was a mere Braggadocio, and beyond the High Mightineſs of his *Highland* Sovereignty, where his Baſeneſs had loſt him all Reſpect and Obedience. Certainly he was the *Proteus* of the Age, and had not the ſudden Surpriſal of our moſt happy Reſolution ſeized him ſupinely careleſs, and at a great Diſtance (though he hurried up to *London* to wait on his Majeſty) and then bound him faſt, that he could have no Liberty to aſſume any other Shape than what he was then found in, being denied Acceſs or Audience at Court, he might have been a Riddle ſtill, whereas now Death has reſolved him. All that ever he did handſomely was then, and yet that too was but a mere Diſguiſe, ſince ſo diſſonant to the whole Courſe of his Life, a mere Imitation, though ſo well perſonated, that we may well let it paſs for a Bravery, and allow it to him as a Gentleman. He was a great Fomenter of War, yet cared not at all to endanger himſelf, like the Monkey, that took the Cat's Foot to pull the Cheſnut out of the Fire; nor was he much to be blamed, having been, by the Marquis of *Montroſe*, ſo often put to ſhift, and that narrowly too, for his Life: What he wanted of the Generoſity of a Warrior, he ſupplied with the Malice of a Witch, being the moſt implacable revengeful Enemy Loyalty ever met with in *Scotland*. Learned he was, and that not as a Gentleman enough to ſet off and poliſh, but to accompliſh him; and a moſt excellent Way of Speech he had, if it be poſſible any Thing can ſound handſome in *Scotch*, very fluent and rhetorical. His Speeches at his Trial (which were ſaid to have been ſpoken *ex tempore*, becauſe they would not allow him his Delays, but compelled him to preſent Anſwer) are very grave and ſententious, yet polite and very cunning. He was a deep Lawyer, and was formerly Lord Chief Juſtice, I think not much taxed for Bribery (for I take all their Lands, Eſtates, and whatever *Scotland* is worth, not to be worth a Suit, much leſs the Overplus of a Greaſing) yet, all this While, a bad Nature predominated, like ſtinking Oil upon generous Wine; his Potentiality to Virtue never exerted itſelf, while his Vices were moſt notorious and boyant. It is a Truth undeniable, that he died unpitied of all Men, and the Reaſon was this: The Univerſality and Complication of his Vices could miſs no Man's Eyes, and, for one Fault or other, ſo many ſingle Obſervations hit him, as drew a general Odium upon him; excepting only the Preſbyterian Clergy, who always had a particular Reſpect for him, not from any other Inducement, but the Neceſſity of Dependence; the Kirk rides, while the Lords hold the Reins, and keep that People under the Tyranny of that worſe than *Turkiſh* Government. He was the firſt Promoter of the Diſcipline, and that with an Earneſtneſs extraordinary [illegible], no Doubt, he ſerved himſelf principally; and the large Demeſnes he died poſſeſſed of will evidence what Religion he was of. [illegible] beneficial a Thing Reformation [illegible] Projectors. He was at Feud with all his Superiors in *Scotland*, as well as his [illegible] four Marquiſſes, he procured the Execution of three, *viz. Hamilton*, *Huntley*, and *Montroſe*; the other, *Douglas*, through his Impotency and Infirmity, eſcaped him, ſo that he was Lord *Paramount* there. No Doubt his Abilities prompted him to cope with the Greatneſs and Authority of thoſe Noblemen, whoſe great and honourable Families would ſoon have ſmothered and ſuppreſſed an ordinary Envy, while his burned and flamed at their Grave. He was a profound Politician, of a fine mercurial Spirit, of whom it may be ſaid diſjunctively, what his late Majeſty ſaid of the Earl of *Strafford*: He was ſuch a Miniſter of State, that he might well be aſhamed of himſelf, and his Prince as rightly fear him. There was nothing wanting in him but Loyalty and Honeſty, two ſuch diſpenſable Things with Preſbytery, that they could hardly be afforded Room in their Morals for one whole Age together; but it had been direct Blaſphemy to blend and incorporate them into their Religion; however, for ſpecious Pretenſe Sake they crept into the Covenant. He was a moſt indefatigable Carrier on of his Deſigns, and that with very great Expedition, though his Motions were eccentrick, but all turbulent, and violent Efforts are uſually very ſudden: He thrice repaired and recruited his broken Forces by the Marquis of *Montroſe*, before there could be any Thought of an Enemy from him. He was never diſcouraged

couraged with any Diſappointment, but he would ſet the Kirk to thunder out Anathema's, and himſelf make Preſcriptions and Levies together, fight with the Pen and the Sword at one and the ſame Time; but his Eſcripts were not *Julius Cæſar's* Commentaries, but *Caius Marius's* Publications and Sentencings, betwixt whom there is, in many Things, a near Parallel.

To take a nearer View of him and put him altogether, he was abſolutely Maſter of all the Arts of State; it was no Injury to him to ſay it was his Religion, ſince the great Succeſſes of Rebellion led him to a firm Belief that there was nothing but what was manageable by, and feaſible to Policy. But he ſo mixed them both in his Affairs, that it was not eaſily diſcernible to which he owed moſt; by the Firſt, he ſecured his Intereſt, and, had not the Exceſſes of the *Engliſh* Uſurpation out-run him, probably advanced his Deſigns to that which *Hamilton* was ſuſpected of; by the other, he procured an Awe and Reverence to himſelf, being vogued up by the Clergy, and rendered to the Vulgar as a Pattern of Piety, and zealous Promoter of Godlineſs, till ſuch Time as the Vizard of the ſpecious Reformation was laid aſide, and bold-faced Intereſt out-ſtared the Impudence of the Kirk, and made them veil to, and worſhip the Devil they had raiſed.

In a Word, he was the right Antitheſis to that glorious Marquis of *Montroſe*, ſo that whoever hath read, or heard of his Excellencies, may, by Oppoſition, know the Vileneſs of this. Such is the Order of the World, though there be no ſtanding Mean, yet, that the Extremes ſhould balance one another, otherwiſe it had been a moſt hard Fate for *Scotland* (who can impute her Diſhonour and total Conqueſt to no Name originally but *Argyle*) to have produced no renowned Perſon his Contemporary, ſuch as was *Montroſe*, whoſe Glories and Fame may fill up his Chaſms in their Hiſtory.

The Mirrour of worldly Fame. Compoſed by *I. H. Æ.*

Ad hunc modum te forma, atque ita inſtitue, ut paratus ad omnia, promptus ad ſingula, dulcia pariter, & amara deſpicias.

London, Printed for *James Shaw*, and are to be ſold at his Shop near *Ludgate*, 1603. *Twelves*, containing ſixty Pages.

To the right Worſhipful my ſingular good Uncle, Mr. William Hynd, I. H. *wiſheth Continuance of Health, with proſperous Eſtate and Felicity.*

THE extraordinary Kindneſs, which you, right Worſhipful, have ſhewed me from my Infancy, hath conſtrained me to publiſh out Abroad the Manifeſtation of my bounden Duty, that thereby I might be held far from incurring the Blemiſhes of Ingratitude; which Vice the *Perſians* ſo deteſted, as that they held them worthy of due Puniſhment, whom they found more prone to receive, than to requite. Being, therefore, animated thereto, firſt by your fatherly Affection (whereof you have made moſt evident Demonſtration) and, next, for Clearing myſelf of this Suſpicion of my Guilt herein, which, otherwiſe, you might juſtly conceive againſt

gainſt me, I have ſtrained the ſmall Talent I had, to plead my Cauſe in this Behalf; beſeeching you, both for the Pardon of thoſe Wants, wherewith this my ſimple Travel is blemiſhed, through Lack of Learning, and a favourable Acceptance of my bold Unskilfulneſs; which, albeit it is not worthy to be preſented unto your View, yet, notwithſtanding, relying myſelf wholly upon your wonted Clemency, I thought it good, for Want of better Ability, to gratify you with this ſmall Teſtimony of my Good-will; preſuming, that you will weigh rather the Propenſity of the Giver, than the Value of the Gift. And I am the more emboldened herein, in Regard of your Affection unto Learning, whereof you have been a loving Patron, and a bountiful *Mecænas*, of which Thing I myſelf am Witneſs. Learning would quickly vaniſh away, without the Aid and Support of ſuch as you are; which was well conſidered by great Men many hundred Years ſince. For *Philip* of *Macedon* ſo highly eſteemed of *Ariſtotle*, that he committed his Son, *Alexander*, ſurnamed the *Great*, to his Tuition: And he ſo affected good Letters, that he uſed to lay the *Iliads* of *Homer* under his Bed's-head. *Auguſtus Cæſar* ſo loved *Virgil*, that, after his Deceaſe, he diligently kept his Works from the Fire, to the which they were adjudged. I might here likewiſe bring in divers others, not inferior to them for their Favour, and Love to the learned Sort; but, remembering I write to your Worſhip, I will abridge, therefore, that of Purpoſe, which might be more amply illuſtrated; knowing there needeth no Apology to be made unto you in the Behalf of Learning, whoſe Mind hath been ſo addicted to the ſame, that, long ſince, I had been diſcouraged from my Studies, if I had not found you ſo prone to be my Patron. Wherefore, being pricked forward by your Bounty, I preſent, and offer up theſe my Labours unto you, to peruſe them, at ſome Hours, for your Recreation; which, if you ſhould like, it will not only be an eſpecial Means for them to eſcape the Bites of Baſilisks Brood, but I ſhall think my Pen ſet to the Book in a happy Hour, and it will encourage me to attempt ſome Matter of more Weight, as ſoon as Opportunity ſhall be anſwerable to my Deſire. The Almighty bleſs and prolong your Days here, that we may behold the Conſummation of happy old Age in your Worſhip, before you ſhall be ſummoned to that everlaſting Happineſs, which is always permanent, without Mutability.

Your Worſhip's moſt humbly devoted,

J. H.

To the Reader.

Courteous and gentle Reader,

IF, *in this* Mirrour of worldly Fame, *any Thing is deviſed, which ſhall delight thee, and if ſome other ſhall not pleaſe thee, yet, in Reſpect of that which doth like thee, afford me thy good Word for my Good-will, in paſſing over the ſame favourably to others, with whom, perhaps, it may be more agreeable. For all Men are not of one and the ſelf-ſame Diſpoſition; for that, wherewith one is delighted, another, oftentimes, doth not regard, and what ſome do deteſt, ſome other chiefly doth eſteem. But ſhall I think, that my ſimple Travel herein ſhall eſcape the Tongues of the Envious, who are always ready, with a prejudicate Opinion, to condemn before they underſtand the Cauſe? No, ſurely; for,*

for, in the former Times, if thoſe which wrote very learnedly, as Homer, Marcus Varro, Cicero, *and* Virgil, *could not ſhelter themſelves from the Sting of* Zoilus, *How may I think that theſe, my Imperfections, ſhall paſs, where many are ſo quick-ſighted, as that they will, at the firſt, behold the leaſt Tittle that is not rightly placed? And albeit, perhaps at the firſt, by ſome it will be embraced for the Novelty thereof, yet, at the Length, it will be contemned as a Thing unſavoury, and little worth; for the Nature of Man is ſuch, as that it is corrupted always with Curioſity. The faireſt Garden, wherein is Variety of Colours and Smells, cannot affect all Men's Fancies alike, but are either miſliked, or, in ſeeming not pleaſant, rejected. No Artificer can fit all Men's Minds alike, nor any Orator pleaſe every Man's Humour; but, where his Cuſtomers are too dainty and nice, his Workmanſhip ſhall be controuled, and deſpiſed; and, where the Auditors are too raſh and careleſs in Regarding, his Rhetorick ſhall be condemned; and, to conclude, no Work is ſo exquiſitely performed, and abſolutely perfect, but ſome are ready and prone to reprehend and find Fault with it. Yet, in the wiſer Sort is my greateſt Hope, becauſe they are wiſe; and, preſuming upon their Favours, I doubt not, but they will pardon that which is done amiſs, and afford me a favourable Conſtruction for my Pains. Farewel.*

H. Æ.

WHEN I record within myſelf the infinite Misfortunes, and ſudden Motion of Things which are ſubject unto Mankind, then ſurely I find nothing more frail, than mortal Life, nothing more unquiet. For thoſe Gifts which Nature hath endued us withal, as Memory, Underſtanding, Prudence, and the like; I ſee that they are daily turned, either to our Deſtruction, or continual Labour. Beſides, we are not only expoſed to vain and unprofitable Cares, but thoſe Things alſo, which are grievous and hurtful unto ourſelves, daily ſo afflict us, not only for the preſent, but alſo for the Time to come, as that we ſeem to ſtand in Fear of nothing more, than when we ſhall be leaſt miſerable. Furthermore, we do ſo hunt after the Cures and Remedies of our Maladies, as that we make this Life of ours, which, if it were rightly governed, would ſeem moſt pleaſant, nothing elſe but a Sea of Troubles; whoſe Beginning Blindneſs and Oblivion do poſſeſs, whoſe Proceeding Labour and Travel do moleſt, whoſe End Sorrow and Vexation do diſturb. Which Thing every Man ſhall find true, if judicially he will meaſure out the whole Courſe of his Life. What Day have we ever ſeen, which hath brought unto us Quietneſs? Or what Eaſe have we found in any Day? Nay rather, what Day hath not almoſt ſtifled us with Anguiſhes; and what Thing ever hath been ſo ſecure in the Morning, whoſe Glory, before the Evening, ſome ſiniſter Chance hath not eclipſed? The Occaſions whereof, although they are many, yet notwithſtanding, if we will ſincerely acknowledge it, we ſhall find that the greateſt Fault conſiſteth in ourſelves. For, that I may omit to ſpeak of other Calamities, with which we daily are oppreſſed, how great is that War which we wage with Fortune, whereof Virtue by herſelf is able to make us Conquerors; but we willingly, and wittingly, have, and do daily ſwerve from her; therefore we are conſtrained to encounter with her, as with an implacable Enemy, being ourſelves, by Nature, feeble and unarmed, and able no Ways to make any Reſiſtance; at which ſhe levelling, one While lifteth us up, and another While caſteth us down, and windeth us about in ſuch a Manner, as that it were more tolerable for us to be utterly vanquiſhed. And what hath been the Cauſe of this, but our Lenity and Niceneſs? We are toſſed hither and thither like Balls, being Creatures ſhort-lived, but infinitely tormented. Which Things being ſo, to what Shore ſhall we faſten our Ship, to what Council ſhall we apply our Minds, ſeeing, beſides the preſent Evil, ſomething hangeth over our Heads, which may moleſt us, ſomething before our Eyes, may terrify us? Neither are ſuch Miſhaps incident to any living Creatures, ſo much as to Man, for they, after Dangers

gers paſt, live ſecure; but we, by Reaſon of our Wit, and Sharpneſs of Mind, muſt contend always as it were with that three headed Dog, *Cerberus*. The War, which we make with Fortune, is of two Sorts, and either of them fearful, yet both to be undertook; the one needeth Reins to curb and keep back the Affections, and the other Comfort; here the Swelling of the Mind muſt be ſuppreſſed, there Wearineſs and Travel muſt be refreſhed and eaſed. For I think it a Matter of more Labour for a Man to govern himſelf in Proſperity, than in Adverſity; to which I am the rather drawn to condeſcend, becauſe I find in myſelf this Saying to be true, that, *Inſidioſior eſt fortuna blanda quam minax*; which Thing alſo Experience and Example maketh manifeſt. For many there have been, which have ſuffered many Griefs, as Poverty, Baniſhment, Impriſonment, Death, and lamentable Diſeaſes worſe than Death, with a patient and quiet Mind; but few or none at all could be found, which lived contented with their Riches, with their Honours, with their Principalities, but that ſtill they affected more, and never were ſatisfied. Others likewiſe, which in all Reſpects ſeemed ſufficiently fortified againſt all the Aſſaults of Fortune, and whom no Threats could ever vanquiſh, Pleaſure hath. How many *Roman* Emperors, how many foreign Princes being plucked from their regal Thrones, either by the Hands of their Enemies, or their own Countrymen, have loſt both their Government, and Life? Neither doth Antiquity only afford us theſe, but our Age alſo hath brought ſome forth, little inferior to thoſe, which have been baniſhed, taken Captives, ſlain in War, beheaded at Home, and, that which is moſt vile to utter, killed with Chains, and horribly quartered. Again, ſuch is the Inconſtancy of Man, that, if by any adverſe Fortune thou art brought into Adverſity, why then thoſe which were, but now no longer, thy Friends, will wonder at thee, as a prodigious Monſter, fear from afar; and then thou thyſelf [illegible] able to determine within thyſelf, whether [illegible] thou mighteſt bewail the Loſs of Friends or the Loſs of Goods. But theſe Things I omit, and haſten to thoſe whereof I intend to treat, which in Man's Life are moſt uncertain, and moſt miſerable.

CHAP. I.

Of YOUTH.

THE flouriſhing Time of Youth is termed by many Philoſophers *the firſt vain Hope of Man*, which hath and will deceive Thouſands. This Flower in a Moment withereth; and Who can call that perfect, unto which much is wanting? Yea, that little which it hath is moſt uncertain. Neither, in Reſpect that it is far from Old-age, is it therefore not near Death; for, amongſt the many Parts of our Life, that is moſt ſubject to Dangers, which too much Security maketh unprovided. Nothing is ſo near unto Life as Death, which then, when it ſeemeth to be furtheſt off, is at Hand: Whereſoever you betake yourſelf, it is at your Heels, and ready to execute her Terror upon you: Nothing more fleeting than Youth, nothing more moveable; for the Time of it is unſtable, it flieth away by little and little without any Noiſe; yea, when we ſleep, and are at our Paſtimes, Death creepeth upon us. O! if the Speedineſs of Time, and Brevity of this our Life, were as well known in the Beginning of it, as it is in the End, then would we not let looſe the Reins of our Affections unto ſo many unlawful Concupiſcences as we do. This Time is not only incredulous, and not ſeen in the Differences of Cauſes, but alſo ſo much carried away with Self-love, as that it ſcorneth and rejecteth good Admonitions, being, as *Solomon* ſaith, the firſt Step to Folly. Wherefore nothing doth detect and lay open unto us the Errors which are in Youth, ſo well as Old-age; which *Tertullian*, in his *Apologeticum*, bringeth in excellently ſpeaking to young Men, ſaying: Ye have not marked and given Attention to that which ye ought, and was requiſite, ſet down unto you by the grey Heads; but have been carried away with all Manner of voluptuous Living; the Inconveniencies of which if any would in Time diligently conſider, that Man ſhould be like a Tree planted by the Rivers of Waters (whereof *David* maketh Mention) that will bring forth its Fruit in due Seaſon; whoſe Leaf ſhall not fade, and whatſoever he ſhall do ſhall proſper. This Age, ſince it firſt began,

gan, hath continual Motion, and never reſteth; but, as one Day thruſteth on another, and as one Water is driven with the conſequent, ſo runneth this, and, as *Cicero* ſaith, *volat*, or, as *Maro*,

——— *Celeres neque commovet alas:*

And, as they, which are carried in a Ship, oftentimes, beſides their Expectation, are arrived upon a Coaſt; even ſo young Men come unto their Ends, when they think upon nothing leſs than it. But ſome, perhaps, will ſay, That no Part is ſo much diſtant from the End, as the Beginning: True it is, and then it would be rightly ſo, if all in general might live in indifferent Spaces; but now by many Ways and more often Youth dieth, whereby it cometh to paſs, that, for the moſt Part, he is more near his End, which ſeemeth to be furtheſt off. In a Word, the greateſt Felicity in a Moment is obſcured, and nothing ought to be deſired by thoſe which are of a ſtout Courage, which hath not long Continuance. Awake from Sleep, thou young Man, for it is high Time to open thy heavy Eyes; accuſtom thyſelf now at length to meditate upon heavenly Things, to love and deſire them, and, on the contrary Side, to deſpiſe thoſe which are momentary; learn of your own Accord to depart from them, becauſe they cannot long abide with you, and in your Mind forſake them, leſt you be forſaken. For they err, which ſay, that Youth is ſtable and permanent; there is nothing more voluble than Time; Time is a Chariot, upon which all Ages are carried, and therefore there can be no long Continuance of any one Thing.

CHAP. II.

Of BEAUTY.

AND, as Youth, ſo the Beauty of the Body is frail, in Regard that it both cometh, and vaniſheth away with Time; which if it could conſiſt ſtill, and have no Motion, then, perhaps, Beauty might do the like; but, being grounded upon a weak Foundation, it flieth away like a Shadow, and cannot long abide. Accidents may periſh, although the Subject ſtandeth; and, it falling, they muſt needs fall: But, amongſt all the Qualities which vaniſh away with Man's Body, nothing is more ſwift than Beauty, which, like a Flower, being in the Hands of thoſe which admire and praiſe it, fadeth: A ſmall Froſt will nip it, and a little Wind will beat it down, or on a ſudden it is trod under Feet of thoſe which paſs by it. To conclude: Rejoice and boaſt of it as much as thou wilt, behold, the Time cometh, and that ſpeedily, which with a thin Veil will cover thee; and then Death will ſhew of what Worth the Beauty of a living Man is; and not only Death, but Old-age alſo, and the Space of a few Years, or the ſudden Sickneſs of one Day. For there is no external Thing, which, by Standing or Continuing, is not conſumed and brought to nothing; neither hath any Thing ever affected a Man with ſuch Joy at the Beginning, as it hath with Grief at the Departure. Theſe Things (unleſs I am deceived) the fair *Roman* Prince *Domitian* ſometime tried; who, writing to his Friend, I would have you know, ſaid he, That nothing is more grateful unto a Man, than Beauty, and nothing more ſhort. But, admit this Gift of Nature were durable, why then I ſee no Reaſon, why that ſuperficial Comelineſs, for the Coverture of ſo baſe a Skin, ſhould have any Thing elſe beſides to obſcure ſo many filthy and horrible Things, which do nothing elſe but flatter and delude the Senſes. Therefore it is great Praiſe and Commendation for a Man or Woman to be delighted with thoſe Goods which are certain and true, which are not falſe and deceitful: For, if the Form and Stature of thy Body is elegant and neat, why then thou haſt a Maſk for thy Face, a Snare for thy Feet, and Lime for thy Feathers, which will ſo intangle thee, as that thou ſhalt hardly eſcape; thou ſhalt not be able to put a Difference between Truth and Falſhood; thou ſhalt not have the Power to be any ways virtuous; for Beauty hath detained many from Embracing Honeſty, and hath thruſt them into the contrary headlong. Nothing is more to be admired at, than the Vanity of this Evil; for, With how many Delights and Pleaſures are young Men delighted! What Labours do they not undergo! What Dangers do they not heap upon their own Heads, that being not fair labour to appear

pear! How unmindful are they, through the Desire of this, of their own Health and Safety! How much Time in Trimming them up is vainly spent! And how many honest, profitable, and necessary Things in the mean Time are neglected! Enjoy, therefore, this thy short and frail Good, this thy vain and foolish Joy, which will take both Rest and Time from thee; which will daily torment thee; which will afford thee Matter of Labour sufficient, Causes of Dangers enough; which will set on Fire thy Affections, and finally procure thee more Hate than Love; not, perhaps, amongst Women, but amongst Men daily thou shalt be suspected. Thy Wife also will be jealous over thee, seeing that no one Thing giveth more Suspicion of Mistrust, than it. The Comeliness of thy Face and Colour shall be altered; thy golden Hair shall perish, and grey shall succeed; thy Cheeks and fair Forehead shall be full of Wrinkles, and an obscure Mist shall darken thy chrystal Eyes; thy ivory Teeth shall in such Manner be defiled with Filth, as that they shall not only be of another Colour, but the Tenor of them likewise shall be changed; thy straight Neck and nimble Shoulders shall be bowed; thy Throat shall be rumpled, and, when thou shalt see thy lean Hands, together with thy withered Feet, thou wilt immediately say, they were none of thine; and, in a Word, the Day will come, wherein thou shalt not know thyself in a Glass. All these Things (lest thou mightest not say, that thou wast foretold, and so be astonished at the Sight of them) I tell thee, will fall upon thee sooner than thou art aware. What shall I say more in brief, than that which *Apuleius Medaurensis* did? *Expecta pauliſper, & non erit.* Oh, how much better were it, that the Beauty of the Mind were answerable to that of the Body, how sweeter would it be, and more certain, subsisting by her Laws in the Comeliness of good Behaviour, and fit Disposing of her Qualities! that is to be desired; and for that we must labour, which neither long Iniquity of Time can terrify, nor Sickness extinguish, no not Death itself. If we would so endeavour, then should we be truly fortunate, and seem more notable by our Beauty, and our Virtue more gracious. For that without Virtue doth not so much grace, as it doth disgrace the Mind; yea, very often bringeth it into Danger. Finally, Why should we glory in that which is neither ours, nor can long continue with us? If we have it, then it is, as our Health, subject daily unto many Diseases, against which, old Age is armed with a Thousand Kinds of Griefs, envying the Prosperity thereof: Against which, Pleasure displayeth her Banners, and against which, we must, as with a familiar Friend, contend. O how much better had it been for Nature to have made thee deformed, she then would have allwaged the Fury of thy violent Affections, and brought thee to such a Pass, as that thou shouldest have said, that she had given thee not that wherewith thou oughtest to be delighted, but that from which, as by a Conduit-pipe, thou mightest derive many virtuous Profits unto thy self; she would have adorned thee with that, which Sickness could not infringe, which Age could not impeach, and which Death could not have touched! Beauty hath made many Adulterous, but few or none at all chaste. It hath drawn many, through the Inticements of Pleasure, to an infamous Death. To be brief, and not to hold you over-long, know this, that, by the Deformity of the Body, the Mind is not defiled, but by the Comeliness of the Mind the Body is adorned: This therefore would not disgrace thee, but would lay open by Virtue a Way for thy further Honour. If Nature had born *Helena* ill-favoured, or (that I may speak of Men) *Paris*, perhaps then *Troy* would have stood. Amongst all other Things Virtue hath this Property, it may be gotten, but not taken away: And, when other Things are at the Arbitrement of Fortune, only Virtue is free from her Laws, and shineth more bright, by how much Fortune maketh Resistance.

CHAP. III.

Of NOBILITY.

OF all those Things which either I have read or heard, nothing ever pleased me so much as that of the Poet, *Virtute decet non ſanguine niti:* And, indeed, so it behoveth every one which will rightly be termed noble to do. For to boast of our Pedigree which we fetch

fetch from others, and not beſtowed upon us for our Deſerts, is a Thing very ridiculous, and their Worthineſs is the Mark of degenerate Succeſſors: Neither doth any Thing ſo much make evident the Blots and Spots of Poſterity, as the Splendor and Glory of Predeceſſors. And, unleſs you can fetch true Praiſe from yourſelf, expect it not from others: For it is an eſpecial good Thing, that others ſhould be known by you, and not you by others. But from whence is your Nobility drawn? (for your Foreſathers had never been noble, if they had not done ſomething worthy of Commendation.) Is it from the Excellency of your Blood? Why then every Man ſhould be honoured alike, ſeeing that, in a Manner, every Man's Blood is of one and the ſelf-ſame Colour: And, if at any Time any one is found more perſpicuous than another, the Cauſe of that is Health, and not Nobility. But perhaps you will ſay, that the Excellency of your Parentage is great: I anſwer, that your Baſeneſs, by Reaſon of that, may be greater. For I confeſs, that you receive from your Parents both a Body and a Patrimony; but he, who hath true Nobility, very ſeldom or never doth tranſlate it over unto his Progeny: And he, who is not endued with it at ſome Times ſeeth it abide in thoſe which muſt afterwards ſucceed him. How famous had *Cæſar* been for the Renown which he received from his Father? And how baſe was the Son of *African*, who, if he might have been noble by Tradition, had ſufficiently been adorned with it? But his Father, by Reaſon of too much Affection, did not only not illuſtrate him, but received by him a wonderful Eclipſe of his own Glory. Whereby it appeareth, that that, which Inheritance hath moſt precious, is darkened by the Judgment and Diſpoſition of him who is the Succeſſor. A Thouſand ſuch could I rehearſe, if I had Time, or that it were expedient, who, tho' they deſcended from a noble Race, yet were moſt obſcure. If you would live privately ſequeſtered from all Troubles, you cannot, becauſe that Benefit is taken away by thoſe which daily accompany you, which daily publiſh Abroad your gallant Sports, your ſtately Living, your beautiful Wife, your brave Children, and, in a Word, which make Inquiſition after all your Exerciſes, after all the Manner of your Life: So that there is nothing you ſpeak or do, which is not delivered out Abroad, be it never ſo good, or never ſo bad: And theſe are the Fruits of your Nobility. If you once do any Thing amiſs, you are held always afterwards inexcuſable: Whereas true Nobility, which is gotten by Life, and not by Birth, is always ſo annexed unto Virtue, as that it is never culpable, and after Death is not forgotten; but the other Antiquity darkeneth, and ſo taketh it away. For how many noble Families have there been, whoſe Memory is utterly aboliſhed? How many flouriſhing Houſes have we ſeen which now Oblivion hath obfuſcated? And whereupon may we conjecture the Reaſon, but that Time doth diminiſh and conſume all, and not only Families and Houſes, but Cities and Towns alſo wax old, and the World itſelf, if I be not deceived, groweth to an End. And thou, whoſoever thou art, which boaſteſt of thy ancient Houſe, take heed, leſt, in Proceſs of Time, the Root of thy Glory, with whoſe Flowers thou art now decked, periſheth not. For every Thing, which hath its Beginning from Time, endeth with Time; but your Glory had its Riſing from it, and therefore muſt vaniſh with it: And that, which Time hath brought forth, and made greater, being at the greateſt, overthroweth it. Therefore that is a vain Ambition which leaneth not upon its own Merit, but upon the Oblivion of others: Which Thing happeneth unto you, not that thereby you might be the nobler, but more obſcure. For there is but one Beginning of all Things, but one Creator of Mankind, one Fountain of all, which one While being troubled, and another While quiet, by Turns is derived to every one of us: But upon this Condition, that that, which was formerly clear, may be made dark; and that, which was darkened, may again be clarified. And hereupon it cometh to paſs, that he, who Yeſterday held the Plough, To-day holdeth Arms; and he, who did ride through Cities and Towns upon a Horſe richly trapped, is on a ſudden become a Herdſman: So that the Saying of *Plato* is true, *Neminem regem non ex ſervis oriundum, neminem ſervum non ex regibus.* Whereby it appeareth, that this Nobility, with which you are puffed up, is nothing elſe but a vain and ſottiſh Delight, ſubject never to any Conſtancy, always variable, always fleeting. Deſiſt therefore to ſubſtitute thoſe into any Place of Honour making for you, which for themſelves have atchieved ſome notable Exploit, never for you. And for that Cauſe did they endeavour to liſt themſelves up with the

Wings

Wings of Virtue, that ſo they might be ennobled with true Nobility. To conclude; this Excellency of Name and Fame is very ſhort, and look how little ſoever it is, it is no ways appertinent to you. Do not therefore ſhadow your Name with other Men's Virtues, leſt that an impartial Judge cometh, and, in giving every Man his Due, maketh you deſtitute of all, and, in Lieu of Honour, you ſhall heap upon yourſelf nothing but Shame and Ignominy. As for Example, amongſt many Thouſands take but theſe, *Tullius* and *Marius*, *Aulus* and *Clodius*, and balance in one Scale the two firſt, and the two latter in the other; and then it will appear who is the weightieſt, and how much *Rome* will give Place to *Arpinum*. In a Word, true Nobility is not hereditary, for very ſeldom or never you ſhall ſee an excellent Man have an excellent Child. Wherefore, either imitate, continue, or increaſe by Practice your Predeceſſors Nobility, or elſe perſuade yourſelf that it is rather obſcured by you, than you made famous by it.

CHAP. IV.

Of PRIDE.

IT is daily ſeen, and Experience maketh it manifeſt, that Men, when, by a proſperous Gale of Fortune, they are lifted up to the Haven of their Deſires, do then immediately ſwell, and wax big with the Sweetneſs of their Felicity; rejecting God, who gave Eſſence to that which before was not, and ſcorning the good and wholeſome Admonitions of wiſe Teachers. With this Sin of Pride too many are too well acquainted, and no Marvel, if ſo many through it are brought to Confuſion; for God reſiſteth the Proud, and giveth Grace to the Humble and Meek. Nothing is more hateful to him than it; for, if *Lucifer*, that Angel of Light, was thrown down into Hell, by Reaſon of this one Sin, What ſhall become of thee, thou Sinner, who art addicted to many Millions of Sins? Why ſhouldeſt thou be ſo puffed up? Art thou not mortal? Art thou not a grievous Sinner, expoſed to a thouſand Miſhaps, obnoxious to an uncertain Death? Doſt thou not remember thyſelf to be miſerable? Think upon that which *Homer* ſaith:

Nihil miſerius terra nutrit homine.

The Earth yieldeth nothing more miſerable than Man.

Is the Fragility of thy Limbs a Cauſe why thou art proud, the Brevity of Life, the Blindneſs of thy Mind, diſquieted amongſt moſt vain Hopes, and continual Fears, the Oblivion of Things paſt, the Ignorance both of preſent and to come? Do the Ambuſhments of thy Enemy ſtir thee up to it, the Death of thy Friends, continual Adverſity, fugitive Proſperity? If theſe be the Steps, by which you aſcend to Pride, they are likewiſe the Steps which tumble you down, headlong, to Deſtruction. Wherefore ſhouldſt thou be delighted with it, ſeeing it is the Diſeaſe with which Fools are oppreſſed? Wherefore ſhouldſt thou hunt after it, ſeeing that, when thou art dead, Serpents, Beaſts [illegible] inherit thee? But the Begi[illegible] forſake God, becauſe a M[illegible] him, which created him, [illegible] of all Sin is Pride. Overco[illegible] Affections, and deform not [illegible] with this one Vice; corru[illegible] the Favour of many goo[illegible] greater Fault, than the Cauſ[illegible] baniſh it from thee with th[illegible] try, with the Reins of P[illegible] Propagation, thou beeſt [illegible] whole Multitude to an ing[illegible] God, as I have ſaid, reſiſte[illegible] and nothing is more monſtr[illegible]

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of DANCING.

IRON ſharpeneth Iron, ſaith *Solomon*, and one Vanity draweth on another; and that which cometh behind is, for the moſt Part, greater, and more notorious; as it is apparant in this Age of ours, which daily hunteth after nothing ſo much as them. For, amongſt the frivolous Pleaſures, which, as I may ſo term it, raviſh Men's Senſes with Delight, not any one is more coveted than that of Dancing; from which nothing proceedeth, but that which favoureth of Luſt, hateful to every honeſt Man, and ought, in General, to be a Diſgrace to all. The Affections of the Mind are made known by nothing ſo well, as by the Body; for the Caſting of the Hands, a moveable Foot, a rolling and wanton Eye, argueth ſome evil Motions to conſiſt within the Mind. If, therefore, you will be modeſt, have a Regard, that neither you do any Thing effeminately, nor ſpeak wantonly, ſeeing that Motion, Sitting, Lying, Geſture, Laughter, Gate, and Speech are the Signs of the Mind, and very often, upon ſmall Occaſions, are detected. Beſides, what can be more abſurd, than for a Man, not hearing the Muſician's Inſtrument, to be leaping and ſkipping amongſt a Company of fooliſh Women, and Men worſe than they? But admit he doth (which, for the moſt Part, is without Grace, Meaſure, Dexterity, and good Order) why then he heapeth up Madneſs upon Madneſs. No, thou art not ſo much delighted for the Preſent, as thou art for Hope of a future Delight. Dancing is the Voluntary which is plaid before a Paſſage is made to unlawful Deſires; this is that, which, at one and the ſelf-ſame Time, baniſheth away both Fear and Shame; this is that which provoketh Men to Luſt, being a moſt licentious Recreation: And this is that Delight, which you term Dancing, being a *Paſtime without all Hurt*, as you ſay, by which Coverture you obſcure the Offence; for, if it were only for honeſt Recreation, then would it be practiſed amongſt Men, and amongſt Women ſeverally; but, not being ſo exerciſed, many Inconveniencies do ariſe, which are able to make a general Diſſolution of thoſe good Qualities, which are incident in Man. No Man ſhall dance with King *David* before the Lord, leſt, perhaps, his Wife hath him in Deriſion; but, amongſt many now-a-days, it is commonly uſed, and not only no Deriſion thereupon enſueth, but wonderful Admiration. And why? Becauſe of itſelf it is a moſt fooliſh Thing, and bringeth more Tedioufneſs, than Delight. Hereupon ſprang that Saying: *In circuitu impii ambulant*; for it hath been the Cauſe which hath brought unto Men much Diſcredit, and hath been the only Means why many Women have loſt their Chaſtity, even upon that Day wherein their nuptial Rites have been ſolemniſed. Whenſoever, therefore, thou ſhalt be ſo affected, then take this as a Canon and Rule (to direct thee from ſwerving, to uphold thee from falling) that thou uſeſt modeſtly, and very ſeldom, thoſe Things, from which thou canſt not refrain and abſtain thyſelf; that ſo, Temperance being thy Guide, thou mayeſt, with Facility, obſcure thoſe Things, which will argue effeminate Paſſions to be predominant in you. I illuſtrate this not with Example, becauſe the Imitation of worthy Men is not always expedient; for every feathered Fowl hath not ſufficient Vigour to follow an Eagle, and many honeſt Men moſt commonly are repugnant to that, which, in their Predeceſſors, did ſeem laudable. *Cato*, being cumbered with the Cares of the Commonwealth, was wont to relevate his Mind with Wine, which Thing *Solon* likewiſe did; whom many afterwards, being willing to imitate, did abuſe that with Drunkenneſs, which they uſed for Reſtorative. Wherefore, if Counſel may any Whit prevail with you, *Firſt*, Drink Wine but ſeldom, and, *Secondly*, Abſtain always from Dancing. For there are *many*, and *ſundry more* honeſt *Kinds* of Recreation, *with which you may better* refreſh your diſdainful Mind; but with this Caution, always to think, upon whatſoever you go about, your Adverſary's Eyes to be fixed, ready always to blemiſh the Luſtre of it, by taking Exceptions; for it is more Commendation, that your Enemies ſhould be aſtoniſhed at your Abſtinence and Gravity, than your Friends excuſe your Looſeneſs and Laſciviouſneſs. And, indeed,

indeed, that Glory is worthy the Applauſe of many, unto which no Man can object any true Accuſation, much leſs dareth a falſe; for true and perfect Virtue terrifieth the Accuſer, but a Mean kindleth Wrath. As touching Sobriety, I had rather have thee reſemble *Cæſar*, and ſo to fall into Miſlike with Wine, than *Cato*, whoſe objected Ebriety *Seneca* ſo confuted, as that the Barretor did ſay, That an honeſt Accuſation will effect a Matter with more Facility, than an abſurd *Cato*. But concerning that whereof we now treat; dance I would not have thee, otherwiſe than *Scipio*, or drink Wine, than *Cato*; that, by ſo doing, you may not only not incur the opprobrious Speeches of wicked and ſlanderous Men, but call ſuch an Aſtoniſhment upon thoſe that are your Foes, as that they may hold you in daily Admiration.

CHAP. VI.

Of APPAREL.

IT is manifeſt, that the Knowledge of never ſo many Things, without either a Grace, or a certain Kind of pleaſing Delivery of the ſame, not only is exquiſite in Praiſe, yet meriting due Commendations, though not in the Excellency or Height thereof; ſo likewiſe to ſpeak much, and to enter into the Handling or Diſcourſe of many Matters; for one that knoweth little, and is but ſlightly travelled in the truly-conceived Paths of Literature, not only diſcovers an ineducated Rudeneſs, and lame Ignorance of Letters, but oftentimes induceth unto himſelf Danger, and many are offended very highly, as *Marcus Tullius* at large, and learnedly, hath written. And therefore, to let us underſtand that it is requiſite, before ſomething is touched, to know very well what we undertake to ſpeak and diſcourſe of, and to apprehend a right Conceit what we ſuppoſe we know indeed; to argue with ſhort and pithy Diſputations, thereby to pull on Attention, and avoid the Miſery of being thought to be tedious; to contend mildly, and, *laſtly*, to write methodically, and with a good Grace, being indeed an eſpecial Introducement of a reading Spirit. The Ancients always thought it a moſt frivolous Thing (as in many excellent Authors it is recorded) for Men to glory in the outward Coverture of the Body; but many now-a-days, contrary to them, do not only account it a Thing not inglorious, but that Patrimony alſo which they have, although it be but ſmall, do ſo laviſh out, moſt commonly, upon Apparel, as that their Diet is altogether unprovided for; yea, we are all ſo affected, as though there reſted amongſt us a Kind of Sympathy, and Concordance of Diſpoſitions. *Firſt*, It is not good, becauſe that thoſe Things, which are pure and good, love not to be obſcured; but our common Cuſtom is, to darken thoſe Things, which are filthy, with moſt choice Colours. *Secondly*, It will ſtrike an Aſtoniſhment into thee, when thou ſhalt ſeriouſly bethink what thou art by Nature. *Thirdly*, It is not expedient; for the learned Man, *Criſpus*, could ſay, That it was not beſeeming for a Man to be extraordinarily attired: Let Men labour, ſaith he, and let Women be gallantly clothed; for, in a Man, ſtately Apparel is the Standard of Pride, and Harbour for Luxury. I will not rehearſe unto you religious Men, which, being half naked, have repelled the Rigour of the Winter's Cold. And I know very well, that too much Plenty maketh a Man [illegible] Have a Regard to that which [illegible] remember *Auguſtus Cæſar* [illegible] wealthy, who never otherwiſe [illegible] than like a private Man, [illegible] made either by his Wife, [illegible] or by any other of his Ni[illegible] corded of him; and ſo he [illegible] the World, wearied with La[illegible] men, which were of his [illegible] thou, perhaps Slave to [illegible] through the ſartheſt Coun[illegible] *Belgian*, the *Perſian*, *Ser*[illegible] both ſpin and weave for t[illegible] muſt be ranſacked for P[illegible] Sheep muſt be ſheered for [illegible] tiſe, and Arſenick red, [illegible] Colours, and *Auguſtus* m[illegible] the Works of his Family. [illegible] tue decreaſed, and Pride [illegible] Men delight with Contra[illegible] of Modeſty are now bot[illegible]

worn

worn out. Many there have been, which ſeemed very lofty and magnificent in Apparel, worſe than the baſeſt, more wretched than the vileſt, and more contemptible than he which is moſt. *Caius*, and many other beſides him, had their Attire more befitting Beaſts, than Civilians. And why? Becauſe the more beautiful the Habit is, the ſooner the Spots of Deformity are detected, and the Eyes of Paſſengers fixed upon it: Therefore, a deformed Man is in nothing ſo much his own Enemy, as when he will appear beautiful and glorious. Moreover, Variety of Cloathing doth not ſo much adorn a Man, as it doth diſcredit him. For the Nature of Things is not to be conquered by human Art; and, oftentimes, by how much the more it is ſuppreſſed, by ſo much the more it lifteth and elevateth itſelf up in ſuch Sort, as that fine Colours, and ſweet Perfumes, are not able to alter the native Fedity of Man's Body, but either make it more conſpicuous or miſtruſtful. For, put into a golden Coffin a dead Man's Carcaſe, and beſet it with Pearls and precious Stones, you ſhall perceive, that, the more adorned it is, the more Horrour and Fear will the Body incuſs into you. And if this Word *Cadaver*, for a dead Carcaſe, is rightly termed by the *Latins* à Cadendo, of Falling, Why ſhould we not deck it being fallen, as well as that which muſt, and will incontinently? But it is not now meet for me to bewail, and inveigh againſt theſe Vanities of external Habits, cut out after all Manner of fooliſh Faſhions, being uſed amongſt us ever ſince the Creation of the World. Thus much underſtand, that God hateth thoſe Beaſts which are of Man's Countenance, ſavagely minded, fair-tongued, richly trimmed, with their Hair platted, after the Wear of moſt impudent Women, evil conditioned, ſhamefully detecting the Secrets of their Bodies, and Inconſtancy of their Minds.

CHAP. VII.

Of PERFUMES.

Accidit in vita, ut in longa via, aut plurimum luti, aut pulveris: As it is with a Man which travelleth, the further and longer he journieth, the more dirty or duſty he is: So it is with us, who the longer we live in this Valley of Tears, the more ſubject we are to thoſe Things which work moſt commonly our Confuſion, panting daily after Vanities, which are nothing elſe but vain Illuſions, deceiving the Senſes. And amongſt all which are uſually practiſed, that of Perfuming muſt not be omitted, which one, by itſelf, doth ſo intoxicate Men's Affections, as that he is beſt eſteemed of, who favoureth moſt of it. We uſe it not only in our Apparel, whereof we have already ſpoken ſomewhat, but in our Diet alſo. It is a Thing ſo effectual, as that, by it, our Affections are cauſed and moved to undergo the Blemiſhes of Incontinency; it is ſo hateful, that the perfumed Sort are condemned by honeſt Men, both of Turpitude and Vanity. How better were it for a Man to favour of Virtue and Honeſty, whoſe Scents are more ſenſible than Aromatical Spices, and burned Brimſtone; thoſe would comfort his languiſhing Spirit, refreſhing it with much Conſolation. And, as in many Things, ſo alſo in this, the Variety of Natures is infinite, not only between Man and Man, but between Nation and Nation. For it is credibly reported by *Pliny*, that learned Writer, that there is a Nation inhabiting near the River *Ganges*, which is nouriſhed with nothing elſe ſave the Smell of an Apple, carrying one always about them, as a Thing very cordial; and ſo much deteſting ill Savours, that, as a ſweet and pure Smell doth nouriſh, ſo an Infectious doth deſtroy them. Hereupon, the Men which bordered upon the Oriental Parts, as they fell more and more into Diſlike with Meat, ſo they became very greedy, and thirſted after Perfumes in ſuch a Manner, as that from them the like Curioſity came to us: The Inconvenience whereof you may eaſily underſtand by the *Romans*, who having vanquiſhed the *Aſſyrians*, *Arabians*, and *Sabeans*, became, through their Perfumes, Slaves to them; which Savours, at the firſt, the Senators (in the five-hundred and ſixtieth Year after the City was built) ſo withſtood, that there was given out, in an Edict, by the Cenſors, That no Man, upon Pain of Death, ſhould, by any Means, convey into the City any external Perfumes. But, not

long after, Lasciviousness being Conquerefs, through the Vices of modern Men, violating the Statutes of their Predeceſſors, as it is the Cuſtom, burſt into the Senate, as a heady Ruler, Author of that Decree. Thereupon came in all Manner of Ointments, being eſpecial Arguments of ſome Defects which are concealed in Man; and then the Care of them, which befitteth not any Man or Woman, brought under Subjection the whole Eſtate of Man. Remember that Perfumiſt, who being bedaubed with the ſame or ſuch like Ointments, at that very Inſtant wherein he ſhould have thanked *Veſpaſian* the Prince for an Office received, was highly rebuked by him, and diſmiſſed away with much Diſgrace. By whom we may eaſily perceive, that ſuch like Odours are ſometimes not only no Renown, but alſo much Hinderance unto a Man, eſpecially when a grave Cenſor of Men's Behaviours ruleth. A notable Example we have of one *Plantius*, a Senator, who being condemned by the Triumvirs, for ſome Treſpaſs, to be executed, and afterwards, for Fear of Death, having fled into the *Salernitanian* Thicket, was, from thence, by Reaſon of his ſweet-ſmelling Savours, detected, and immediately puniſhed. Deſiſt, therefore, for the moſt mixed and leſs ſimple Odours procure more Diſhoneſty and Ignominy. For every filthy Thing is made worſe, by how much the more it is compounded. Art is the Ornament of Honeſty, but Burden of Diſhoneſty. Moreover, Odours are uſed after a more vile Manner than heretofore. For although, as I have ſaid, *Rome* made ſuch Reſiſtance againſt this Plague coming out of *Aſia*, as againſt an armed Legion of Enemies; yet, notwithſtanding, at the length, a Troop of evil favoured Vices, paſſing their *Corps du Guard*, came into *Europe*; and there ſubdued moſt ſtrong People. And, forasmuch as it is a moſt frivolous Thing for a Man to rehearſe every Thing in particular, conjecture of the reſt by the Valour of one valiant Man thereby daunted and quailed. That unconquerable Man *Hannibal*, in the Midſt of his troubleſome Wars, which he waged with the *Romans*, anointed himſelf, together with his fierce Army; but the End of this effeminate Captain, and his Soldiers, whoſe Proceeding ſtruck Aſtoniſhment into Men's Hearts, was very lamentable: Perfumes are penetrable, but Vices far more. Hereupon it cometh to paſs, as it always hath been the Manner, that too much Labour and Trouble it is for a Man to read or hear of thoſe Things, which are both written and ſpoken againſt this Vice. To conclude, underſtand this, that he, who is delighted with it, laboureth not of a Vice common in theſe Times, but of one proper and peculiar to the Mind. Wherefore endeavour, that you neither favour ill of thoſe Odours which are pleaſant and delectable, or be hateful by Reaſon of thoſe Things which are odious.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Envy, Malice, Diſſimulation, and Guile.

ENVY and Malice I comprehend both under one, becauſe that they are Brethren of the ſame Brood. But, if we could find ſome Difference in them, let us mark what *Auguſtine* ſaith: Malice is delighted with another Man's Evil, Envy is grieved at another Man's Good. So then we may affirm, that Evil is the Object of Malice, and Good of Envy. A malicious Man is ſubject to the Law, becauſe he is a Murderer; as it is in *John* iii. 13, Whoſoever hateth his Brother, is a Manſlayer; and know, that no Manſlayer hath eternal Life abiding in him. This Sin of Malice is that which the Apoſtle *Paul*, *Rom.* i. 29, ſhewed to be condemned, and that from which we are diſſuaded: willeth alſo the *Corinthians*, in his firſt Epiſtle, the fifth Chapter, [illegible] Verſes, that they ſhould purge out the [illegible] even, ſaying, Let us keep the Feaſt [illegible] old Leaven, neither with [illegible] ciouſneſs: Becauſe, that [illegible] ſtopped from the King[illegible] Wrath of God, for [illegible] the Children of Diſobedience [illegible] may be ſpoken of Love. [illegible] ſpoken of Malice; and [illegible] the Diſpraiſe of Malice, [illegible] of Love. For moſt [illegible] of one is the Diſpraiſe [illegible] which is ſtreight ſhew[illegible] that which is crooked [illegible] ſtreight Line may ſhew, being drawn by a crooked

crooked Line: So then, when we ſpeak of Love, we may ſay unto the Fault of Malice, *Mutata vice fabula de te narratur:* To Malice and Envy are always joined Guile and Diſſimulation, as moſt agreeable one to another; for, in Diſſimulation, we are deceived, as in Love; for none are more deceived than ſuch as, under the Pretext of unfeigned Love, think well of them whom they affect. In Affection, likewiſe, we are deluded as well as in Love, the Truth whereof can hardly be diſcerned. But that Courſe is commended, which *Conſtantius* the Emperor did take for Finding out ſuch as he did ſuppoſe, in his Court, to be Diſſemblers, and ſaid unto them, That they only, whom he found to be moſt conſtant, were worthy to be about a Prince. *Theodorick*, the *Arian* King, did kill *Cæſo* with his own Hands, a Servant of his, whom he perceived to abjure and deny his Faith; and ſaid, moreover, as *Sigon. Occ. Lib.* xvi. hath, That he could in no Sort be true and faithful unto him, ſeeing that he had ſhrunk back from Chriſt, and denied him whom before he had confeſſed. *Metius Suffetius* moſt fitly doth reſemble unto us the Perſon of a Diſſembler, who, whenas the *Romans* were in the Field againſt their Enemies, did betake himſelf unto the Top of an Hill, from whence he might ſee and behold who were like to have the better in Battle, that he might go unto them; yet, notwithſtanding, for this Fact of his, the *Roman* King condemned him to be torn in Pieces by wild Horſes, a Death moſt fit for ſuch a diſſembling Perſon. Moſt like unto this *Roman* are all ſuch as carry themſelves aloof off, continually expecting and looking for an Alteration in the State, not ſhewing, indeed, what they are; ſo that they are not unlike the *Jews*, who ſpeak Half the Language of the *Aſſidoites*, and Half of their own. For, by this Manner of Life and Converſation, they cannot be perceived what they are; whereas the Prophet ſaith, They have a Heart and a Heart, yea, a double Heart, to make outward Semblance of one Thing, and to mean another; whereas they, for Fear, wiſh well, or rather, ſeem to be Favourers of the preſent State, not making any Shew of Diſlike of it at all. But ſuch may know that, *ſperantes vel uno die conſeneſcunt*; and, although they ſtand ſtill gazing for ſome Change and Alteration, long may they ſo continue: And altho' they be not unlike that Countryman which *Horace* ſpeaketh of, when he ſaith,

Ruſticus expectat dum deſluat amnis, at ille
Labitur, & labetur in omne volubilis ævum;

yet they muſt aſſure themſelves, that God who ruleth above ſitteth and ſeeth all their Plots laid by them, and their Policies, and will, moſt aſſuredly, diſappoint them of their Purpoſe; and altho' they go on from one Evil unto another, yet ſhall they not eſcape the Hands of the Lord, neither can they ſo cover themſelves, as that, by the mighty *Jehovah*, they cannot be diſcerned. Yea, and although the Pope doth continually what he can to take away Life from our Sovereign, in ſending Traitor after Traitor, and always canoniſing them, and would make this Work of theirs meritorious; yet God, who hath heretofore diſappointed them of their Purpoſe, ſitteth ſtill in Heaven, and laugheth them to Scorn. And altho', with the cruel Emperor, they could wiſh, *O ſi caput unum haberet*, that at once they might have their Will, yet God will not ſuffer their wicked Treacheries to take Effect. In the old Law was ſet down unto us, how that an Ox and an Aſs ought not to be coupled together, and a Garment of Linſey-wolſey ought not to be worn; whereby we may learn, not to make a Shew of honeſt and Plain-dealing, and be Diſſemblers, full of Guile and Hypocriſy. For they are not fit Couples to be joined together, nor Garments which will agree upon our Backs at once. And from hence proceedeth all Evil-ſpeaking, as Backbiting, Slandering, Railing, and the like. A Reaſon may be hereof, *Tulit nos ætas iniquiores:* We daily wax worſe and worſe. For none will now ſpare to revile, and that in a ſhameful Manner, if any Hope of Advantage can be found. And, although we can have no juſt and true Occaſion to defame any, yet, *audaciter calumniando*, we will proceed againſt ſuch as we would hate; and, altho' we know no ſuch Slander can be truly raiſed, yet we aſſure ourſelves that the Scar will ſtill remain, ſome judging badly of them, becauſe of the Rumour. If any Fault can be found out in any one whom we would malign, then are we ſtill like Flies, lighting always upon the bare and ſore Place; if we can find out any Imperfection, there will we be, and ſhew it unto the World; but, as for Virtues, the ſlanderous Perſon letteth them paſs, and will not ſo much as once look upon them. In *Leviticus*, we read how

that Kites were forbidden to be eaten, becauſe they did feed upon living Beaſts, and ſo became unclean; even ſo in Slanderers and Evil-ſpeakers, no clean Thing can be found; for the Heart, the Mouth, the Hands, and every Part of them is unclean; ſo that they cannot offer up Sacrifices unto God. They are more ſavage than the Beaſts, for they do not feed upon one of the ſame Kind; but Man devoureth Man, yea, killeth him with his Tongue and ſlanderous Reports. We ought to remember, that as Windows are narrow on the Outſide, and larger within; ſo ſhould we, out of our own Houſes, and, in other Men's Affairs, ſee leſs than in our own. We muſt not be like that Woman of whom *Plutarch* giveth this Report, that when ſhe went Abroad would put her Eyes into her Head, but when ſhe came Home would take them out, and would not, in her own Houſe, ſee any longer by them: But we muſt, in ſome Sort, do the Contrary; we muſt, in our own Houſes, that is, in our private Actions, have more circumſpect Eyes than in other Men's. And, Finally, we muſt take Heed, that we have not that the Subject of our Talk which may malign others, and that our Actions deſerve not to be evil-ſpoken of by others.

CHAP. IX.

Of Benefiting and Unthankfulneſs.

FOraſmuch as Juſtice and Honeſty require this, that we ſhould give Thanks unto them which have beſtowed Benefits upon us; Nature followeth this Order, that we ſhould convert the Effects into their Cauſes: Foraſmuch as they have their Conſervation and Increaſe from whence they ſpring. The Degrees of Benefits are four:

1. Firſt, Thou ſeeſt ſome, that, when they beſtow Benefits, they have only a Reſpect to themſelves. So do Shepherds and Swineherds, when they provide Paſture for their Cattle, whereof they have Charge, ſince, therein only, they ſeek for their own Gain and Commodity, otherwiſe they have no Love to Sheep, and Swine, &c.

2. There are others, which, in doing of Good, have Regard both unto themſelves, and alſo unto them whom they do help. For the Poor do ſerve rich Men and Princes, partly, becauſe they love them, and partly, to get ſome Commodity at their Hands.

3. In the third Degree are thoſe placed, which do in ſuch Sort beſtow a Benefit upon any Man, as they look for no Recompence of him. It oftentimes happens, that, when we ſee one in Miſery, we are touched with Mercy, and we help him; which, without Doubt, proceedeth of Humanity: Forſomuch as we are Men, we think that nothing belonging to a Man, but it appertaineth unto us.

4. They are counted in the laſt and chiefeſt Place, which benefit others, even with their own Grief, Hurt, and Loſs.

After this Manner Chriſt dealt towards us; he redeemed Mankind with the Loſs of his own Life: Whom *Jephtha*, after a Sort, reſembleth, who delivered the *Iſraelites* unto Liberty, and that to his great Danger, which he declared by this Form of Speaking: *I have put my Life in my Hands*, Judges xii. 3. that is, I have not refuſed to endanger my Life. Wherefore the *Ephraimites* were [illegible] ful for ſo great a Benefit. [illegible] ungrateful Men are [illegible]

The firſt Sort of [illegible] they requite not Good [illegible] at their Hands.

The ſecond is, [illegible] allow well of thoſe [illegible] beſtow upon them.

The third is of [illegible] nefits they have rec[illegible]

The fourth and [illegible] Benefits, Injury an[illegible]

After this Manner [illegible] themſelves towards [illegible] had gotten the Victory [illegible] him and all his. Wh[illegible] temn both the Benefits [illegible] them? But this is [illegible] unthankful Men, w[illegible] ther Creatures, are [illegible] but God himſelf con[illegible]

Benefits

Benefits we receive of Men, we have them of God, who uſeth the Help of Men to relieve the Miſerable and Afflicted. Wherefore they, which are ungrateful, are void of Charity, as well towards God, as towards Men. But thou wilt ſay, when Men, that beſtow Benefits, do ſometimes light upon ungrateful Perſons, What ought they to do? Shall they ſtraightway withdraw their Well-doing from them? Undoubtedly, they deſerve this. Howbeit, we muſt not forthwith do it, becauſe Men (by Reaſon that Nature is corrupted) are ſlow, neither are they eaſily moved to do their Duty; therefore we muſt go forward in Well-doing, for he, who is not moved to be thankful by the firſt Benefit, will, peradventure, be ſtirred by the ſecond, third, fourth, or fifth: But if he altogether continue in his Ingratitude, we may juſtly withdraw from him our Benefits; not moved thereunto by Hatred or Deſire of Revenge, but that he may be corrected, and that he do not continually diſdain the Benefits, which are the Gifts of God. Kings do not make every Citizen a Ruler, a Preſident, or other Officer belonging to a Magiſtrate, but them only that are juſt and wiſe; which, if they do not, they execute not their Office. But when they give unto their People liberal Gifts, or a Banquet, or diſtribute Corn, becauſe, without great Labour and Pain, they cannot ſeparate the good Citizens from the Bad, therefore they beſtow ſuch Things as are of this Kind, upon all Men, one with another; and chuſe rather to deſerve well of evil Citizens, than to defraud the Good of their Liberality, for whoſe Sake they are chiefly moved to be bountiful towards the People. Let us alſo imitate this, that when we beſtow private Things, although we light upon one that is ungrateful, let not us ſtraightway withdraw from him our Liberality, but let us be have ourſelves in ſuch Manner, as we have before declared; that if he ſtubbornly proceed to be ungrateful, let us, at length, for his Correction Sake, ceaſe to beſtow any Benefit upon him. But ſuch Benefits as are common or publick, let us continually beſtow them, yea, even upon the ungrateful, as we are of God commanded. And let us rather chuſe to have our good Things diſtributed to godly and holy Men, than to ceaſe off from doing Good, becauſe the Wicked ſhould not be Partakers of them.

CHAP. X.

Of Gentleneſs and Affability.

THE Virtue, which followeth Things delightful in Sports, is εὐτραπελία, to wit, Gentleneſs and Affability in Speech. It is otherwiſe a neceſſary Thing, for as the Body hath Need of Reſt, ſo the Mind to be refreſhed with ſome Pleaſure: Yet muſt we beware that we be not too forward in thoſe Things, leſt we hurt, and leſt that we ſpeak any unclean Thing. Moreover, we muſt obſerve theſe Circumſtances, to wit, *when*, *with whom*, and *how*, and that it be done with ſuch Words and Actions, as are convenient. The Exceſs is βωμολοχία, to wit, when Men uſe reproachful Kind of Scoffing, when they ſpeak thoſe Things that are filthy, and hurt others, and have no Conſideration of Time, Manner, or Perſons. Βωμός ſignifieth an Altar, and, in old Time, about Altars, there was Meat; and then there ſat Jeſters about the Altars, that they, by their much Babbling (which oftentimes was very uncivil) might make Men merry: Theſe are ſaid to be rude and ruſtical Fellows; or elſe, as they which are pleaſant may be called civil, ſo theſe other may be called uncivil.

The CONCLUSION.

YOU have heard (*Philoſarchus*) the Treaties of thoſe Things which you deſired, and my Judgment upon them them likewiſe; which Requeſt of yours I refuſed not to perform, in regard that I thought the Probabilities of them would be ſpecial Motives to abandon, and ſequeſter far from you, the carnal and voluptuous Manner of Living; which,

which, if they ſhall, then I ſhall think myſelf well contented, and my Labours ſufficiently diſcharged: If otherwiſe, yet I ſhall ſeem to have performed the Duty of a loving and faithful Friend.

The Vindication of the Parliament, and their Proceedings: Or, their Military Deſign proved loyal and legal. A Treatiſe, wherein theſe Things are ingenuouſly and ſincerely handled; to wit,

1. That the Militia, as ſettled by the Parliament, is lawful.
2. That it is lawful for us to obey it, ſo ſettled by them.
3. That the Parliament is not by us to be deſerted.
4. That, in Aiding the Parliament, the King is not oppoſed.
5. That the Parliament, as the Caſe ſtands, may not confide in the King.
6. That this neceſſary Defenſive War of theirs is indubitably juſtifiable.

Pulchrum pro Patria mori.

London, printed in the Year, 1642. *Quarto*, containing thirty-four Pages.

THE main Thing now looked upon, and pried into by all Eyes, is the Nature of this preſent Martial and Military Deſign, undertaken by the Parliament. Now, although much hath been written by many upon this Subject, yet divers well diſpoſed and well affected Perſons are very unſettled, and unreſolved what to think thereof; and the Reaſons hereof I conceive to be theſe, to wit:

1. That compendious Kind of Writing, ſome uſe, in laying down only the particular Head, by Way of Aſſertion, without other Amplification, Application, or Proof; whence he, who is not informed, or thoroughly inſighted into the Truth, and Nature of that which is affirmed, [illegible] clude it a Fallacy, *P*[illegible] not believe it upon the [illegible]

2. That abſtruſe, ſ[illegible] which others uſe in t[illegible] all Apprehenſions as q[illegible] profound, and Underſ[illegible] own; and thus, not [illegible] of vulgar Readers, le[illegible] and as much unſatisfie[illegible]

3. That confuſed [illegible] ſome have; for, as M[illegible] both the Memory an[illegible] methodical Diſcourſes [illegible] ſtanding and Judgmen[illegible]

4. That ſlight an[illegible] ting which others have, who, never ſearching

ing themſelves into the Depth, Life, and Bottom of the Point in Hand, leave their Reader juſt as wiſe as they found him.

5. That timerous Half-handling of the Caſe in Controverſy, which ſome are guilty of; for ſome have taken the Point in Hand, but fearing, *Veritas odium parit*, that Truth will come Home with a ſcratched Face; dare not ſay what they can, may, ſhould, or ought of the Point, for the full Satisfaction of their Reader, leaving him, by this Means, altogether without Light in the moſt material Things which he undertakes to inſtruct him in.

And therefore, becauſe I will never refuſe to ſacrifice my Life, much leſs ſpare any Pains for the Welfare, Safety, and Preſervation of my Country, the Preventing of theſe Civil Wars threatened, the Compoſing of our preſent Diſtractions, and the Satisfaction of tender Conſciences, to the utmoſt of my Ability; I have, with what Brevity, Sincerity, Plainneſs, and Clearneſs, poſſibly I could, declared unto all, who deſire to be ſatisfied what they may conceive and imagine of the true Nature of the preſent Deſign of the State and Condition wherein we are, and what ſeems to be intended and aimed at by both Sides.

I will not trouble myſelf to ſearch Records, nor preſume to expound and interpret Laws, being no Lawyer, but only ſhew the Lawfulneſs of this Deſign, as far as the Law of Nature, the Light of human Reaſon, and Experience, and my ſmall Knowledge in Religion, will dictate unto me.

Againſt the Parliament two Things are excepted; viz. their Act, and the Effect of that Act; or their Action and Intention.

1. Their Action is the Putting of the Kingdom into a Poſture of Defence, by ſettling of the Militia without the Aſſent of the King.

2. Their Intention herein *is ſuppoſed*, or ſurmiſed, to be the Strengthening of themſelves againſt the King, and the Raiſing of Forces againſt his Power. Now of both theſe ſeverally.

Concerning the Militia, two Queries are ordinarily made; to wit,

1. Whether it be lawful for the Parliament to ſettle it without the royal Aſſent?

2. Whether it be lawful for us to obey it ſo ſettled by them?

Firſt, It may be demanded, Whether was it lawful for the Parliament to ſettle the Militia [which is made the Cauſe of all our preſent Diſtractions and Dangers] or not, without the King's royal Aſſent?

Firſt, They did it not, without aſking his Permiſſion and Leave; for, conſidering the Neceſſity of putting the Kingdom into a Poſture of Defence, both in Regard of foreign and domeſtick Forces and Foes, they addreſſed themſelves to his Majeſty, deſiring him ſo to order and diſpoſe of the Militia of the Kingdom, as it was agreed upon by the Wiſdom of his great and grand Council; whoſe Counſel, above all others, Kings, in Parliament-time, have, and ought to embrace and follow; and, therefore, we may imagine that to be lawful, which our beſt Lawyers, yea Law-makers, did ſo earneſtly ſue and ſollicit for.

Secondly, The Parliament continuing their humble Supplications unto the King, his Majeſty was once graciouſly pleaſed, by Meſſage ſent unto them, to promiſe, That the Militia ſhould be put into ſuch Hands, as they ſhould approve of, or recommend unto him, provided that they declared (together with the Names of the Perſons) the Extent of their Power, and the Time of their Continuance; both which they did, which ſhews evidently, That there was nothing unlawful in the Subſtance of the Thing deſired (his Majeſty himſelf not excepting againſt that) but, at the moſt, that ſomething, deſired by them, did not ſquare with ſome Circumſtances obſerved in former Times.

Thirdly, The Parliament, ſeeing a Neceſſity of ſettling the Militia, thought that, in Conſcience and human Reaſon, it was much better, ſafer, and more agreeable to that Truſt, which was repoſed in them by the Kingdom, that the Strength of the Kingdom ſhould rather be ordered according to the Direction and Advice of the great Council of the Land, equally intruſted by the King and Kingdom, for the Managing of the great Affairs thereof, than that the Safety of the King, Parliament, and Kingdom, ſhould be left at the Devotion of a few unknown Counſellors, many of them having not been at all formerly intruſted by his Majeſty in any publick Office or Ser-

vice,

vice, nor confided in by the Commonwealth; and, therefore, we may conjecture the Legality of the Militia ſettled by the Parliament.

Fourthly, The Parliament deſire not to remove the Militia from the King, but from his ſubordinate Miniſters; who, by Reaſon of their evil Counſels given unto him, and their ſmall Love, Reſpect, and Care, ſhewed towards them, the Parliament dare not confide in; and, therefore, only place it upon other Miniſters, whom they have no Cauſe to ſuſpect, nor againſt whom, when they were nominated to his Majeſty, he did except.

Fifthly, The Parliament, long ſince, ſaw, and ſtill ſees, as themſelves affirm, the Kingdom in ſo evident and imminent Danger, both from Enemies Abroad, and a Popiſh, diſcontented, and diſaffected Party at Home, that there was an urgent, and inevitable Neceſſity, of putting the Kingdom into a Poſture of Defence, for the Safeguard both of his Majeſty and People; and, in all Probability and Likelihood, if the Militia at Land, and the Navy at Sea, had not been ſettled in ſure Hands, when they were, we had, before this, been expoſed to the Practices of thoſe, who thirſt after the Ruin of this Kingdom, and endeavour to kindle that Combuſtion in *England*, which they have in ſo great a Meaſure effected already in *Ireland*. Now, the Safety of the People being the ſupreme Law, it muſt needs be lawful for the Parliament to ſettle the Militia, in Caſe of ſuch Neceſſity.

Sixthly, The Power given to thoſe, in whoſe Hands the Militia is placed by the Parliament, is only to ſuppreſs Rebellion, Inſurrection, and foreign Invaſion. Now, that this Power ſhould be put into ſome Hands is neceſſary, eſpecially in dangerous and diſtracted Times; and into whoſe Hands better, and with more Safety, than ſuch as the Parliament dare confide in, and againſt whoſe Perſons no Exception hath been taken by his Majeſty; and therefore we need not much queſtion the Legality of the Militia.

Seventhly, This is granted on all Sides; to wit, That the Commonwealth intruſts the Parliament to provide for their Welfare, not for their Woe; and that this Parliament, thus intruſted by the People, did by a Law intruſt the King with the Militia, to wit, for the Welfare of the Commonwealth, not for the Woe thereof; and that this is implied, in that Act or Grant, though not expreſſed, no Royaliſt, I perſuade myſelf, will queſtion or deny. And therefore,

1. If the King's Deſire, and royal Intention be, as we hope it is, to ſettle the Militia for the Preſervation, not Perdition, for the Defence, not Deſtruction, for the Strength and Safety, and not Inflaming or Invaſſaling of his Subjects and People; and that this likewiſe is the Intent and Purpoſe of his grand Council, the Parliament; then the Difference, who ſhall eſtabliſh the Militia, is but a Kind of λογομαχία, or Contention about Words, or a Ceremony, or a Quarrel, who ſhall have their Will, when both purpoſe and reſolve one and the ſame Thing; which is too weak a Ground, and too trivial a Cauſe, to draw that Ruin, Deſolation, and Deſtruction upon us, which muſt inevitably fall upon and ſeize us, if theſe Civil Wars, which threaten us, and hang over our Heads, be not prevented. But,

2. If, which God forbid, the King ſhould intend, and endeavour, by the Settling of the Militia, to inſlave us, to tyranniſe over us, and to rule us (being ſo curbed, and kept under by a ſtrong Hand of Power) by his own Will, then the Parliament and Law did never ſettle the Militia upon him for that End, or to be ſo uſed; for the Equity of the Law, and not the Letter of the Law, is the true Law.

Eighthly, It evidently appears, *Aliquid manifeſtum quod non patet*, That neither the Militia ſettled by the Parliament, nor *Hull* kept for the King and Parliament, nor the Magazines of *Hull* removed by the Parliament, [illegible] the true Grounds of the War ſo violently [illegible] againſt the Parliament, by the malicious, miſchievous, and malignant Party of Papiſts, Cavaliers, and other ill-affected Perſons. For,

1. There were Attempts made, to be poſſeſſed of *Hull*, and the Magazines, by Captain *Legg*, and the Earl of [illegible], before ever Sir *John Hotham* was [illegible] of it, much more before he denied [illegible] to; and this Attempt, Deſire, and Purpoſe, ſeems to ſome, and that not improbably, to take its Riſe from the Lord *Digby*, [illegible] the Queen, wherein he ſeems, That the King would repair unto ſome Place of Strength, where he may ſafely [illegible]

is, ſuch as will do him Service againſt his Parliament, amongſt whom, moſt diſloyally he ſaith, Traytors bear Sway.

2. The Lord *Digby* promiſeth, in his Letter unto his Majeſty, before the Militia was ſettled, to do him Service Abroad, that is, as he expreſſeth himſelf, to procure for them Supplies againſt the Kingdom, and Parliament, with which, he ſaid himſelf would return, as he did indeed, in the Ship, called the *Providence*, with Store of Arms, although he had been publiſhed and voted a Traytor.

3. Before this, the ſame Lord *Digby* endeavoured to raiſe Forces, under the Pretence of a Guard for the King's Perſon, in Winter.

4. Before the Militia was ſettled, there were Endeavours to incenſe the two Nations, *England* and *Scotland*, and to engage their Armies, one againſt the other, that in ſuch a Confuſion, as muſt needs have followed, the Parliament might not be able to ſit, nor do us any Good. For if, in this Battle, we had been conquered, we might have feared to have loſt ourſelves, and all we had, to the Conqueror, with whom we fought; and if we had conquered, we might have been ſure to have loſt ourſelves, and all we had, to the Malignant Party, for whom we fought.

5. Before the Settling of the Militia, there were Endeavours to turn the *Engliſh Army*, againſt the Parliament, as is abundantly proved by them.

6. By the Teſtimony, and Allegations of many, the *Iriſh* Rebellion, which broke forth, before the Militia was ſettled, was hatched by the Popiſh, and diſaffected Party in *England*, not to have reſted there, but to have ended here.

7. Before the Militia was ſettled, ſome Members of both Houſes, who were obſerved to be moſt zealous for the ſpeedy Suppreſſion of the *Iriſh* Rebellion, which, notwithſtanding, was ſo long protracted and delayed, were unjuſtly charged with Treaſon, and, after ſuch unjuſt Accuſation, were demanded and required of the Houſe of Commons, by his Majeſty attended with a Troop of Cavaliers, who had intended to have taken them by Force, if they had not been abſent. By all which it appears, That the Settling of the Militia was not the Cauſe, why War is made upon, or againſt the Parliament.

And thus much may ſuffice, for the firſt Quære, concerning the Parliament's Settling of the Militia.

It may now, in the next Place, be demanded, Whether it be lawful for us to obey this Ordinance of the Militia, thus ſettled by Parliament?

In Caſe of extreme Danger, and of his Majeſty's Refuſal, People are obliged, and ought to obey, by the Fundamental Laws of this Land, the Command and Ordinance agreed upon by both Houſes, or the major Part of both Houſes, which is all one, for the Militia. I enlarge not this Anſwer, becauſe that which follows, concerning the Deſerting of the Parliament, may be applied hereunto.

Thus much may ſuffice for the firſt Exception, taken againſt the Parliament, *viz.* Their Action, in putting the Kingdom into a warlike Poſture of Defence, by ſettling the Militia, in ſuch Hands, as they durſt truſt.

I proceed now unto the other Exception, *viz.* The Fruits and Effects of the Settling of the Militia, which are affirmed to be, The Oppoſing of the King's Precepts and Proceedings.

We affirmed before, That, if the Militia had not been ſettled, we had been in great Danger of *Deſtruction*; and *now, when it is ſettled*, we are neither free from Fears, nor Foes, Enemies nor Evils. Whence it may be demanded, How may we be preſerved from that Ruin and Deſtruction, which hangs over our Heads?

Firſt, By Standing upon our Guard.
Secondly, By Siding with, and Aſſiſting of thoſe, who ſtand for us.
Thirdly, By Reſiſting and Oppoſing thoſe, who withſtand us.

This Queſtion is ſomething like *Hydra's* Heads; for, from this little Head, four main ones ſprout and ſpring up; to wit,

1. Whether the Parliament may be deſerted, or ought to be aſſiſted?
2. Whether the King may be diſobeyed, or his Commands oppoſed?
3. Why the Parliament dare not confide in the King, ſeeing he promiſeth as much as they can deſire?

4. Whether this War, undertaken by the Parliament, be warrantable and lawful? Now, of all theſe in this Order.

It may firſt of all, I ſay, be demanded, Whether we may deſert the Parliament, in this Time of Danger, or is it our Duty to obey, aſſiſt, aid, and ſtick to them.

Firſt, Whatſoever is ſaid of this Subject, in that Treatiſe, called, *Reaſons why this Kingdom ought to adhere to the Parliament*, I wholly omit; as alſo many Reaſons, which might have been drawn, from a Tract, which, by many ſolid Arguments, juſtifies the *Scottiſh* Subjects, for their Defenſive Wars.

Secondly, Our Saviour's Rule is here a worthy Obſervation: Whatſoever you would, that others ſhould do unto you, do ſo unto them. Make the Caſe ours, by ſuppoſing us in their Places, and they in ours, that is, We Parliament Men, and they private Perſons; and look what Aid, and Aſſiſtance, we would expect, and deſire from them, if we were in ſuch Danger, as now they are, the ſame we ſhould now afford unto them.

Thirdly, I dare not ſay, that, with a blind Obedience, we ſhould actively obey them, in whatſoever they command; for as Councils in Divinity, ſo Parliaments in Policy, *may err*: And therefore Inquiſition, Diſquiſition, Examination, and Conference are not forbidden us in any Acts or Statutes.

Fourthly, The Members of the Parliament are choſen by us, and ſtand for us, yea, are ſent thither, intruſted by us with all we have, *viz.* Our Eſtates, Liberties, Lives, and the Life of our Lives, our Religion, and the Safety of the King's Perſon, and Honour; and therefore, in Equity and Conſcience, they ought not to be forſaken of us.

Fifthly, The Parliament-Men are no other than ourſelves, and therefore we cannot deſert them, except we deſert ourſelves; the Safety of the Commons and Commonwealth being wrapped up in the Safety of the Parliament. As the Wolves deſired the Sheep to put away the Dogs, and then they would enter into a League with them; but when they had, by ſo doing, ſtripped themſelves of their beſt Friends, and laid themſelves open to their fierceſt Foes, they were then devoured without Pity; even ſo, may we fear, it will be with us, if we ſhould be ſo ſottiſh, as to reject, and deſert the great, grave, and grand Council of the Land, which conſiſts of as wiſe, faithful, meek, moderate, ſincere, juſt, upright, underſtanding, zealous, and pious Patriots, as ever any Parliament in this Land was poſſeſſed, and conſiſted of, and ſubmit ourſelves to the Protection and Care of obſcure and unknown, yea malignant, and malicious Counſellors, who would glory ſo much in nothing, as in our Miſery and Ruin, as appears by their Deeds, whereſoever they come, if they can but prevail.

Sixthly, The King's Majeſty hath promiſed, in his Meſſage, *January* the Twelfth, 1641: That he will be as careful of his Parliament, and of the Privileges thereof, as of his Life and Crown; and therefore, if he aſſure them ſo, of his Adhering unto, and Care of them, then much more ſhould we encourage them, by Promiſing to aſſiſt them, ſo long as they ſtand for us, and our Law, with our Eſtates, and them.

Seventhly, We ought to obey, and aſſiſt them in any Thing, which is lawful; and we ought not to ſuſpect, that they will enjoin, or command us any Thing as lawful, which is unlawful. The Oppoſition, between the King's Majeſty, and his Parliament, ſeems to be about Law; he affirming that to be lawful, which they deny; and they affirming that to be *lawful*, which he proclaims illegal. Now, the King is pleaſed to [illegible]. That he [illegible] pounder of Law, that [illegible] neither to his Perſon, nor Office [illegible] before, concerning the Legality, and [illegible] of Things he will be guided by the Judgment and Counſel of others: And who[illegible] or what Counſel, in all Probability and Reaſon, can be [illegible], ſincerer, and more worthy to be followed than that of his grand Council? Who [illegible] that what they do, and enjoin [illegible] lawful, that is, according and [illegible] Law, either of God, Nature, [illegible]. Now it becomes us, [illegible] thus honourably [illegible] them, *viz.* They [illegible] to be lawful, an[illegible] themſelves, and [illegible] thus, as ſome pe[illegible] done, or comma[illegible] and therefore do [illegible] juſt; for it is a [illegible] unworthy or diſhe[illegible] gined, or preſume [illegible]

Eighthly, If we desert, and now forsake the Parliament, we shall be found guilty before God of three great Sins; to wit,

1. Perfidiousness: For, as we have intrusted the Parliament, with our Estates, Liberties, and Lives; so we have engaged ourselves, to maintain, and defend them, so long as they pursue our Safety, Prosperity, Preservation, and Peace, according to Law. And therefore, if for our Good, or for Discharging of their Consciences and Trust, they be endangered, we are perfidious, if we leave them, and, for Lack of Succour, let them sink and perish.

2. Perjury; for all, who have taken the Protestation, have promised, protested, and vowed, with their Lives, Power, and Estate, to defend and maintain all those, who stand for the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subject; yea, to oppose, and, by all good Ways and Means, to endeavour to bring to condign Punishment, all such, as shall either by Force, Practice, Counsels, Plots, or otherwise, withstand or endanger those, who stand for our Laws, and Liberties. Now, who stand more for our Religion, Laws, Sovereign, and Liberties, than our Parliament? And who are more opposed and endangered for their Zeal, and Care for us, and our Privileges, than they? And therefore we are guilty of Perjury before God and Man, if we, in this Case, assist them not, but desert them.

3. Treachery; for such as forsake the Parliament, as the Case now stands, are guilty of a manifold Treason; to wit, against the Church, against the State, against the Representative Body of the Land, and against themselves. For by deserting of the Parliament, and suffering it to be trampled under Foot, by Papists, Atheists, Prodigals, Delinquents, Antiparliamentaries, and viperous Monopolists, and Projectors, we betray,

First, The Church to Error and Heresy.
Secondly, The State to Ruin and Misery.
Thirdly, The Parliament to Blood and Cruelty.
Fourthly, Ourselves to Poverty and Slavery.

And therefore I may truly, and boldly, say, That it is those who desert the Parliament, who are the principal Causes of all the Blood, which is, hath, or shall be shed, in this War, and of all the Burning, Plundering, Ravishing, and Thieving, wherewith the poor Subject hath, or shall be oppressed.

Ninthly, We may not now, when Things are come to Maturity, and Height, and the cursed Conception is come to a Birth, desert and fall from our Parliament, because there have been long great Jealousies, of some grievous Mischief, to be intended against our Church and State, by those who are Enemies to both. Here note, that the Jealousies which Men generally have had, that there was, and is still some Design on Foot, for the Ruin and Destruction of the Parliament, and of us through their Sides, and of introducing, yea, establishing of Popery, and of abolishing of Protestantism in this Land, are these and the like; to wit,

1. That Army of Eight-thousand *Irish* Papists, which were raised by the Lord *Strafford*, and ready to come over, either to further the War with *Scotland*, or, if that Jarr were composed, to join with the *English* Army against the Parliament.

2. The Endeavours and Courses which were taken, to bring our *English* Army out of the North, either to destroy the Parliament, or to awe and compel it, and take away the Freedom of it.

3. The two Letters sent to Mr. *Bridgman*, *January* 14, 1641, and to Mr. *Anderton*, which intimated some sudden, sad, and sorrowful Blow, to be intended against the *Puritans*, in, and about the City of *London*; and declared many Things, of deep and dangerous Consequence, which, considering many Passages in the State since, seem not to be feigned or forged; but to foretel dangerous and deviliſh Practices, really intended against the City, Country, and Parliament, by the Popish Faction.

4. The Accusing of the six worthy Members of Parliament, against whom, as yet, no Proof hath been brought, nor no particular Instances produced, as hath been again and again promised, of any Treachery, Treason, or high and treacherous Misdemeanors, Practices or Plots.

5. His Majesty's Going into the House of Commons, attended neither with his ordinary Guard only, nor Pensioners and Servants only, but with divers Cavaliers armed, who by their Words and Gestures, shewed themselves to be

Men of desperate Resolutions, and bent upon some damnable and bloody Design.

6. The Endeavours used to the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court.

7. The Rebellion in *Ireland*, which was raised for the Diversion and Interruption of the Parliament, for the Weakening of our Land, by the Maintenance of that, and for the Strengthening of the Papists and Popish Faction with us. For when the *English* Protestants had been plundered, pillaged, subdued, and slaughtered there, as it was reported, confessed, and acknowledged by divers of the Rebels, when they were taken, they should have come hither to have assisted our Papists and Malignants, to have done as much to, and with us.

8. The Calling in divers Cannoneers, and other Assistants, into the *Tower* of *London*.

9. The Making of *Lunsford*, a Man of a known and notorious debauched Life and Conversation, Lieutenant of the *Tower*; for he being so apt and fit a Man, for any desperate Design, or deviliſh Practice, and in that Place, having so much Command over the City, made all generally fear, that there was more Mischief intended against the City, than did outwardly appear.

10. The Selling of the Crown Jewels beyond the Seas, and Buying therewith Field-pieces, Pieces for Battery, Culverins, Mortar-pieces, Carbines, Pistols, War-saddles, Swords and Powder, as appeared by the Note of Direction, which was sent over, and found among the Lord *Digby*'s Papers. Now, although these were bought in *June*, yet we must imagine, as appears by the Time when they were writ for, that they were bespoke, and that Order was given for the Providing of them long before.

11. The Fortifying and Guarding of *Whitehall* with Ammunition, in an unusual Manner, and with Men of turbulent Spirits; for some of them with provoking Language, and Violence, abused divers Citizens passing by; and others, with their Swords drawn, wounded sundry other Citizens passing by, who were unarmed, in *Westminster hall*.

12. The Drawing away of many Members of the Parliament, by Messages and Letters, from the Parliament, That the Actions of both Houses might be blemished, and reported to be the Votes only of a few, and an inconsiderable Number, yea rather the Acts of a Party, than of a Parliament.

13. The Force raised at *York*, and the Ammunition provided beyond Sea, for to be sent unto *York*, that Force being gathered, as was feared, to make an Opposition against the Parliament, but evidently perceived to be employed for the Protection and Support of Delinquents.

14. The Multiplying of Papists in this Land of late Days; their frequent Meetings, at certain Places, in, and about the City, without Controul; the Audaciousness of their Priests and Jesuits with us, notwithstanding our strict and severe Statutes against them; the Residence of the Pope's Nuncio, so long, amongst us; the College of *Capuchins*, in or near unto *Covent-Garden*, and the Favouring and Preferring principally such as were either Popish, or *Arminian*, who in some Points are true Cousin-germans.

15. *Lastly*, His Majesty's Absenting of himself from his Parliament, withdrawing from them thereby both his Presence and Influence. Here note, That after the King was counselled and persuaded hereunto, this his Absence was followed and attended with this Doctrine, again and again, iterated, *viz.* That the King absenting, dissenting, and severing of himself from his Parliament, it was no Parliament, neither had they any Power to dispose of any of the weighty Affairs of the Kingdom; which dangerous Doctrine seems to have been taught by Court Flatterers, for these Ends, *viz.*

1. To discourage, weary, and quite tire out our courageous and indefatigable Senate.

2. To divert, interrupt, and retard their Consultations, and Designs, both for our own Reformation, and the Subduing of the *Irish* Rebels.

3. To take off People's Hearts from the Parliament, to stagger them in their Obedience unto them, to cool their Zeal for the Preservation and Defence of them, and to make them call in Question all their Proceedings.

4. To animate all those who stood disaffected to the Parliament, to shew their Disaffection and Opposition with more Freedom and less Fear.

Tenthly, and *Lastly*, to this main Question, Whether the Parliament may be deserted, or ought to be adhered unto, I answer, That of (of Necessity) some we must adhere and stick unto, that is, either to the grand and known Counsellors of the Land, or to obscure and pri-

vate

vate Counſellors, that is, either to the Parliament, or to the Cavaliers, Papiſts, Malignants, Delinquents, and diſaffected Perſons of the Kingdom.

Now becauſe *Contraria juxta ſe poſita clarius elucęſcunt*, Contraries are beſt Commentaries, we will look particularly upon both, and conſider the Nature, Ends, and Aims of both, and from thence conjecture, whom we may beſt deſert, and whom with moſt Safety follow; and firſt I begin with the Cavaliers, and that Side.

Firſt, In that Side, which conſiſts of Cavaliers, Papiſts, Malignants, Delinquents, ill affected, and Popiſhly affected Perſons, or, to term them only ſo, evil, private, and obſcure Counſellors, we have theſe two Things to obſerve, to wit; *Firſt*, their Intentions and Endeavours: *Secondly*, their Nature and Ends.

Firſt, Their Intentions, Endeavours, and the Fruit of their Counſels; for I conjoin them altogether.

1. Their Intentions and Endeavours were to raiſe Civil War, and that both firſt in *Scotland*, and afterwards in *Ireland*, and now in *England*; and,

2. To perſuade the King to rule by his own Will. The Lord *Faulkland* tells us, That the King was perſuaded by his Divines, that in Conſcience, by his Counſellors that in Policy, and by his Judges, that by Law he might do what he liſt: Which doth directly labour to raze the very Foundation of our well founded State, and to introduce and rear amongſt us an arbitrary Government. And,

3. They endeavour to make Diviſion between his Majeſty, and his Parliament, whom God and the Laws of this Land have united in ſo near a Relation; as appears,

Firſt, By their Endeavours and Perſuaſions to draw the King from his Parliament, which they have effected now for a long Time, and he ſtill continues his Abſence from them; altho', I think, the moſt Shires in *England* have moſt humbly petitioned and beſought him to rejoice and revive all the drooping, dead, and ſad Hearts of his People, by affording his much and long deſired Preſence unto his Parliament. If theſe Perſons, whatſoever they are, who thus counſel the King to eſtrange himſelf from the Parliament, and to oppoſe and diſguſt all their Proceedings, and Deſigns, were but Maſters of *Hull*, the Militia, and Navy, they would then quickly maſter both the Parliament and all the Kingdom; who could expect but bad Quarter from ſuch Maſters, who by their Counſels and Endeavours to divide the King and Parliament ſhew, that they are neither Friends to the Commonwealth, nor Favourers of the publick Safety; and,

Secondly, By their Fear that the King ſhould accord with his Parliament: For the Malignants and evil Counſellors ſtand in great Fear, that his Majeſty is too inclinable to an Accommodation with his Parliament, which, above all Things, they abhor, fearing thereby to be undone, that is, to loſe the Spoil, Pillage, and Poſſeſſions of this Land, which they have long ſince hoped for; whence they have ſollicited the Queen to diſſuade the King, by all Means, from ſuch Accommodation, hoping to obtain their Deſires, the Ruin of this Land, by the Queen's Interpoſing. See the Lord *Digby*'s Letter to the Queen, *March* 10, 1641, and Mr. *Eliot*'s Letter to the Lord *Digby*, *May* 27, 1642.

4. They endeavour to caſt Aſperſions upon the Parliament, perſuading the People, That the Parliament would ſet up an Ariſtocracy, take away the Law, and introduce an arbitrary Government; a Report ſo falſe, that no Man of common Senſe or Reaſon can credit it.

5. They have, and do ſtill endeavour and combine together to effect and work the Ruin of the Parliament, or at leaſt to force it, and by Forcing thereof to cut up the Freedom of Parliament by the Root, and either to take all Parliaments away, or, which is worſe, make them the Inſtruments of Slavery, to confirm it by Law, as the Parliament in *Richard the Second*'s Time did, when they found the King's Anger againſt them, and feared the People's Forſaking of them. See the Treatiſe called, *The Succeſs of former Parliaments*.

6. The Fruits and Effects of the Intentions and Endeavours of thoſe evil Counſellors have been nothing but Contention, Diſſenſion, Diviſion, Debate, Decay of Trading, and more Miſery than would fill a Volume, if we ſhould conſider all the Diſtractions, Diſtreſſes, Dangers, Fears, Diſcommodities, Hinderances, and Loſſes, which both *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, have felt, undergone, and ſuſtained by their Counſels, Deſigns, and Plots.

And

And thus much for the Intentions and Endeavours of evil Counſellors, and the Fruits and Effects of their evil Counſels.

Secondly, We have now to conſider the Nature and Ends of theſe evil Counſellors, who deſert, and oppoſe the Parliament.

1. They are Men of loſt Eſtates, and deſperate Fortunes; and theſe aim only at Plundering and Pillaging, deſiring to raiſe themſelves by raiſing others, and to build up themſelves upon their Brethren's Ruin. Or,

2. They are Papiſts, and popiſhly affected Perſons. The Citizens of *London*, in their Petition preſented to the Houſe of Commons, *December* 11, 1641, teſtify, That Information is given to divers of them, from all Parts of the Kingdom, of the bold and inſolent Carriage, and threatening Speeches of the Papiſts. Now, thoſe aim either at the Introducing and Eſtabliſhing of Popery amongſt us, by the Change of Religion, or at leaſt, at the Gaining of Freedom to profeſs, or an open Toleration of their idolatrous and ſuperſtitious Religion: Which, becauſe they can never expect, nor hope for from the Parliament (which labours ſo zealouſly for the Reformation of our Church, and the Abolition of all Popery, and other Popiſh Innovations) they therefore join, and ſide with the former Sort, which ſeek Nothing but Miſchief and Ruin. Or,

3. They are Delinquents, Malefactors, and guilty Perſons, who have, by ſome Plots, Practices, Monopolies, Projects, or otherwiſe, treſpaſſed and tranſgreſſed highly againſt the Commonwealth for their own private Advantage and Profit. Now theſe hope, that, by Siding with the Cavaliers and Papiſts againſt the Parliament, they ſhall be protected againſt it, and the Juſtice thereof. Or,

4. They are the Miniſters of the Land, who are corrupt either in Life or Doctrine, that is, are either ſuperſtitious, ceremonious, contentious, covetous, Popiſh, heretical, ſcandalous in their Lives and Converſations, or ſlothful in the Diſcharge of the Work of their Miniſtry. Now theſe hope, by Siding with the former, to keep and hold faſt what they have, fearing the Juſtice of the Parliament's Will, for their Demerits deprive them of thoſe Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Dignities and Poſſeſſions which they hold and enjoy. Or,

5. They are of that Number of the Nobility or Gentry of the Land, whoſe Lives have been very looſe and unbridled. Now theſe oppoſe the pious Proceedings of the Parliament, leſt ſuch Reſtraint ſhould be impoſed upon them by that Reformation which is intended and endeavoured by them, that they may, without Puniſhment, live as they liſt, have done, and deſire ſtill to do. Or,

6. They are ignorant Perſons. Now there is a two-fold Ignorance, *viz.*

1. Natural. Now they are naturally ignorant, who, for Want of Knowledge, Underſtanding, and Teaching, are neither able to diſcern of the Deſigns and Intentions of the adverſe Party, nor to foreſee the Miſeries which will come upon them by Aiding and Aſſiſting of, and Siding with them; nor to know what is their Duty, and how far, and in what Caſes they may aid and aſſiſt the Parliament againſt ſome perſonal or verbal Command of the King. And,

2. Affected. Now this miſchievous, malicious, and affected Ignorance, is in thoſe who will neither read nor hear any Thing which may inform them in the former Particulars, *viz.* The Nature, Intentions, Ends, and Fruits of evil Counſels and Counſellors; and what is their Duty in Regard to the great Counſel of the Land. Or,

7. They are of that Number of the Nobility and Gentry, who ſeek Preferment by Betraying their Country, to ſerve and be made ſubject to the Court. Or,

8. They are the Allies, Friends, Acquaintance, and Aſſociates of ſome of the former; who although in themſelves they ſtand not much diſaffected to Parliaments; yet, in Regard of their Friends, they leave it, and cleave unto them. Or,

9. They are timerous and fearful; who, although they wiſh well unto the Parliament, yet they dare not ſhew their Affection, nor afford any Aid unto them, leſt, thereby, they incur ſome Malice or Detriment through the King's Diſpleaſure. Or,

10. They are covetous, and deſirous to keep their Money and Means; and therefore, whatſoever their Hearts and Affections be unto the Parliament, they dare not ſhew their Approbation of their Proceedings, leſt they ſhould be wrought

wrought upon to ſupply them, and their Wants, for the Support of the State, their Neceſſities and Occaſions, in Regard of the Land, being great, urgent, and preſſing. Or,

II. They are *Machiavilians* and Politicians; who, deſiring with the Cat to fall on their Feet, and to be free from Blame and Danger, however the World wags, will neither ſide nor ſupport, neither aid nor aſſiſt, either King or Parliament.

Let us now ſeriouſly conſider three Things, from what been ſaid of the Nature of this Side, or Party, *viz.*

Firſt, Who are thoſe evil Counſellors which we muſt not adhere to, but deſert? It is denied, That there are any ſuch about the King; but I conceive what I ſhall ſay will not be gainſayed, *viz.* If there be any about the King who firſt move him to Civil Wars: And, *Secondly*, Perſuade him to rule his People according to his own Will, or an arbitrary Power: And, *Thirdly*, Strive to divide and eſtrange the King from his Parliament: And, *Fourthly*, Caſt, even in his Ears, Aſperſions and falſe Calumnies upon his Parliament: And, *Fifthly*, Labour to ruin and deſtroy the Parliament; And, *Sixthly*, By their Plots bring Miſery and Confuſion upon the whole Land: None, I ſay, will deny, but theſe are evil and wicked Counſellors, who deſerve to be diſclaimed, deſerted, and left free, and laid open to the Penalty of the Law. Now, that there are ſome ſuch about the King, or in high Favour, Power, and Credit with him, is more than evident, though I, and wiſer than I, cannot particularly name them; for,

1. His Majeſty profeſſeth a Deteſtation of War, and yet proſecutes it; which ſhews, that ſome put him upon it. And,

2. He proteſts to govern his People according to eſtabliſhed Law, and yet he hath been perſuaded to an arbitrary Government by them about him, by many plauſible and fair-ſeeming Arguments, as himſelf affirms in one of his Meſſages. And,

3. He ſolemnly profeſſeth his Love unto, and his Care of, and his honourable Reſpect to his Parliaments and their Privileges, and Preſervation; and yet, ſome have withdrawn his Perſon from the Parliament, and to himſelf vilified the Parliament; yea, have had Plots upon the Parliament, and have laboured that in them they might be countenanced and protected by his ſacred Majeſty. And,

4. The King again and again calleth God to witneſs the Sincerity of his Heart towards all his People, and how earneſtly deſirous he is, that they may live happily and proſperouſly under him; and yet, by following the Counſel of ſome, many, great, and long Evils have preſſed all the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. And, therefore, it muſt needs be granted, That there are malignant Counſellors about the King, who work much Miſery and Miſchief both to himſelf and his People; and that they cannot be unknown unto him, if he would pleaſe to diſcloſe, diſcover, and leave them to the juſt and equal Trial of the Lovers of the Land.

Secondly, Let us conſider, from this Army of Malignants, and miſchievous Counſellors, and Party, what, in all Probability, we may expect and and look for, if they prevail againſt the Parliament.

That is, if,

1. Men of deſperate Fortunes prevail, What can we expect but Plundering and Pillaging? And,

2. If Papiſts prevail, What Religion but Popery?

3. If Delinquents, What but Oppreſſion?

4. If bad Miniſters, What but bad Preaching and ill Practiſing?

5. If looſe Gentry, What but Profaneneſs?

6. If ambitious Spirits, What but Contempt, Cruelty, and Diſdain?

7. If ignorant Perſons, What but their own Self-wills?

8. If Delinquents and malignant Friends, What but ſuch a Meaſure as we find from Delinquents and Malignants themſelves? But from an Army conſiſting not of one, but of all theſe, What can we expect but all theſe Evils? And, from the Wickedneſs which will be committed by them, the heavy Judgment of God to be haſtened down upon us.

Thirdly, Let us conſider, whether there be any the leaſt Probability of Receiving any Benefit, or Profit, in any Regard, from this Side or Party if they ſhould prevail againſt the Parliament.

1. Can we expect that the Propriety of our Goods ſhall be maintained and preſerved unto us,

us, by Men of decayed, loſt, and deſperate Fortunes? Or,

2. Can we expect that the true orthodox Proteſtant Religion ſhall be maintained and preſerved, by heterodox and heretical Papiſts? Or,

3. Can we expect to be preſerved free from unjuſt Impoſitions and Taxes, by oppreſſing Projectors and Monopoliſts? Or,

4. Can we hope that our Parliament Priviledges will be preſerved by Delinquents, and Contemners of Parliaments? Or,

5. Can we expect the Propagation of the Goſpel, or that the ſincere, faithful, painful, and profitable Preaching thereof ſhall be promoted by lewd, lazy, and corrupt Miniſters? Or,

6. Can we expect that Piety, and the Honour of God, ſhall be preſerved in the Land, by looſe and prophane Gentlemen, and Nobles? Or,

7. Can we expect that Juſtice, juſt Meaſure, and Equity, ſhall be maintained by thoſe who aim at nothing but their own Gain and Greatneſs? Or,

8. Can we expect that our Laws ſhall be preſerved inviolably, by thoſe who are wholly bewitched with the Love of an arbitrary Government? Senſe and Reaſon will tell us, that theſe Things cannot be expected from thoſe Perſons; neither that any Good can come unto the Land from ſuch an Army.

I might conclude this laſt Anſwer, to that main Queſtion, Whether the Parliament be to be obeyed or deſerted? as I began it: To wit,

To one Side of Neceſſity we muſt adhere and cleave; that is, either to the evil and obſcure Counſellors, or to the Parliament.

But we muſt not adhere and ſtick to the evil and malignant Ones, for thoſe Reaſons ſpecified before.

Therefore we muſt adhere and cleave cloſe to the Parliament.

This Argument, I ſay, together with what hath been ſpoken againſt the Malignant Party, might be ſufficient for the Amplification of the laſt Anſwer: But as I have ſaid ſomething againſt the one Party, ſo I will ſay ſomething for the other, as I promiſed, for the better Faſtening and Setting of the Truth home upon the Heart, of whoſoever will vo[illegible] this Treatiſe.

Secondly, In that Side, or Pa[illegible] fiſts of the great and grand [illegible] Kingdom, I will (as in the ot[illegible] ſerve divers Things, for the A[illegible] this Truth, That the Parliame[illegible] be deſerted, but obeyed and affi[illegible]

1. The Ends of Parliaments.
2. Their Neceſſity.
3. Their Excellency.
4. Their Utility.
5. The Reaſon why we ought to believe ours.

Firſt, The Ends of Parliaments are briefly theſe two: To wit,

1. That the Intereſt of the People might be ſatisfied.
2. That the King might be better counſelled.

Secondly, The Neceſſity of this Parliament ſhews itſelf, by the miſerable and diſtreſſed Condition wherein our Land was, and the Multiplicity of Grievances we groaned under, as is to the Life declared, in the *Parliament's Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom*, ſet forth, *December* 15, 1641.

Thirdly, The Excellency of Parliaments is declared by his Majeſty himſelf, who doth highly extol the Conſtitution of this Government of ours, and eſpecially the Nature of Parliaments, which conſiſt of King, Peers, and Commons; acknowledging, that the Power, which is legally placed in both Houſes, is more than ſufficient to prevent and reſtrain the Power of Tyranny: Which argues plainly, that there is much and great Power (and that by Law) placed, and put into the Hands of both Houſes, or the major Part of both, for the Good and Preſervation of Peers and Commons, when the Commonwealth, or Whole, is in Danger, and the King, being ſeduced by wicked Counſel, doth deſert, and refuſe to join with them in their own Defence. For if they cannot do any Thing (upon any Occaſion, Neceſſity, Extremity, or Danger, tho' never ſo evident, apparent, or urgent) without the King, then the ſole Power of managing the Affairs of the Kingdom doth, even *in arduis*,

rduis, in high, yea, in the higheſt Caſes, belonging only unto the King; and nothing at all to either, or both Houſes, except, or but what he alledges: That is, though the Land were a bleeding, and were invaded by Hoſts and Armies from Abroad, and Papiſts and Rebels at Home (as *Ireland* now is) and the King would make no Proviſion againſt them, or for the Suppreſſing and Withſtanding of them; the Parliament muſt ſit ſtill, and ſuffer all to be loſt and ruined, having neither Power to raiſe, nor uſe any Force without the Thing.

Fourthly, The Utility and Benefit of Parliaments is great; and that both,

1. To Kings and Princes; and that,

1. In Regard of their Reputation, Fame, and Honour. *Antoninus Pius* is greatly renowned for communicating all weighty Affairs, and following publick Advice and Approbation in all great Expedients of high Concernments; and he was more honourable and proſperous therein, than was *Nero*, who made his own Will his Law. And thus always thoſe Princes have gained unto themſelves moſt Honour and Renown, who were moſt willing and ready to liſten to the Counſel of the Land in important Affairs: And, alſo,

2. In Regard of their Crown and State; for the Kings of *England*, by this repreſentative Body of their People, are always aſſiſted, and that upon all Occaſions: As for Example,

Firſt, If they lack Money for any neceſſary Occaſion, the Parliament ſupplies them.

Secondly, If they be invaded by any foreign or domeſtick Foe, or Force, the Parliament aſſiſts them.

Thirdly, If any be injured, reproached, or diſhonoured, by any potent Perſon or Prince, the Parliament will vindicate and avenge them. All which were ſeen evidently in Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Time, between her and her Parliament. And,

Fourthly, I may add, that none of our Princes were ever yet happy without the Uſe of Parliaments: And, therefore, it is plain, that they are beneficial and utile unto Princes, and conſequently not to be deſerted of Subjects which are loyal to Princes.

2. As Parliaments are uſeful and utile to Princes, ſo they are alſo beneficial and profitable unto People, as appears by three Particulars, *viz.*

1. Without Parliaments, People have no Poſſibility of Pleading their own Rights and Liberties, they being too confuſed a Body to appear in Vindication of their proper Intereſts. Whence it comes frequently to paſs, that what all ſhould look after, no Man does, and what is committed to none, no Man thinks his own Charge: And, therefore, ſome few choſen out by, and from amongſt the People, to conſider of their Liberties, Laws, and Grievances, muſt needs be very advantageous unto them.

2. As People cannot, without Confuſion, plead for themſelves, ſo often the ſubordinate Magiſtrates, and Judges of the Land, through Fear, Flattery, or private Corruptions, do often betray the People's Rights, by unjuſt Sentences or Verdicts: And, therefore, ſuch Counſellors as can have no private Aims or Ends of their own, but are themſelves involved in the ſame Condition with the People, both in Weal, and Woe, muſt needs be profitable for them. Yea,

3. By this preſent Parliament, we have reaped already many great and notable Benefits, and, therefore, may conclude from our own Experience, with a *Probatum eſt*, That Parliaments are beneficial to People. By this Parliament we are free from theſe two grievous arbitrary Courts, the High Commiſſion, the Purgatory of the Church, and Star-Chamber, the Terror of the Commonwealth; as alſo from the heavy Burthen of Ship-money, and the Oppreſſions we groaned under by Reaſon of Monopolies, and other illegal Impoſitions; yea, Biſhops removed out of the Houſe of Peers, who having their Dependence upon the King, for the moſt Part, would ſide with him, in any Thing, though it were adjudged by the Parliament to be deſtructive and hurtful to the Kingdom. This Particular is ſo abundantly amplified, and that ſo truly, by the Parliament in their Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom, ſet forth *December* 15, 1641, that I will not enlarge it; but only conclude, that, if the Ends, Neceſſity, Excellency, and Benefits of Parliaments be ſuch as hath been ſhewed, then they are worth ſtanding for, and ought not to be deſerted. Now,

Fifthly, We will take a ſhort View of ſome particular Reaſons why we ought to believe,

and obey this our preſent Parliament, and not relinquiſh it, *viz.*

1. Becauſe they can have no By-ends, nor baſe Reſpects of their own: For, if they aimed at Promotion, Preferment, and Wealth, they might much eaſilier attain thoſe, by complying with, than by oppoſing the Deſigns and perſonal Commands of the King. It is, or at leaſt hath been, an approved Maxim, That a Community can have no private Ends to miſlead it, and to make it injurious to itſelf: And I never heard nor read ſo much as one Story of any Parliament freely elected and held, that ever, for any Ends of their own, did injure a whole Kingdom, or exerciſe any Tyranny over the Land; but divers Kings have done ſundry Acts of Oppreſſion; for nothing can ſuit or ſquare with the common Counſel, but only the common Good, and therefore it is great Reaſon that we ſhould believe and obey them. And,

2. Becauſe no Benefit at all can redound unto them by feigning, forging, or counterfeiting of falſe Fires, Fears, Chimera's, and Dangers which are not. And therefore we may the better believe what they ſay. And,

3. Becauſe we never yet found them falſe unto us. It was the Saying of one, If my Friend deceive me once, I will blame him; but if twice, myſelf; meaning, that he would never truſt him the ſecond Time, who deceived him once. Now Charity perſuades us to hope, and believe, where we ſee nothing to the contrary; and give Credit unto them, in whom we never ſaw any Deſigns, or Endeavours, to betray us, or our Liberties, but rather always on the Contrary. And,

4. Becauſe they know more than any one of us. Two Eyes, we ſay, ſee more than one; and the Parliament is the Eyes and the Ears of the Republick, and their Information, Conference, Intelligence, Experience, Knowledge, *&c.* doth afford unto them ſome Sight and Inſight into all Things, Paſſages, Occaſions, Affairs, Negotiations, *&c.* both at Home and Abroad. And, therefore, it is not without Cauſe, that we ſhould believe them. And,

5. Becauſe they never ſhewed any Diſloyalty unto the King, that ever yet was obſerved by the Commons or Commonwealth, whom they repreſent. We find in all their Petitions, royal Expreſſions, humble Suits, hearty Intreaties unto his Majeſty to comply with them for his own Honour and Safety, ſolemn Proteſtations of the Sincerity of their Intentions towards his Majeſty, and free and full Promiſes, neither to ſpare Pains, Purſe, Perſons, nor Eſtates, for the Defence of his Perſon, and Preſervation of his Honour; yea, unwearied and, beyond human Patience, continued Supplications to his Majeſty to join with them, yea, continually praying, and [illegible] taking no Notice of perſonal Imputations, yea, reproachful Aſperſions, that have been caſt upon them; ſtill taking, as much as poſſibly they can, all Blame from his Majeſty, and laying it upon his evil Council. And,

6. Becauſe the King himſelf doth not accuſe the Parliament, but only ſome few particular Perſons therein; and, therefore, that which comes, or is commended unto us by the whole Parliament, we may believe and obey, his Majeſty promiſing to protect them and their Privileges, and to except them in all his Taxes and Accuſations. And,

7. *Laſtly*, We may obey and adhere unto the Parliament, becauſe the King of Kings ſeems to favour their Proceedings. How do we ſee the Lord blowing upon all the Devices of their Enemies, ſometimes turning them back upon themſelves, and ſometimes turning their Wiſdom into Fooliſhneſs: Or, what Counſels, what Letters, what Plots and Practices, what Words and Paſſages, againſt King and Parliament, have ſtrangely been diſcovered, prevented, and come to Light, to the Joy and Rejoicing of Parliament and People, and Terror and Amazement of the Contrivers, and Authors of them? How extraordinarily the Lord hath aſſiſted that honourable Aſſembly with Zeal, Courage, Wiſdom, Diſcretion, Prudence, Moderation, Patience, and Conſtancy in all their Conſultations and Deſires? How hath the Lord preſerved their Perſons from imminent Peril, and given them Favour in the Eyes of all Counties, notwithſtanding the baſe and bitter Aſperſions caſt upon them by ſome? When they had Cauſe to be diſcouraged, by Reaſon of the ſtrong Oppoſition of the Delinquents, and diſaffected Perſons, what Encouragements have they even then found, from the Petitions, Promiſes, and Reſolutions of divers Shires? Wherefore, ſeeing theſe are Bleſſings, and ſuch as belong unto the Godly, we may perſuade ourſelves, that the Lord, ſeeing the Sincerity of their Intentions,

ions, doth in much Mercy ſhew his gra- s Acceptation of their Zeal, for the Good our Church, King, and Commonwealth. nclude this Particular, if the Lord ſeem to o our grave and gracious Senators, as he unto *Joſhua*, There ſhall be none able to ſtand you, becauſe I will be with you, I will not leave you, nor forſake you; fore, be ſtrong, and of good Courage: n let none, who would be the Lord's Sol- and Servants, deſert the Horſemen of *Iſ- rael*, and the Chariots thereof, yea, the Lord's Captains who fight his Battles.

And thus, by a ſerious Conſideration of theſe Grounds, we may eaſily conjecture, yea, abundantly ſatisfy ourſelves in this Point, That the Parliament is not to be deſerted, or forſaken by us. I proceed now unto the next Quære, which is,

Whether may the King be diſobeyed, and his Commands withſtood, or not? Whether he is to be oppoſed in his Proceedings by any Command of the Parliament? Or, Whether are we now to obey King, or Parliament?

Firſt, Some Princes think, that they may lawfully do whatſoever they have Power to do, or can do; but the Contrary ſeems truer, both by the Light of Reaſon, Religion, and all Power intruſted by Law in the Hands of any, *viz.* That Princes have no Power to do, but what is lawful, and fit to be done.

Secondly, Perſonal Actions of Superiors may be diſobeyed. The Grammarians ſay, *Rex Regis, à Rego*, the Word *King*, comes from Governing, becauſe Kings are no other, but more high and ſupreme Governors and Magiſtrates. Now ſome hold, and, I think, warrantably, that, if any Magiſtrate, or Judge, do purſue a Man, not judicially, and by Order of Law, but invade him by Violence, without any juſt Cauſe, againſt all Law, that then, in ſo doing, he is to be held as a private Perſon, and as ſuch we may defend ourſelves againſt him. As, for Example, A Woman may defend her own Body againſt an Adulterer, though a Magiſtrate. A Servant may hold his Maſter's Hands, if he ſeek to kill Wife or Children in his Rage. Mariners and Paſſengers may reſiſt him who ſtands at the Helm, if they ſee that he would run the Ship againſt a Rock; yea, they might hold the Prince's Hands, if, being at the Helm, he miſgoverns the Ship, to their certain Shipwreck without Prevention, becauſe, by his ſo Governing thereof, he hazards both his own Life and theirs, and they, by Holding of his Hands, prevent both his and their own Ruin, which ſeems to be our preſent Caſe; and, therefore, much more may the whole Body defend itſelf againſt any ſuch unjuſt and unlawful Invaſion, as will indanger the Safety and Welfare of all.

Thirdly, The King's perſonal, that is, verbal Commands, without any Stamp of his Authority upon them, and againſt the Order of both Houſes of Parliament, I imagine may be diſobeyed. For, I do conceive, that no Lawyer will ſay, Suppoſe the King ſhould take the Broad-Seal of *England* from the Lord Keeper, into his own Hands, that all the Writs whatſoever he ſhould iſſue forth, ſigned with his own Hand, and ſealed therewith, ought to be obeyed: For it is not the Stamp and Impreſſion of the Seal which makes a Thing lawful; but the Keeper thereof ought to be a Lawyer, and, by his Place, ſhould not, for Fear or Favour, ſign any Writs therewith, but ſuch as are legal; and, if he do otherwiſe, he is liable to be queſtioned, and cenſured by a Parliament. And, therefore, doubtleſs, when Writs and Precepts are iſſued forth without the Broad-Seal, or without a regal, that is, legal Authority, as all the Writs and Commiſſions, for executing the Commiſſion of Array, are, as is proved both by the Parliament and others, they may be diſobeyed and withſtood, eſpecially when they are deſtructive to the Commonwealth.

Fourthly, Princes by Parliaments may be withſtood, when they deſire, or endeavour thoſe Things, which tend to the Invaſſaling of their People. Kings, we know, ſometimes have loved their Enemies more than their Friends, and have marched forth amongſt their Enemies, to encounter with their Friends. As, for Example, *Richard the Second* thought *Spencer*, and his Confederates, his beſt Friends, though they were baſe Sycophants, and baneful Foes; and conceited that his Peers, who were his loyaleſt Subjects, were the traeſt Traitors. And hence Princes, being abuſed by the Flattery of private Perſons, for ſome wicked Ends of their own, have followed their private perverſe Counſels before the grave, loyal, and faithful Advice of their ſage Senate. Now that it is lawful for Parliaments to with-

ſtand Princes, who make unlawful War upon their People, is ſo evidently proved, by the Author of that lately come forth, and learned and pious Treatiſe, called, A ſovereign Antidote to prevent Civil Wars, *Pag.* 6, 7, 8, 9, *&c.* that at preſent I wholly ſilence it.

Fifthly, The Matter, with us, is quite and generally miſtaken, and the Queſtion altogether wrong ſtated, *viz.* Whether we ſhould obey the King, or Parliament? For the King and Parliament are not like two parallel Lines, which can never meet, nor like two incompatible Qualities, which cannot be both in one Subject; nor like the Ark and *Dagon*, whom one Houſe will not hold; nor like God and Mammon, which one Man cannot ſerve: For by Siding with, and Aſſiſting of the Parliament, in thoſe Things which are according to Law, we ſide with, and ſerve the King.

Two Things are here diſtinguiſhable, to wit,

1. In our Obeying of the Parliament according to Law, we obey the King. This his Majeſty grants, commands, and commends; yea, profeſſeth, that he requires no Obedience of us to himſelf, farther than he enjoins that which lawful and juſt: And,

2. In our Obeying of the Parliament in this preſent Military and Martial Deſign, we ſtand for the King, not againſt him: That is, for the Good of his Soul, Perſon, Eſtate, Honour, and Poſterity; of which a Word or two ſeverally.

1. They ſtand for the Soul of their Sovereign, who withſtand him, having a lawful Call and Warrant thereunto, from doing thoſe Things which, if he do, he can never juſtify in the Court of Conſcience, nor at the great Chancery Day of Judgment, but muſt ſink under the Sentence of Condemnation, for thoſe unlawful and unjuſtifiable Facts: And therefore the Parliament, and we in Obedience unto them, are Friends unto the Soul of our dread Sovereign, in not obeying, aiding, and aſſiſting of him, to make unnatural, unlawful, and unwarrantable Wars, upon his Parliament and People, which can never be defended, or juſtified before or unto God, to whom the mighti- as well as the meaneſt, muſt give a ſtrict count of all their Actions at the laſt Day:

They ſtand for the King's Perſon, who , join, and ſide with the Parliament. His Majeſty's Perſon is now environed by thoſe who carry him, as far Probability can ſee, up the Deſtruction of all h the Parliament ſeeing, from ſuch falſe Hands, *viz.*

1. By perſuading, humbly ſoliciting his M and to rejoice and mak Parliament and People with them. But this plication, will not yet much Importunity and many loyal Expreſſions deſired. And,

2. By labouring to take his evil Counſellors from him; they being confidently aſſured, and piouſly perſuaded, of the King's ſweet Diſpoſition, and Readineſs to comply with them, in any Thing which might conduce to the Good, either of Church or Commonwealth, if he were not overſwayed and deluded by the feigned, flattering, and crafty Counſel of thoſe about him, who look with a ſiniſter Eye upon our State. Now this ſeems to me to be all that is aimed at, in this preſent Military and Martial Deſign: For the Parliament do not purpoſely, and in their firſt Intentions, intend by their Soldiers to cut off any) for, if any be ſlain by them, it is by Accident) but to preſerve and keep the Peace of the Kingdom, to maintain the Privileges of Parliament, the Laws of the Land, the free Courſe of Juſtice, the Proteſtant Religion, the King's Authority and Perſon in his royal Dignity, and to attach, arreſt, and bring ſuch as are accuſed, or imagined, to be the Diſturbers and Firebrands of the Kingdom, unto a fair, juſt, equal, and legal Trial, which no Man can think unlawful in our *Law*-makers: And therefore, both Senators and Subjects, in the Proſecution of this Deſign, ſtand for the Safety of their Prince's Perſon. And,

3. They ſtand for his State, Wealth, Honour, and Reputation, for I conjoin all theſe together. Kings acquire and accumulate more Honour, Reſpect, Wealth, and Power, by their Meekneſs towards, tender Love of, and vigilant Care for their Subjects, and their Safety, as we ſee in Queen *Eliſabeth* and *Tiberius*, ſo long as he was ſuch, than by tyranniſing over, and cruelly oppreſſing and handling of them, as we ſee *in Caligula*. If our gracious Sovereign would be but pleaſed to conſider the Honour and Proſperity which his

Predeceſſors

Predeceſſors have enjoyed, by following the Advice of their Parliaments, and the Diſhonour our Nation hath in divers Deſigns received Abroad, and the grievous Troubles, Vexation, and Diſcord, we have had at Home, ſince Parliaments have been diſuſed, and laid aſleep, he would then certainly ſee, that they ſeek his Wealth, Honour, Reputation, and Welfare, who deſire to reconcile and conjoin him unto his Parliament, and adviſe him to govern his People by Parliaments, and endeavour to free him from the Power and Hands of thoſe, who, being themſelves, deſire likewiſe to make him an Enemy unto Parliaments. And,

4. They ſtand for his Poſterity: For, as evil-gotten Goods ſlip and waſte away, and ſeldom continue to the third Generation; ſo Kings cannot be ſure, that their Poſterity ſhall peaceably and ſucceſſively enjoy their Crowns, except themſelves rule and govern according to Law, Righteouſneſs only eſtabliſhing the Crown and Throne, both upon Princes, and their Poſterity; and therefore they, who aſſiſt not the King in thoſe Things, Ways, and Courſes, which are illegal, grievous, yea, deſtructive to the Commonwealth, are his Children's and Poſterity's beſt Friends.

I conclude this Queſtion with this Argument:

Thoſe who labour, with their Lives and Eſtates, to defend and maintain the King's Soul, Honour, Reputation, Wealth, Perſon, and Poſterity, obey and ſtand for him,

But the Parliament, and all thoſe who ſide with them in this preſent Deſign, labour, with their Lives and Eſtates, to maintain and defend the King's Soul, Honour, Reputation, Wealth, Perſon, and Poſterity.

Therefore the Parliament, and all thoſe who ſide with them in this preſent Deſign, in ſo Doing, obey and ſtand for him.

It ſhould ſeem, by what hath been ſpoken, That neither Parliament, nor People, doth intend the leaſt Indignity, Diſhonour, or Diſloyalty to the King; and it is moſt perſpicuouſly and clearly to be ſeen, in all the King's gracious Meſſages and Declarations, That he hath no Deſign upon his People, or Parliament, neither intends any Harm, Oppoſition, or Oppreſſion unto them, but profeſſeth to rule them according to Law and Equity: How then comes it to paſs, that either the Parliament will not, or dare not, confide in the King?

Firſt, It is becauſe they ſee, that ſome about the King are potent with him, who affect not the Parliament, nor their Proceedings; have that Influence in his Councils, and are ſo predominant and prevalent with him, that they have often varied and altered him from his Words and Promiſes. It is a Maxim in Law, The King can do no Wrong: For, if any evil Act be committed in Matters of State, his Council; if in Matters of Juſtice, his Judges muſt anſwer for it; and therefore I will not lay any Fault upon the King, but rather impute the Faults, which have been of late obvious unto many, unto ſome about him, or in great Favour with him. Great Diſcouragements, I grant, the Parliament, in their Proceedings, have had from the King; but I dare not imagine, that they came originally and primarily from him, but from ſome about him, in Regard of that vaſt Difference, which is between his Words ſpoken to his Parliament with his own Mouth, when he was with them, and the Meſſages ſent unto, and the heavy Charges laid upon them, in his Letters and Declarations, now when he is abſent from them. *He ſaid once*, That on the Word of a King, and as he was a Gentleman, he would redreſs the Grievances of his People, as well out of Parliament, as in it. Again: That he was reſolved to put himſelf freely and clearly upon the Love and Affection of his *Engliſh* Subjects. Again: We do engage unto you ſolemnly the Word of a King, that the Security of all and every one of you from Violence is, and ever ſhall be, as much our Care, as the Preſervation of us and our Children. And yet, What Actions and Paſſages have of late fallen out, quite contrary to all theſe Expreſſions? The Parliament, and all who ſide with it, aſſiſt it, or obey it, in any of the Commiſſions or Orders thereof, being aſſaulted, oppoſed, yea, now at laſt proclaimed Traitors. Again, his Majeſty doth profeſs the Deteſtation of a Civil War, and abhors, as he ſaith, the very Apprehenſion of it: But this Mind neither ſeemed to be in them who came with his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, nor who accompanied him to *Hampton-Court*, and appeared in a warlike Manner at *Kingſton*; nor in divers of thoſe who have been with him, and

and employed by him at *York*, *Hull*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, and other Places; and therefore we muſt needs conceive, that the King is put upon theſe Courſes and Ways by his evil Counſellors, and, conſequently, that the Parliament cannot confide in his Words and Promiſes, until thoſe Counſellors be put from him, or forſaken by him. And,

Secondly, Becauſe of that Truſt which is repoſed in them. I dare boldly ſay, That, if the King ſhould take or make thoſe Proteſtations, which he makes in his Meſſages and Declarations, unto any one of the Parliament-houſe, for the Performance of any Promiſe, either unto them or theirs, which did ſimply or ſolely concern themſelves, they would believe and obey him, and, without any further Queſtion, confide in him; but they cannot do this in the Caſe and Place wherein they are. The Truſt, repoſed by the People in the Parliament, is as well to preſerve the Kingdom by making of new Laws, when and where there ſhall be Need, as by obſerving and putting the Laws already made in Execution: And therefore, in Regard of this Truth, they dare not hazard the Safety, Preſervation, and ſole Managing of the Land to his Majeſty alone, upon his bare Word; becauſe, if after ſuch Confiding of theirs in the King, upon his faithful Promiſe unto them, he ſhould be overſwayed, and ſeduced by ſome wicked Counſellors, to lay ſome illegal Impoſitions, Taxations, and Burdens upon his People (as he did ſoon after the Granting of the Petition of Right unto the Subject) the Kingdom then would (and might juſtly) blame them as the Authors of their Grievances, that had ſo lightly given away their Liberty and Freedom, by ſubjecting them to an arbitrary Power. And indeed, if we would but conſider it without Paſſion and Partiality, the Caſe is no other but this: If the Parliament ſhould wholly confide in the King's Words and Promiſes, then there were no more requiſite in them, than this, To make a Declaration unto his Majeſty of the Grievances, Burdens, Annoyances, and illegal Proceedings in all, or ſome of ſuch Courts or Perſons, to the great Vexation and Heart-breaking of the Subject, and, having ſo done, to obtain ſome ſerious Promiſe and Proteſtation from the King to take off all theſe Preſſures, and to be careful for the future, that no ſuch ſhall be impoſed upon them; and then to confide in the King, and to break up the Parliament, [illegible] one to his own Houſe. [illegible] ſon, Experience, and [illegible] that this is far from, [illegible] true Nature and Duty [illegible] Parliament, [illegible] let us think, that it is [illegible] (as the Caſe now ſtands) that the Parliament [illegible] confide in the King. And,

Thirdly, Becauſe it [illegible] the Time to come. Admitting our preſent Sovereign were as prudent as *Solomon*, yea, as pious as *David*, yea, like him, a Man after God's own Heart; yet it were dangerous for the Parliament ſo to confide in him, that they ſhould truſt the Managing of all the great and weighty Affairs of this Kingdom wholly and ſolely unto him, and conſequently granting him an arbitrary Power to rule us according to the Dictates of his own Conſcience, or as the Lord would move and perſuade his Heart. This, I ſay, is not ſafe; becauſe, if they grant, give, or ſettle this Power upon him, as King of *England*, then all other ſucceeding Kings will challenge and claim it as due, or think they are not reſpected as their Predeceſſors; whence, if any of them prove Tyrants, or tyrannous Oppreſſors, we ſhall be moſt miſerable and wretched Slaves.

Object. Some, perhaps, may here object, That, although Princes ſhould not uſe their Abſolute Power, by doing always what they liſt, yet they ought not to be circumſcribed, limited, or reſtrained in their Government, by any Tye or Obligation of Law.

Anſw. 1. *Firſt*, It is much better, conſidering the Corruption of our Nature, to be withheld, by ſome Reſtraints of Law and Covenant, from that which is evil, and which we cannot juſtify before God in the Court of Conſcience, than to be boundleſs, lawleſs, and left to live as we liſt, and to do whatſoever ſeems good in our own Eyes.

Anſw. 2. *Secondly*, This alſo is better for others; for, as the Crane had better keep his Head out of the Wolf's Mouth, than put it into his Mouth, and then ſtand at his Mercy, whether he will bite off his Neck, or not; ſo it is better for every wiſe Man rather to keep and preſerve thoſe Immunities, Freedoms, Prerogatives, and Privileges, which God and Nature

ture hath given unto him for the Preſervation, Proſperity, and Peace of his Poſterity, Perſon, and Eſtate, than to diſfranchiſe himſelf, and to relinquiſh and reſign all into the Hands of another, and to give him Power either to impoveriſh or inrich him, either to kill, or keep him alive.

Queſt. 7. I come now unto the laſt Queſtion, which is this: Suppoſe Things come into this Height and Iſſue, that the King will have the Parliament to confide in him for all they deſire of him, or otherwiſe he will by Wars labour to have his Will of them; then, Whether is this Martial and Military Deſign, undertaken by the Parliament, againſt that Party which is owned and aided by the King, lawful, or unlawful? And, conſequently, Whether may and ought we to aſſiſt them, or not?

Anſw. 1. *Firſt*, in general, I anſwer concerning Means by theſe Propoſitions, to wit,

1. Means muſt be uſed for Preventing and Removing of all temporal Evils.

2. The Means to be uſed, for the Removal of temporal Maladies, muſt be always lawful; for we muſt never do Evil, that Good may come there thereof.

3. The Means to be uſed muſt be always conformable, anſwerable, and ſuitable to the Malady; as, for Example: A Man muſt not take a Sword to quench a Fire, nor think to defend himſelf againſt an armed Foe (who comes with his Sword drawn, or Muſquet charged, or Piſtol cocked to take away his precious Life) with fair Words; but muſt conſider what Remedy, or Means, is moſt proper for the Preventing of the Evil feared. Now there is no Means better againſt Offenſive Wars, than Defenſive.

Anſw. 2. *Secondly*, I anſwer in general again, concerning Actions, by two Propoſitions; to wit:

1. That, which is not lawful for a private Perſon to do, is lawful for a Publick: As for Example, it is not lawful for a private Perſon to take away the Life of one, whom he knows to have robbed, or murdered ſome one or other, but it is lawful for the Judge upon the Bench, upon good Proof, to do it.

2. That, which is not lawful for a private Perſon, in his own particular Cauſe, is lawful for him, in a Publick: As for Example, had *Faux* been ready to have given Fire to his Train, when the Parliament had been full, and in the very Inſtant, had fallen by a private Man's Sword, that Act had not been puniſhable, but Praiſe-worthy; but it is not lawful for a private Man to take away the Life of one, becauſe he ſees or knows, that he intends ſome Miſchief againſt his Neighbour or Acquaintance; but is bound only to endeavour to hinder, and prevent it, or, at leaſt, not to fall upon him, except he can, by no other Means, prevent the Death, and preſerve the Life of his Brother; and neither is this, I think, lawful in all Caſes.

3. That, which is not lawful for a private and particular Man to do, upon his own Head, is lawful for him to do, being commanded by Authority: As for Example, if it be not lawful, for Sir *John Hotham*, to ſhut the Gates of *Hull*, againſt the King, of his own Accord; yet it is lawful, being warranted and commanded by the Parliament. If it be not lawful, for the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Bedford*, to take up Arms to ſuppreſs that Party, which oppreſſeth the Kingdom, of themſelves, yet it is lawful, by the Order and Commiſſion of Parliament; as is proved by *the Sovereign Antidote to appeaſe our Civil Wars*.

Anſw. 3. *Thirdly*, If his Majeſty paſſed an Act, not only of Oblivion, but of Juſtification to our Brethren of *Scotland*, for their Wars, or for taking up Weapons againſt his Inſtruments; then I cannot ſee wherein, or how our Defenſive Arms ſhould ſo much differ from theirs that they, in ſo doing, ſhould be loyal Subjects, and we diſloyal Traitors.

Anſw. 4. *Fourthly*, A neceſſary War muſt needs be lawful; for the Power and Force of Neceſſity is ſuch, that it juſtifieth Actions, otherwiſe unwarrantable. The tranſcendent ἀρχὴ of all Politicks, or the Law Paramount, which gives Law to all human Laws whatſoever, is, *Salus populi*, The Safety of the People; and this ſupreme Law of Nations, *Salus populi*, hath its immediate Riſe from the Law of Nature, which teacheth every Worm, much more a Man, and moſt of all a whole Nation, to provide for its Safety, in Time of Neceſſity. Is is not always lawful for us to kill thoſe, who ſtand at our

our Doors, or who would keep us from coming out of our Doors; but if our Houſes be blocked up, and we ſo hindered from Commerce with others, or from ſeeking Relief, for the Suſtentation of our own Lives, that we, and ours, are in Danger to famiſh; it is lawful, then, to iſſue forth, with the Forces we can make, to fight ourſelves free: How much more lawful, then, is it to fight for the Liberty and Preſervation of a Church and State? It ſeems evident by the cleareſt Beams of human Reaſon, and the ſtrongeſt Inclinations of Nature, That every private Perſon may defend himſelf, if unjuſtly aſſaulted, yea, even againſt a Magiſtrate, or his own Father, when he hath no Way to eſcape by Flight: Much more lawful then is it, for a whole Nation, to defend themſelves againſt ſuch Aſſaſſins, as labour to deſtroy them, though the King will not allow them Defence. Let us conſider the Miſeries, and heavy Burthens, which we muſt lie under, if we undertake not this Defenſive War, and that will ſhew us the Neceſſity thereof. Now, the Evils, which we are in Danger of, are of that Nature, that if they ſhould fall upon us, which the Lord in Mercy forbid, we would think, that it were better for us to have no Being, than ſuch a miſerable Being. The preſent Caſe ſeems to many, who ſee thoroughly into Things, to be three-fold, *viz.*

1. Whether Popery, or Proteſtantiſm? And this Doubt ariſes, from the King's Aſſiſtants and Agents, in his Deſigns; or ſome who are in near Truſt, and of great Power with his Majeſty, who, for the moſt Part, are either of no Religion, or of any Religion, or of the Popiſh Religion, or Popiſhly inclined and affected. And,

2. Whether Slavery, or Liberty? And this Doubt ariſes from the Doctrines, Counſels, and Perſuaſions of thoſe about the King, who perſuade him, that it is lawful for him to do what he liſt. And,

3. Whether Eſtates, or none? And this Doubt ariſes from ſome Speeches, fallen from ſome in Place and Authority: That all we have is the King's; that, when there is Neceſſity, he may command of, or take from us, what he pleaſes; and that he alone is the ſole Judge of this Neceſſity. The Caſe being thus with us, it ſeems unnatural, that any Nation ſhould be bound to contribute its own inherent Puiſſance, merely to abet Tyranny, and ſupport Slavery: That is, to fight themſelves [illegible] Aid, Aſſiſtance, and Succ[illegible] ſons or Purſes, to thoſe who [illegible] your to introduce Popery [illegible] Church, and to bring [illegible] very and Bondage, that [illegible] over them, at Pleaſure. [illegible] ſity of this War ſhews [illegible] of.

Fifthly, Defenſive W[illegible] lawful: Now the Natu[illegible] War is Defenſive, and ſo the more juſtifiable. For,

1. The King's Majeſty miſled by Malignants, and malevolent Perſons, made Preparations for War, before any ſuch Thing was thought upon by the Parliament. And,

2. We intend not the Hurt of others, but our own Peace and Preſervation; the Deſign being but to ſuppreſs Riots, to keep the Peace, and to bring Delinquents to a fair, juſt, and legal Trial. And,

3. Our Arms will be laid down, as ſoon as we are aſſured of a firm Peace, and to be ruled, as becometh a free People, who are not born Slaves.

Sixthly, We may gueſs at the Nature of this Defenſive War, by divers Particulars; as namely,

Firſt, By the Perſons, againſt whom, this Deſign is undertaken, which is not the King, as was proved before, and ſhall be further enlarged by and by; but the Malignants of the Kingdom, which we labour to ſuppreſs, and to bring to Puniſhment in a legal Way. We go againſt the Troublers of *Iſrael*, the Firebrands of Hell, the *Korahs*, *Balaams*, *Doegs*, *Rabſhaka's*, *Hamans*, *Tobiahs* and *Sanballats* of our Time. And,

Secondly, By the Perſons moſt favouring and furthering of this Defenſive War, who are, in every Place, thoſe who ſtand moſt cordially affected to the Good of the Commonwealth, and moſt ſincerely addicted to the Purity of the Church, and the intire Profeſſion and Practice of Religion. And,

Thirdly, By the Mercy and Favour of God, towards the Parliament, the principal Agents and Authors of this Deſign. If we conſider,

1. How

3. How the Lord preſerved their Perſons, from the malicious Intentions of the Cavaliers, when they went to the very Door of the Houſe.

4. How he diſcovered the Plots and Practices which were intended for the Bringing up of the Army out of the North againſt them. And,

5. How he directed them, in their Settling of the Militia and Navy, when Things were almoſt come to their Height. And,

6. How he hath, from Time to Time, and ſtill doth encourage them with, or by the Love, Loyalty, Fidelity, Faith, and firm Reſolutions of the moſt Part of all Counties, to ſtand and fall, live and die with them. And,

5. How, hitherto, he hath extraordinarily turned all the Plots of their Enemies, againſt themſelves, and produced Effects quite contrary to thoſe they intended, and fruſtrated all their Hopes.

If, I ſay, we conſider theſe Things, we cannot but ſay of the Parliament-Houſe, and Parliament-Men: Surely God is in this Place, and in the Midſt of you, and preſent with you, and Preſident amongſt you; and we confidently hope, that the Lord will preſerve and keep you, and finiſh the Work he hath begun by you, to your Comfort, his Glory, and our Good. And,

Fourthly, We may gueſs at the Goodneſs of the Deſign, by the Time, when it was undertaken; for it was not begun, until all other Means failed; and therefore may be called, *ultimum & unicum remedium*, the laſt and only Means left. The old Rule was obſerved by them, *Non recurrendum eſt ad extraordinaria, in iis quæ fieri poſſunt per ordinaria*; they tried all fair and ordinary Means, and never had Recourſe to extraordinary and extreme Courſes, until no other would prevail. We and they have again and again petitioned the King, but cannot prevail; and therefore, all other Politick Means failing us, we ought generally (ſeeing the Miſery which is threatened is general) to join Heads, Hearts, Hands, and Eſtates together, to fight for our King, Country, Parliament, Selves, Religion, Laws, Liberties, Lives, and all that is ours, becauſe now all is at Stake. And,

Laſtly, We may clearly ſee the Lawfulneſs of this defenſive War, if we but look upon the Cauſes and Ends thereof, which are many, as namely,

1. The Glory of God.
2. The Good of the Church.
3. The Propagation of the Goſpel.
4. The Peace of the Kingdom.
5. The Proſperity of the Commonwealth.
6. The Maintenance of the King's Honour, Authority, and Perſon, in his Royal Dignity.
7. The Liberties and Immunities of the Commons.
8. The Preſervation of the repreſentative Body of the Realm.
9. The Privileges of Parliament.
10. The Laws of the Land: And,
11. The free Courſe of Juſtice.

But I will reduce all theſe to four Heads; to wit, God's Glory, the King's Honour, the Parliament's Safety, and the Kingdom's Preſervation.

Firſt, This defenſive War is undertaken by the Parliament for God's Glory, and the Maintenance of true Religion. Now we may, yea ought to fight, to maintain the Purity and Subſtance of Religion, that it may neither be changed into the ceremonious Formalities of Popery, nor our Conſciences brought into the Subjection of *Romiſh* and Antichriſtian Slavery.

Secondly, This defenſive War is undertaken by the Parliament for the King's Honour and Safety. Now we are bound, by the Duty of Allegiance, to defend and maintain the King's Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate; and therefore,

1. It is our Duty to labour, by all lawful Means, to free his Perſon from thoſe Aſſiſtins, who violently, by their wicked Counſel, Aſſiſtance, and Perſuaſion, carry him upon his own Danger, and the Deſtruction of his liege and moſt loyal Subjects. And,

2. It is our Duty to labour to maintain the King's Honour; and therefore, when he is over-ruled by thoſe, who, through their Subtlety, work ſo upon his mild and pliant Temper, that they make him appear to his Subjects, yea foreign Nations, to be a Defender

of Delinquents, and evil Counſellors, againſt his loving Subjects and loyal Parliament, which tends infinitely to his Diſhonour; it is then our Duty to labour to unwind and diſentangle him from their Practices, or, by Force, pluck away their Perſons from about him. And,

3. It is our Duty to maintain his Majeſty's Eſtate. Now, as the Lord *Burleigh* would often ſay to Queen *Eliſabeth*, Madam, get but your Subjects Hearts, and you need not fear their Purſes; ſo I may ſay, that the Love and Affection of the King's Subjects (which his Parliament labours to inrich him withal, and to poſſeſs him of) will be more advantageous unto him for Matter of State, than all the Prerogatives and Privileges, which his obſcure Counſellors perſuade, and endeavour ſo much for, againſt the Will and Welfare of his People. And if we compare our Queen *Eliſabeth* (who would have nothing, but by, and from the Parliament, with the Love and Affection of her People) with the King of *Spain*, who, by an arbitrary Power, tyranniſeth over his Subjects, we ſhall then ſee, as clear as the Sun, that where Princes, by joining with Parliaments, labour to unite the Hearts and Affections of their People unto them, their Riches abound more, both with Prince and People, than in thoſe Kingdoms where all cruel Courſes are taken by the King to impoveriſh the Commons.

Thirdly, This defenſive War is undertaken by us, at the Parliament's Command, for their Safety. Now, both Reaſon and Religion will teach us, that if our pious Parliament, and ſage Senate, for the Maintaining of our Lives, Liberties, and Laws, and in, or for Oppoſing of itſelf, not againſt the King's Perſon, Honour, or Eſtate, but againſt his Affections miſled by evil Counſellors, ſhall be expoſed to Danger, Diſſolution, or Death; then it is our Duty, by defenſive War, to withſtand that Power, or Force which is levied againſt them.

Fourthly, This military Deſign is undertaken for the Kingdom's Preſervation. Now both the Laws of God and Man (as is, Againſt all Contradiction, proved in the Treatiſe, called 'A ſovereign Antidote to prevent and 'appeaſe our Civil Wars') will bear us out, for taking up defenſive Arms for the ſafety of our Kingdom and Commonwealth. That is, if we ſee Endeavours and Deſigns a-foot, for the Reducing of the Government of this Kingdom to the Condition of thoſe Countries, which are not governed by Parliaments and eſtabliſhed Laws, but by the Will of the Prince and his Favourites; then it is lawful for us to aſſiſt the repreſentative Body of the Land, whom we intruſt with our Laws and Liberties, againſt thoſe who reſiſt and oppoſe them, that they may the more eaſily prevail againſt, and make good their Deſigns upon us.

And therefore, although we will never ceaſe to ſue unto the King, and humbly to ſupplicate the King of Kings for Peace and Unity, yet, if we cannot obtain it, without the Diſhonour of God, the Loſs of our Religion, Privileges, Liberties, and Laws, the Endangering, yea Expoſing of our moſt faithful Parliament to imminent Peril, and the Hazard of his Majeſty's Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate; we may then, with the Peace of God, his holy Angels, and of our own Conſciences, take up Arms in the Defence of all theſe.

The

The Summarie of certaine Reaſons, which have moved Quene *Elizabeth* to procede in Reformations of her baſe and courſe Monies, and to reduce them to their Values, in Sorte, as they may be turned to fine Monies. Appointed to be declared by her Majeſtie, by Order of her Proclamation, in her Citie of *London*. *Black Letter*, *Octavo*, containing ſix Pages.

FIRST of all it is knowen, that the Honour and Reputacion of the ſinguler Wealth, that this Realm was wont to have above all other Realms, was partely in that it had no currant Monies but Golde and Silver; whereas contrary all other Countreys, as *Almayn*, *Fraunce*, *Spaine*, *Flaunders*, *Scotland*, and the reſt of *Chriſtendom* have hadde, and ſtill have certain baſe Monies now of late Dayes, by turning of fine Monies into baſe, muche decayed, and dayly growen into Infamie and Reproche, and therfore is thought neceſſary to be recovered; wherin, lyke as her Majeſtie, for her Part, meaneth to be at great Charges, ſo every good *Engliſhe* Subiecte ought to be content, though it ſeme ſome ſmal Loſſe at the firſt.

Alſo, by continuing of the baſe Monies, divers Perſons, both in forreine Partes, and within the Realm, have counterfaicted, from Tyme to Tyme, no ſmall Quantitie, and brought to Porte-Townes, and uttered the ſame at the fyrſte after the Rate of xii Pence a Teſton, and after that for vi Pence, where the ſame was not in dede worth above Two-pence; and caried out of the Realm, for thoſe baſe Monies, the riche Commodities of the ſame, as Wolle, Cloth, Lead, Tinne, Leather, Tallowe; yea, and all Kinde of Victual, as Corne, Malt, Beere, Butter, Cheeſe, and ſuch lyke, ſo as Counterfaicters, and ſuch like, have, for ſmal Summe of Monies counterfaicted, caried out ſix Times the Value in Commodities of the Realm.

By the Means alſo that theſe baſe Monies were currant, divers ſubtyll People have chaunged the ſame for the Golde and fine Sylver Monies of this Realm, and have tranſported and caryed out the ſame Golde and Sylver, ſo as although there hath ben coyned both in the later End of the Raigne of Kyng *Edward*, and in the Tyme of Quene *Mary*, and now alſo ſence the Quenes Maieſties Raigne, great Quantities of Golde and Sylver, yet no Part thereof is ſene commonly currant; but, as it may be thought, ſome Part thereof is caryed hence, and ſome, percaſe, by the wyſer Sort of People, kepte in Store, as it were to be wyſhed that the Whole were.

Alſo by Continuance of this Sort of baſe Monies, although Almyghtie God hath gyven nowe of late Yeares plentifull Increaſe by the Earth, for the which he is to be thanked, without any ſuch Plages of Scarcitie, as in our Forefathers Tyme hath bene read, when many Hundrethes and Thouſandes of People have dyed for Famine; yet the Prices of all Thynges growing, or commyng from the Earth, hath inmeaſurably and dayly riſen, as all Maner of Grayne, Fruite, Cattell, Beſtiall, Victuel, Wolle, Leather, and ſuch like, and no Remedy could be deuyſed to amend the ſame, but to cauſe that the ſame baſe Monies ſhuld be currant for no more then they were in iuſt Value. For every Man, of the leaſt Underſtanding, by one Means or other, knew that a Teſton was not worth Six-pence, nor the Peece of Two-pence was worth ſo much, and therefore no Man woulde gyve gladly that Thing which was and ever had ben worth Six-pence, for a Teſton, but woulde rather require two Teſtons. And ſo a Thyng, being worth Six-pence, was bought and ſold eyther for two Teſtons, or one and a halfe, which was in Reckenyng xii or ix Pence, and now every Teſton being brought to the juſt Value, it muſt

needs follow, that one ſhall buy of another hereafter that for iiii Pence Halfpeny, which was wont to coſt vi Pence. And, when the Teſton ſhall be brought into fine Sylver, then ſhall all Men be as deſyrous to ſell any Ware for ſuche fine Monies, as they have of late ben loth and unwyllynge to ſell any Thyng for the baſe Monies, except they might have had twyce as much of the baſe Monies, as they were wont to have of the fine, or els that for Neceſſitie they were dryuen to ſell the ſame.

By this Meanes alſo, now that the baſe Monies are brought to the juſt Value, and that every Man ſhall have fine Monies for them, all poor People that lyved of theyr Hand Labour, aſwell Artificers in Cities or Townes, as Labourers in Huſbandrye, or Men that toke dayetall Wages, eyther by Land, by Sea, or by freſhe Waters, and all meane Gentlemen that lyved but upon Penſions and Stipendes, and all Soldiours and Seruyng Men, that lyved upon Solde and Wages, ſhall have theyr Penſions, Stipendes, Soldes, and Wages, now payde in good and fine Monies, and therewith ſhall bye more Neceſſaries for theyr Suſtentacion, then could afore be bought; who ſurely hauyng heretofore after the Rate of xx s. xxvi s. viii d. v Nobles, xl. s. iv Marks, v Marks, iv Pounds, v Pounds, xx Nobles, and ſo upward, by the Yere payde to them in theſe baſe Monies, could not have ſo much Victual, Apparel, Weapon, Armure, Horſes, or ſuch lyke, with the ſaide Stipend, by more than a fourth Part, as they ſhall now have, becauſe in dede the ſaide baſe Monies were of themſelves no more worth.

By this Reformation alſo of baſe Monies ſhall neceſſarely folowe a more profitable Accoumpte betwixt the Monies of this Realm, and of other Countries, and thereby the Accoumpte, which, by Marchauntes, is called the *Eſchaunge*, ſhall alſo aryſe in Eſtimation of the Monies of *Englande*, in ſuche Sorte, as in former Tymes hath ben, and the Forreine Commodities thereby alſo be bought for eaſyer Prices, to the Benefit of all ſuch as ſhall uſe the ſame.

And, the Matter well conſidered, the greateſt Number, and eſpecially the pooreſt, ſhall have moſt Commoditie hereby; yea, and ſuch other as have moſte gayned by exceſſive Prices, ſhall have alſo (if they will conſider themſelues) no ſmall Profyte and Helpe. And, Fynally, No Manner of Perſon in the whole Realm ſhall have, after one or two Monethes, Hurt hereby, except onely the Traytour which hath lyved by Counterfaicting. And, therefore it is to be allowed and imbraced of all People, and every Man to thinke, that, although at the firſt he may ſuppoſe that he hath leſſe Monie in his Purſe, yet ſhall he have, for the ſame Metal, as much as that was worth, eyther in Ware, or at her Maieſties Mint, in fine Monies. And, whenſoeuer he ſhall utter that baſe Monies, which, at the Tyme of the Proclamation, he hadde, the nexte that he ſhall gette, eyther by his Hand Labour, or for his Wages, ſhalbe eyther fine Monies, or ſuch as he may have as much fine Monies in the Mint for it. And, conſequently, every Man ought to thank Almyghtye God, that he may lyve to ſee the Honour of his Countrey thus partely recouered: Sylver to come in Place of Copper, Pryces of Thynges amende, all People to be more able to lyve of theyr Wages, every Mans Purſe, or Coffer, made free from the privie Theſe, which was the Counterfaictour. And, Fynally, the Treaſure of this Realm to be of Sylver and Golde, as was wonte in our Forefathers Tyme, and not of Braſſe and Copper, beſydes many other great Commodities that hereof muſt needs enſue, which, but for Length, might be declared; and, for all the ſame, no Loſſe to any, otherwiſe, but in Opinion at the Begynnyng, not much unlyke to them, that, being ſicke, receive a Medicine, and, in the Takyng, feele ſome Bitterneſs, but yet, thereby, recover Health and Strength, and ſave theyr Lives.

And, becauſe it is ſene by Experience, that many Tymes, when good Thynges be deuyſed and attempted, the Deuyl ſleapeth not to hinder the ſame, but cauſeth them eyther to be defeated, or to be defamed and miſtaken: Therefore it is meete, that no Manner of Perſon gyve any Credite to ſuch as ſhall caſte Abrode any Miſtruſt or Amendment of the Money, or ſhall pretend this Decree to be greater, or more burdenous than it is. For, truely, this Amendment is ſo fully purpoſed by her Maieſtie, as, beſyde that, Experience ſhall trie it within one Moneth, or vi Weekes, within which Tymes, neceſſarie Thynges for the Mint muſt be prouided. It is ſene, that her Maieſtie may refourme theſe Monies according to her Proclamation, without any ſuch great Loſſe as might move her to forbeare it: And, on the other Syde, the Monies be ſo juſtly valued, as, in-

dede,

dede, the baſe Teſtons being ſet at ii *d.* Farthyng, and her Maieſtie giving at her Mint, for every Pound of them, xx *s.* and iii. *d.* in Rewarde, ſhall, thereby, gyve rather more than they ſhall be worth, beynge melted, than leſſe.

So that her Maieſtie, who, ſince ſhe came to this Croune, never gayned any Thing by any Coynage, nor yet ever coyned any Manner of baſe Monies for this Realm, will not now determine to leaſe the Honour and Fame that ſhe ſhall, with ſmall Loſſe or Gayne, recouer, by this noble Acte, to benefit her Realm and People.

And, as to the Opinion of the Burden of the Loſſe, where the baſe Teſtons be valued but at ii *d.* Farthyng, whereby ſuch as have them ſhall ſeme to have the greateſt Loſſe, it is to be well and reaſonably conſtrued and taken of all Men, for that there hath not, by good Accoumpte, which hath bene made and well proved, bene above a ſixth Parte compared to the other baſe Monies of the ſame Sort of Teſtons coyned in the Mints of this Realm, and at the Coynage of the ſame baſe Teſtons, now valued at two Pence Farthyng, which was done in the Tyme of the Wars heretofore, there were ſet thereto certaine Marks, as a Lion, a Roſe, a Flour de Luce, or a Harp, called the privy Marks of ſuch as were then Maſters of the Mint, which alſo be ſpecified in the Proclamation. For the better Underſtanding whereof, here be, in the End of this Declaration, ſet certaine Stamps or Prints, of every Kind of the ſame baſe Teſtons, with their ſaide ſeveral Marks, to the Intent, that every Perſon, looking and beholding the ſame Prints, may the better judge and diſcerne the ſame from the other, that be valued at iiii Pence Halfpeny, although if the ſame be well conſidered, the Colour of the ſaide baſe Teſton will ſhew the Baſeneſs thereof. And, becauſe her Majeſtie meaneth to eaſe her Subjects as much as poſſible may be, ſhe is pleaſed to commaund her Officers in her Mint, that where there be many counterfaict Teſtons, which were made by Counterfaictours, when the Teſtons were at the Value of xii Pence a Piece, and ſince alſo that they were decreed to vi Pence, and, by Eſtimation, were ſo made, as they did contayn about two Pence Farthyng, or thereabouts, in Sylver: They ſhall do their Indeavour to receave and trye ſuch Counterfaicts, and ſhall gyve to the Subjects, eyther for every ſuch Counterfaict two Pence Farthyng, or ſo much good fine Monies, as the ſame Counterfaicts ſhall contayn in Sylver, whereby the People ſhall be relieved of ſuch Loſſe in ſome Parte for Counterfaicts, as, in no Realm, any Prince eyther hath or ought to do. And, for this, and for all the Commodities hereof likely to enſue, her Majeſty truſteth her moſt honourable good Meaning ſhall be embraſed of all her good loving Subjects, and every Perſon with good Will will yield to bear a ſmall Burden for a Tyme, to avoid a perpetual and endleſs Oppreſſion, not only of themſelves and their Poſterity, but alſo of the whole Commonweal.

Given under the Queen's Majeſty's Signet at her Honour of Hampton-Court, *the 29th of* September, *the Second Year of her Majeſty's Reign*, MDLX.

N. B. The Stamps, or Prints, of the baſe Teſtons, which were printed at the End of the Declaration, are now omitted, becauſe there has been no ſuch Coyn in Uſe theſe many Years, and therefore it would have been of no Uſe to have printed them.

Bibliotheca Fanatica: Or, The Fanatick Library. Being a Catalogue of ſuch Books as have been lately made, and, by the Authors, preſented to the College of *Bedlam*. Printed in the Year 1660. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

THE

THE Difference between *Rogue* and *Robert*, *Titchburn* and *Tyburn*, learnedly ſtated in ſeveral Poſitions, in Anſwer to a late Libel, or Univerſity Queries; by *Robert Titchburn*, Alderman.

Canaan's Grapes; being a Taſte of the Virtues and Fidelity of our Saints: By the ſame Author.

Ochus Redivivus: Or, a clear Demonſtration that a Trap-door, or Gallows, is the beſt Reward for traiterous Aſſiſtance, an excellent Piece; illuſtrated with Variety of Figures, and intended lately for publick View; by the Parliament of *England*. A Manuſcript not yet printed.

But lately married: Or a grave Reaſon why amongſt other Wares he hath but for theſe two Years traded in Horns; by *Nicholas Gold*, Rump Merchant.

Ragionamenti d' Aretino: Or, pathetical and feeling Dialogues, for the Preparation and Inſtruction of the ſanctified Siſters; by *Thomas Scot*, a Brewer's Clark, and late Secretary of the Council of State.

The Sword of the Spirit the Devil's ſureſt Weapon: Or, Preaching and Praying the moſt expedient Way to rule the Earth; by Sir *Henry Vane*, Knight.

Vanitas Vanitatum, omnia vanitas: Or, Saint-like Ejaculations againſt the Vanity of Turbulency and Ambition; by the ſame *Vane* Author.

Corruptio unius generatio alterius: Or, a Treatiſe to prove that a Run-away Apprentice makes an excellent States-man; by Major *Salwey*.

Sanguis Martyrum ſemen Eccleſiæ: A compleat Work, propoſing to the Parliament, that the beſt Way to propagate the Commonwealth is to ſettle it on the Ruins of its firſt Founders, *Lambert*, *Vane*, *Desborow*, *Titchburn*, &c. by a Friend to the Commonwealth of *England*.

Mercurius Acheronticus: Or, the infernal Poſt, being a Way lately invented for more ſpeedy and ſafe Conveyance to the diabolical Regions; by *Thomas Scot*, now Poſt-maſter General to the Prince of Darkneſs.

Hoyle Redivivus: Or, a perfect Demonſtration, that the eaſieſt Way, to revenge a Man of his Adverſaries, is to make Uſe of the Help of Alderman *Hoil's* Chain: A Manuſcript intended ſhortly for publick View; by Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, a crack-brained Knight.

Solemn Prayers for the Deſtruction of *Babel*, being very pithy Ejaculations for the Pulling down St. *Pulcher's* Church, leſt he ſhould never get Money for the Sale of his Horſe; by *Jeremy Ives*, the gifted Maggot-Monger.

De Antiquitate Typographiæ, to ſhew, that Printing, or Preſſing, was as ancient as Grandfather *Adam*, learnedly put Home by *Henry Hills*, Printer, to the Taylor's Wife in *Black-Friars*.

Tempora mutantur & nos mutamur in illis: Or, a compleat Hiſtory of the Life of blind *Hewſon*, from his Awl to his Sword, and now to his Laſt, by his own Hands.

Ariana Arianiſſima divulgata: Or, a plain Diſcovery of thoſe Places and Honours, which are already by the Devil provided for his beſt Servants of the Rump.

Utrum horum mavis accipe: Or, the gracious Proffer of a Halter, or a Hatchet, to the grand Aſſertors of the good old Cauſe, by a Friend to the Commonwealth of *England*.

The Harmony of Confeſſions: Or, the Fanatick Directory; compiled by Sir *Henry Vane*, Mr. *Simpſon*, Mr. *Feak*, *James Naylor*, and others; a Piece wonderfully conducing to the Intereſt of the Saints, and Deſtruction of that Antichriſtian Thing, called, *Settlement*.

Babylon is fallen, *Babylon* is fallen: Or, the true Relation of the final Overthrow, and utter Deſtruction of the rotten Rump of a Parliamentary *Junto*, by a Friend to King *Charles the Second*.

The Rump's Seminary: Or, the Way to find out the ableſt *Utopian* Commonwealth's Men, by the Coffee Club at *Weſtminſter*.

Lucri bonus eſt odor ex re qualibet; a Treatiſe written in Defence of his ſeizing on the Boy's Cloſe-ſtool Pan, and reſerving the Contents for his own Profit, becauſe the Lad was ſo profane to carry it on a *Sunday*; by Alderman *Atkins*, Shit-breeches.

A T. is as good for a Sow as a Pancake; whereby is clearly demonſtrated, that the Rump would have carried on the Buſineſs of the Saints, better than any Parliament choſe according to the Laws of the Nation; by *Tim. Rogers*, *princeps fanaticorum*.

The Saints may fall away finally, proved in Colonel *Overton's* Delivery of *Hull*, into the Hands of the Wicked, when he had reſolved to keep it till the Coming of the fifth Monarch;

narch; with ſundry other Examples of the Brethren's Apoſtaſy.

No-beard, the true characteriſtical Mark of a pious Brother, and a real Aſſertor of the good old Cauſe; by *John Ireton* and *Robert Titchburn*.

The Spirit in the Shape of an Owl, howling upon the Top of the Mountains; by *Vavaſor Powell*.

The Repentance of a Sinner, or Paraphraſtical Meditations upon the Rump's Lamentations; by Colonel *John Streater*.

Sicut erat in principio, As you were, Gentlemen; a ſerious Exhortation to his Brethren of his Blade, to return to their former pitiful Occupation; by *John Desborow*, Ploughman.

Criſpin and *Criſpianus*, an excellent Romance, illuſtrated and innobled; by Col. *John Hewſon*.

E malis minimum eligendum, Of two Evils the leaſt is to be choſen; and then whether Milkpurſe Lawyers, or Cut-throat Tyrants, are the more tolerable; by *Eugenius Philopater*.

Dapple Groans under the Weight of *Sancho Pancha*: Or, the *quondam* miſerable Eſtate of the City-Aſs; by *John Ireton*, then Lord Mayor of *London*.

De tribus Impoſtoribus, Or, a perfect Hiſtory of thoſe three notorious Cheats, *Rogers*, *Feak*, and *Praiſegod Barebone*.

Animadverſions and Corrections of St. *Paul's* Epiſtles, and eſpecially of that Sentence, Godlineſs is great Gain; whereas it ſhould be, Gain is great Godlineſs; as is clearly proved by *William Kiffin*, Broker of the World.

The Art of Pimping ſet forth to the Life, for the Benefit and Inſtruction of all the indigent Brethren; by *Michael Oldſworth*, Pimpmaſter General to the late Earl of *Pembroke*.

The Defect of a Virtue is worſe than the Exceſs; a Treatiſe, ſhewing how much better it is to be hung like a Stallion with *Henry Martin*, than with the Lord *Mounſon* to want a Bauble.

Diva Pecunia, a brief Diſcourſe, to prove that there neither is, nor can be any other God, which ſhould be adored by the Saints, but the omnipotent Lady, *Money*; by *Marchamond Needham*, the Devil's Half-Crown News-Monger.

Fiſtula in Ano, and the Ulcer of the Rump; wherein is ſhewn, that there is no better Way to cure ſuch Diſtempers, than a Burning, or Cauteriſing; by the Rump-confounding Boys of the City of *London*.

Lex Legum: Or, a clear Demonſtration that there can be no better Way for the Security of the Saints, than by quite aboliſhing the Laws of *England*, and ſetting up in their Stead the Canons of *Beelzebub*; by *Miles Corbet*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the infernal Commonwealth.

The Saints ſhall poſſeſs the Earth; proving, That it is lawful for the Brethren to ſtab, cut the Throats of, or any Way make an End of the Wicked of this World, if ſo be there will thereby any Profit accrue to themſelves; by the Congregations at St. *Paul's*, and elſewhere.

The old Phariſee, with the new Phylacteries of Preſbytery. *Quarto*, containing twenty-ſix Pages.

To his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, *Chancellor of the famous Univerſity of* Oxford, *&c.*

Right Honourable,

I Have adventured upon a ſtormy Ocean, in the Diſcovery of a ſtrange People, who have a Storm in their Countenance, and a Tempeſt in their Tongue, with boiling Billows in their Breaſt, againſt all that will not ſail by their Compaſs, and take that Dog-ſtar, the Directory, for the Pole-ſtar of their Direction; whereas, indeed, whoſoever follows them, can ſcarce eſcape Conſcience-ſhipwreck. We may

may as well believe, with *Andradius*, that *Ethica virtus* was enough to ſave the ancient Philoſophers, as that their Diſcipline is the Way of our Salvation: In this, the foul Face of Vice puts on the fair Vizard of Virtue; and whilſt the Presbyterian uſeth the Cloke of a Counſellor, he is not without the Poiſon of a Killer; as I have fully declared in this little Tract, which comes in all Humility to kiſs your Lordſhip's Hand: And as the black Statue of *Memnon* is ſaid to deliver an audible Voice, whenſoever the Mouth thereof was touched with the Beams of the Sun; ſo this Monument, erected to dead Presbytery, will ſpeak freely in the Ears of the People, if the Beams of your gracious Favour do but reflect upon it: Your Excellency's Favour, like the Vertical Sun, will abate all Shadows, both of Envy, and Detraction. Be pleaſed, therefore, to let this weak Teſtimony of my Service, in the Church of Chriſt, take Life from your noble Acceptation, and receive this Tribute from his Hand, who is ambitious of nothing, but Leave to wear your Cogniſance, and to write your renowned Name in the Front of his Labours: Which afforded Goodneſs will the more ſtrongly prompt my Devotion, to ſend up continual Supplications to the Throne of Grace, for all Bleſſings internal, external, eternal, upon you and yours; that you may rejoice, like *Zebulun*, in your Going out; and like *Iſſachar*, in your Tents; and that the Lord may be the Shield of your Help, and the Sword of your Excellency. So ſhall the City of our God be made glad, and therein ſhall my Heart rejoice; who eſteem it no leſs than a Triumph, to deſerve the Title of,

Your Excellency's moſt humbly devoted Servant,

H. Browne.

To the impartial Reader.

AS the Poets feign, that the fair Nymphs brought forth ill-favoured Satyrs; and as Lodovicus Cælius *writes of an Ewe that conceived, and brought forth a Lion; ſo the fair Nymph of Truth, in this little Tract, will, I am confident, bring forth the foul Satyrs of Envy, Hatred, Malice, and all Uncharitableneſs againſt me; the Ewe of my Innocence will bring forth Lions, roaring with the loudeſt Reproaches: So that I may ſay, as* Leah, *at the Birth of* Gad, Venit turma, *a Troop commeth, which will ſhoot out their Arrows, even bitter Words, at this white and ſpotleſs Mark. But, for my Part,* Nil moror, *the Lion of the Tribe of* Judah *is my Defence; and altho' the Kirk-Crocodiles would devour me alive, yet will I fear no Evil, for the Lord I truſt is with me, and the Blaſt of their Fury ſhall be as a Storm againſt the Wall. For God is my Witneſs, I honour pure Religion, and undefiled, wherefoever I find it; and as for well meaning, though ſomewhat ſeduced, Chriſtians, I rather pity and pray for them with Tears, than in the leaſt Degree vilify them with Taunts; hoping, that they will one Day know Chriſt by Experience, and not by Tradition; own him as ſitting on the Throne of glorious Myſteries, and not lying in the Manger of human Inventions. When once their Eyes are anointed, with the Eye-ſalve of the Spirit, they will caſt away thoſe Spectacles of Self-Contempt, which they ſo much adore with Reverence: They will caſt Anchor on the Rock, Jeſus Chriſt, and not upon the Quick-ſands of giddy Brains: They will then go boldly to Chriſt, that Door opened in Heaven, without ſo much Seeking for falſe Keys on Earth, whether they be Popes, or Presbyters. Againſt the Errors of both,* Auſpice Chriſto, *will I fight, but, for their Converſion, I will ever pray; and herein, though*

their

their Malice ſhould at any Time fail me, yet I ſhould be more than Conqueror. Altho' I may be like Abraham's *Ram, in a Thicket of Thorns, pricked on every Side, and at length ſacrificed; yet will I forget myſelf, and, as it were, forget my Soul, in a fiery Zeal, with* Moſes *and* Paul, *for my Brethren's Sake. For whoſe better Information, I have written theſe few Lines; where, if any be oblique, I deſire they ſhould be made right, by candid Interpretation. I know, as a Man, I may err; but, if once convinced, I am ſo much a Scholar in Chriſt's School, as to acknowledge and amend. If I ſhould ſeem planetary in this Revolution, as I hope I ſhall not, to the beſt Judgments, yet I am fixed in this Reſolution, even to be led by any Star, that points the Way to Chriſt; in whom I reſt*

Thy Friend, to ſerve thee,

H. B.

WHEN I conſider the glorious Star-ſpangled Canopy of Heaven, the uniform Motion and Harmony of the Spheres, with the Influences of thoſe heatheniſh Gods, the Stars; I cannot but at once behold and lament the irregular Motions, or, rather, Commotions, of ſome below, who only pretend to be heavenly, how planetary they are in Judgment, who judge themſelves alone to be fixed in Truth; as the frantick *Montaniſts* vainly held, That the Holy Ghoſt was not given to the Apoſtles, but only to them: So the ſpurious Brood of Preſbytery in *England* account none holy, but ſuch as are of their Spirit, expelling all, by their Bulls of Excommunication, out of God's Court, who are not of their wicked Council; as if their Convocation-houſe were the King of King's Preſence-chamber, and every Claſſis his Cloſet. Theſe Fire-ſpitting Malecontents would fain perſuade us, that now God ſpeaks unto us only out of the flameing *Scottiſh* Buſh; and, as the Pillar of the Cloud was a Cloud of Darkneſs to the *Egyptians*, but gave Light to the Camp of *Iſrael*: So they declare, that God will be a Sun and a Shield to the *Scots*, but a black Cloud of Deſtruction to the *Engliſh*. Thus reſembling the Serpents in *Caria*, which kill home-bred People, but hurt not any Strangers; and as we read of the Dragons of *Armenia*, that they have cold Stomachs, yet ſpit Fire out of their Mouths: So we may well conceive, that theſe Dragons have cold Stomachs to our Nation's Proſperity, whilſt they ſpit out of their Mouths ſuch a Fire of Zeal for *Scotland*'s Glory. But no Marvel, for theſe Hot-ſpurs ever oppoſed that preſent Government, which might any Way retard their preſent Advancement; promoting no Cauſe, but as it may be the Cauſe of their own Promotion; not caring for the publick Treaſury, ſo they may fill their own Coffers: *Cuncta venalia Romæ*, is now come Home to their Doors: And, indeed, the *Romaniſts* and Preſbyterians, like *Sampſon*'s Foxes, may look ſeveral Ways, but tied by the Tails with Firebrands of Sedition, able to ſet the whole Land in Combuſtion, both ſpurning at our Commonwealth, as at a common Foot-ball: And, oh miſerable *England*, if either win the Goal!

They both play the Game, yet intend, at laſt, to part Stakes; the Effecting of the one being the Effecting of the other: So that we may well behold their Harmony, tending to our Diſcord; and to ſhew their mutual Vote for *England*'s Ruin, I ſhall only declare theſe Inſtances:

Firſt, As the Papiſts are great Zealots of their Law, yet the Bow of their Mind is only bent at their Gain and Domination, deſiring to ſet up their Trophies on the Ruins of flouriſhing States: So the Preſbyterians, pretending a Zeal of God's Glory, ſeek only their own Profit and Supremacy; *Res ipſa clamat, non tam pro aris ipſos, quàm pro focis pugnare*: Maintaining Preſbytery, as the Pope doth Purgatory, only to keep their Kitchin warm: They no ſooner find that to cool, but they are hot with Indignation againſt ſuch as withdraw the Fuel: Whilſt the Lightning of their Rage laſts, they thunder forth ireful Execrations againſt that State, that ſhall eclipſe their Glory, or any Way mince their upſtart Majeſty,

Majeſty, which they intitle to God's Throne, under a ſpecious Pretence of *Jus Divinum*, which they buz in the People's Ears, and keep ſuch a Noiſe, as if they were the Geeſe that kept our Capitol.

Secondly, As the Pope curſeth all by Bell, Book, and Candle for Hereticks, who abhor his Conclave, ſo the Preſbyterian, all for Sectaries, who contemn his Claſſis; calling them Enemies of the Truth, Atheiſts, Haters of good Men, Soul-murderers, *&c.*

Thirdly, As the People muſt believe as the Church, the Church as the Pope, and the Pope as he liſt; ſo here, the People muſt believe as the Church, the Church as the Preſbyterian, and this Popeling as he liſt; ſaying, as *Conſtantius*, that *Arian* Emperor, *Quod ego volo pro Canone ſit*, making his Will the Meaſure of their Actions, and his idle Fancy, the Rule of the People's Faith; thus making the Commandment of God of no Effect by their Tradition: So that, had this malignant Planet been in the Aſcendent, *Nimio traditionum onere gravata eſſet Eccleſia*, as *Auguſtine* once complained. Their Mouths, therefore, muſt be ſtopped, who ſubvert whole Houſes, teaching Things which they ought not for filthy Lucre's Sake.

Laſtly, As the Pope declares it Piety to eſtabliſh his Religion by Fire and Sword, ſetting up his idolatrous Images, by deſtroying God's Image in Man: So the Preſbyterians, both by Preaching and Practice, ſtrive to write their Religion on the Tables of Men's Hearts, in the bloody Characters of their Brethren's Ruin: As if Faith were not rather to be perſuaded *palmâ expanſâ*, than compelled *pugno contracto*: Or, as if a Crown of Glory were ſet on the Head of the Prince of Peace, by ſetting a Crown of Thorns upon his People. Indeed, the Blood of holy Martyrs, ſhed by the Hand of Infidels, was the Seed of the Church; but, I am ſure, it was ever an Antichriſtian Tenet, to ſow the Seed of the Goſpel, by making deep Furrows on our Brethren's Backs, or by beating our Plough-ſhares into Swords. *Eſay*, propheſying of Chriſt's Kingdom, ſaith, He ſhall judge among the Nations, and ſhall rebuke many People; and they ſhall beat their Swords into Plough-ſhares, and their Spears into Pruning-hooks; Nation ſhall not lift up Sword againſt Nation, neither ſhall they learn War any more. The Sword of the Spirit muſt be the ſpiritual Man's Weapon, elſe he can be no true Commiſſioner of God's Militia, in the Advancement of Chriſt's Kingdom, by a bleſſed Reformation. God is not in the ſtrong Winds, that rend the Mountains, and break in Pieces the Rocks; not in the Earthquake, that ſhakes the Foundations of a ſettled Faith; not in the Fire of cruel Perſecution for tender Conſcience Sake, but in the ſtill ſmall Voice of an holy and humble Admonition. Therefore, ſaith the great Doctor of the *Gentiles* (who was *Oceanus Theologiæ*, as *Theodoret* of *Moſes*:) Brethren, if a Man be overtaken in a Fault, ye which are ſpiritual, reſtore ſuch a one in the Spirit of Meekneſs, conſidering thyſelf, leſt thou alſo be tempted. We ought to have an eſpecial Care of tender Conſciences, for to wound ſuch is to ſin againſt Chriſt: Wherefore, ſaith St. *Paul*, If Meat make my Brother to offend, I will eat no Fleſh while the World ſtandeth, leſt I make my Brother to offend. And the Wiſe-man ſeems to give the Reaſon, ſaying: A Brother offended is harder to be won than a ſtrong City, and their Contentions like the Bars of a Caſtle. Yet, *horreſco referens*, theſe Preſbyterians, like the Scribes and Phariſees, bind heavy Burthens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on Men's Shoulders, but they themſelves will not move them with one of their Fingers. Witneſs the Preſbytery in *Scotland*, where they make a Man an Offender, and lay a Snare for him that reproveth in the Gate, and turn aſide the Juſt for a Thing of nought. There, to diſtaſte their rigid Diſcipline is enough to make Chriſt's Zealots of Satan's Synagogue; and not to adore the Kirk is to be anathematiſed, as unworthy Heaven; as if the Way to Heaven were through their Kirk Door: Or, as if the King of Glory would not admit any into his Preſence, without *Jack Preſbyter*'s Paſs; none into his Favour, without the Kirk's Approbation. What made *Montroſe* perſecuted of late to ſuch an ignominious Death? Surely, it was not ſo much, becauſe he was an Enemy to the State, but excentrick to the Opinion of the Kirk, which domineers, Pope-like, over their King and Parliament; ſo as, in Effect, the Kirk is both able to turn the Chair of State into a Stool of Repentance, and the Scepter into a Rod of Correction. O brave Kirk, which ingroſſeth all Juriſdiction and Supremacy!

See how theſe Reformers allow that in their ignorant ſelves, which they condemned in the learned

learned Biſhops: It was a heinous Crime in the Prelates to negotiate temporal Affairs, yet, in themſelves, a Virtue; whilſt neither King muſt be admitted, nor Army raiſed, but by their Conſent: The Biſhops only voted in Parliament, but theſe controul; ſuppoſing the higheſt Concernments of State to be like Mount *Sinai*, not to be touched but by their ſanctified ſelves.

To this Height they are already climbed; at this, our *Engliſh* Jockies have long Time aimed, and would ſoon compaſs, if their Gunpowder Zeal could but blow up the Parliament Houſe, or their Pulpit Granado's fire the Caſtle of Independency; which they have long beſieged with their Malice, but ſhall never overthrow by their Power; notwithſtanding their ſchiſmatical Lectures, private Faſts, and whining Morning Exercifes: No, no, God covers himſelf with a Cloud of Diſpleaſure towards them, and will not bear them on Eagle's Wings, that they may build their Neſts on high. Well may they attempt to ſoar high, but then let them take Heed, leſt, with *Simon Magus*, the Father of all Hereticks, as *Irenæus* ſtiles him, preſuming to fly in the Preſence of all the People, from *Mons Capitolinus*, to *Mons Aventinus*, they fall down, to their utter Deſtruction: For ſevere Puniſhment from Heaven treads on the Heels of the Unjuſt on Earth, if they pitch their Tent in Sin. No Marvel, if God diſcharge his dreadful Artillery, in a full Volley of Vengeance, againſt them; as *Paul* told *Elymas* the Sorcerer: O full of all Subtlety and all Miſchief, thou Child of the Devil, thou Enemy of all Righteouſneſs, wilt thou not ceaſe to pervert the right Ways of the Lord? And now behold, the Hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou ſhalt be blind, not ſeeing the Sun for a Seaſon: And immediately there fell on him a Miſt, and a Darkneſs, and he went about ſeeking ſome to lead him by the Hand.

Whilſt *Cerinthus* labours to build his own Houſe, by pulling down Chriſt's, ſuddenly a Houſe fell down to the Ground, and ſlew him, with many of his Adherents.

Whilſt *Arius*, being unable to anſwer the ſtrong Arguments of holy *Athanaſius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, accuſed him of Sorcery, and, in his high towering Thoughts, intending to make a Battery againſt the Bulwark of true Religion, by diſputing againſt *Alexander*, a reverend Biſhop; in the Morning, when the Hour of Diſputation was come, as this Heretick entered among the Auditory, a ſudden Pain in the Belly began to ſeize him, in Preſence of a great Multitude of Biſhops and common People; ſo that, being conſtrained to go to ſome ſecret Place, to diſcharge the Burden of his Belly, his Bowels fell from him into the Privy, and there he ſuddenly died, as ſhamefully as he lived ſinfully.

I wiſh, therefore, theſe new *Arians* to take Heed, leſt they hurt as much, under a Colour of Reforming and Building up the Church, as Hereticks and open Tyrants can do, by Perſecuting and Pulling down: For, as *Luther* obſerves, often the greateſt Peril is on the Right-hand; in this Senſe we may cry out, *Omnes amici omnes inimici*, They may have the Face of Friendſhip, but not without the Hearts and Hands of Foes; dealing with Chriſt, as *Herod* once did, who, altho' he was troubled at the Report of the Wiſemen, which came, by the Direction of a glorious Star, to worſhip the Sun of Glory, then in a Cloud of Humanity; yet, to put a good Face upon his wickedly intended Fact, he pretends alſo to come and worſhip him; his full Purpoſe being only, under that Cloke, to ſmother the tender princely Babe. As Satan, being the Prince of Darkneſs, is often transformed into an Angel of Light, to bring wretched Men into utter Darkneſs, thinking himſelf moſt happy, when he makes Sinners, like himſelf, moſt unhappy: So the Children of the Devil have not ſeldom fair Vizards to cover their foul Faces; for where our Enemy, the Devil, cannot overthrow in open Field of notorious Wickedneſs, he labours to lie in the Ambuſhment of diſſembled Sanctity; where he hangs not out bloody Colours of Defiance, as an open Enemy, there he ſeeks to betray, as a ſeeming Friend; when the Lion's Skin cannot, the Fox's Skin muſt then effect the Deſign. They, that are inwardly ravening Wolves, delight to come in Sheep's Clothing, which is indeed nothing elſe but preciſe Titles of Holineſs, and mere Outſides of Chriſtianity, having Linſey-woolſey Garments, the plain Web of Simplicity without-ſide, but the ſubtle Thread of Deceit within-ſide; their Outſide is of Lamb's Wool, whilſt their Inſide is of Fox's Fur.

In the Forehead of the Whore of *Babylon* is written a Myſtery; ſo *Paul* calls the Working of Antichriſt a Myſtery of Iniquity; be-

cauſe the Man of Sin doth covertly and cunningly, Serpent-like, wind his Abominations into the Church of Chriſt. At firſt they may appear like *Elijah*'s Cloud, little like a Man's Hand; but, in a ſhort Space, the Heavens become black, with Clouds of Diſpleaſure againſt them. Corruptions in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, as Diſeaſes in natural Bodies, creep in inſenſibly, and ſometimes come to that Height, that neither the Malady nor the Medicine can be well endured. As we may exemplify it in the Preſbytery, which now aſſumes the infallible Chair; having not the Patience to have the Truth of their Doctrines, and Dictates, tried by the ſure Touch-ſtone of the Word of God, which is powerful to bring down Strong-holds, and every Imagination that exalts itſelf; which alone is able to ſquare and fit the Stones for the new *Jeruſalem*, the Praiſe of the whole Earth. I dare appeal to the Court of their own Conſciences, that ſpiritual Chancery, Whether it be not enough to incur the Cenſure of a Sectary, either to diſpute their Infallibility, or for a Layman to exerciſe the Gifts of the Spirit, eſpecially that of Prophecy? As if the Charter in this Kind belonged only to themſelves, they maliciouſly deny this Liberty to others; or, as if the Lord *Jeſus*, who aſcended up on high, and gave Gifts unto Men, did ordain the Diſpoſing thereof only by the Hands of the Preſbytery, which, being not waſhed in Innocency, cannot preſent any to God's Altar; whilſt the Pomegranate is wanting, their Bells are out of Tune.

I am ſure the Word of God is not bound to their Mouths, neither can they be the only Oracles to be conſulted; though *Moſes* and *Aaron* have a ſpecial Miſſion, yet *Eldad* and *Medad* may have a ſpecial Commiſſion to propheſy in the Camp.

The holy Apoſtle, *Paul*, makes a parænetical Oration in general Terms, without the leaſt Exception, ſaying, Deſire ſpiritual Gifts, but rather that ye may propheſy; for ye may all propheſy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted. *Peter*'s Vote goes alſo with *Paul*'s: For, ſaith he, as every Man hath received the Gift, even ſo miniſter the ſame one to another, as good Stewards of the manifold Graces of God.

Is the Spirit of Prophecy only mounted on the Wings of *Mercurius*, or confined to the ſeven Stars of the liberal Sciences? Is Chriſt only learned in the Schools of the Philoſophers, or only manifeſted by the Knowledge of Tongues? I tell you nay; for *Paul* had never been an Apoſtle, by ſitting at the Feet of *Gamaliel*, but by caſting himſelf down at the Feet of *Jeſus*; he was by the one a learned Perſecutor, by the other alone a moſt zealous Profeſſor. Yet I deſpiſe not human Learning, acknowledging it a glorious Ornament, and great Inſtrument, where it is ſanctified. But, if I ſhould ſpeak againſt it, I am confident the Preſbyterian Clergy, for the moſt Part, have leaſt Reaſon to ſpeak againſt me, who little fear them, knowing, that too much Learning will never make them mad. Yet I ſuppoſe them not to be well in their Wits, whilſt they ſtrive to ſtop the Mouths of God's Saints, which, in a ſpiritual Senſe, are the Heavens that declare the Glory of God, and the Firmament which ſheweth his Handy-work.

What, Shall ſuch as ſail by Chriſt's Compaſs on this Sea of Glaſs be driven back by the North-wind of bluſtering Preſbytery? Or ſhall they, that are guided by the Pole-ſtar of Truth, be ſeized on by theſe Pirates, who would rob God of his Glory, and his People of that Liberty, which is Chriſt's Legacy, and hath continual Reſidence with his Spirit, and therefore appoſitely ſtiled *Glorious*? God forbid; we have not ſo learned Chriſt, as, in any ſuch Caſe, to fear his Enemies, in the Midſt of whom Chriſt muſt reign, and over whom Chriſt will ever triumph. Though the Kings of the Earth ſet themſelves, and the Rulers take Counſel againſt the Lord, and againſt his Anointed; thoſe his Enemies, who will not that he ſhould reign over them, ſhall be ſlain before his Face. What muſt theſe his friendly Enemies then expect, whilſt they only wear Chriſt's Colours, and fight not under his Banners for Tokens? Which I intend to diſplay, to ſhew the Motto's of their Meaning.

Before *Mars*'s dreadful Artillery, with thundering Eccho's, reſounded in our Land, and the late King, with his Biſhops, were in their Glory; theſe *Goliahs* of Preſbytery, being then under a Cloud, bemoaned themſelves as the perſecuted (though in moſt Things complying) Party: Whereupon, no ſooner did a ſeaſonable Opportunity preſent itſelf to them, but each Mouth of theirs was turned into a warlike Trumpet, with a Curſe ye *Meroz*, curſe

curſe ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof, *&c.* Nay, ſome of the Clergy did not only animate the People againſt the ſaid King, but did lead them on, making a Covenant before Men to preſerve him, yet an Agreement with Hell to deſtroy him; which, if Praying, Preaching, Fighting, Lying, or the like, could effect, they were reſolved to want no ſuch Ammunition.

Well, when their Deſign proſpered, by the adverſe Fate of the King and prelatical Clergy; and they, like *Pharaoh*'s lean Kine, had eaten up all the fat Kine, making themſelves rich by others Poverty; and great by their Ruin; then they were, as the Prophet ſpeaks of the Inhabitants of *Babylon*, mad upon their Idols of Preſbytery, compelling the People to bow the Knee to *Baal*, even in the Picture of a Lay-elder; which is as an Image in their Kirk, and a Dumb-ſhew in their Maſk. He, forſooth, muſt be ſubject with Silence, whilſt the Prieſt lords it with Impudence, taxing all the World with *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and making his little Finger heavier than the Biſhop's Loins; each Provincial Claſſis having the Platform of a *High-Commiſſion-Court*, or *Star-Chamber*, where each petty Treſpaſs ſhould have been looked upon in a Multiplying-glaſs, as a moſt heinous Crime.

The Nobles and Gentlemen, with the honeſt Commoners, ſhould have been made Slaves to their idle Humours, and all Diſſenting Brethren, as tributary *Canaanites*, to theſe feigned *Iſraelites*, which deem themſelves the only *Joſhua*'s and *Calebs*, that arrive at the *Canaan* of a pure Reformation, out of the Wilderneſs of curſed Superſtition.

But give me Leave to aſk you, What Difference there is in the Presbyters enjoining Sitting at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and the Biſhops commanding Kneeling? I can aſſure you, in both you may perceive no ſmall Tyranny over the weak Conſciences of our dear Brethren, whom we ought to receive, not to doubtful Diſputations; wherefore ſaith the holy Apoſtle in the ſame Place, Let not him that eateth deſpiſe him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not judge him that eateth; for God hath accepted and received him. Again, Meat commendeth us not to God; for neither, if we eat, are we the better; neither, if we eat not, are we the worſe. If therefore there be ſo much Indifferency in the Matter of Eating, ſurely there can be no leſs, but rather more in the Manner thereof; the Poſture cannot ſpeak ſo loud as the Mouth, of Eating.

Moreover, what Diſtinction is there between the Biſhops enjoining the Obſervation of Days, and the Presbyterians inhibiting it? Believe it, in both is a Breach of Conſcience-liberty; for the Apoſtle holds it forth unto us very clearly, ſaying: One Man eſteemeth one Day above another, another eſteemeth every Day alike; let every Man be fully perſuaded in his own Conſcience.

He that regardeth a Day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the Day, to the Lord he doth not regard it. I therefore ſuſpect them to be Hypocritical, who upon this Account are ſo Critical; and I fear they too much idoliſe their own Chimera's, whilſt they ſo much cry out againſt the People for, as they ſay, Idoliſing certain Days.

Furthermore, whilſt the People are compelled to come to Shrift before the Prieſt and his Lay-Elders; What is this, but Couſin-german to Auricular Confeſſion, or at beſt, uſurped Juriſdiction over Chriſtian Souls; when they have Liberty given by the Apoſtle, to examine themſelves, and ſo eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup? All which, and more, I refer to the Cenſure of the Godly-wiſe; and ſhall now declare theſe Reformers Carriage towards the Paliament of *England*.

As *Carloſtadius*, in *Luther*'s Age, did ſeem to deſire the Advancement of Chriſt's Kingdom, in the Flouriſhing of the Goſpel; but yet, notwithſtanding his pretended Zeal of God's Houſe, he deſpiſed Authority, neglected human Laws, and was altogether tranſported with his own private Humours of Ambition and Covetouſneſs: So the Presbyterians ſeeing their *Dagon* fallen, notwithſtanding all their great Flouriſhes of Piety, and Brags of Reformation, deſpiſe the preſent Authority, becauſe they are ſomewhat croſſed in their Ambition and Avarice, the two Poles which turn the Heaven of their zealous Pretences. For they came into the Miniſtry, as *Stratocles*, and *Dromoclidas*, into the Magiſtracy, *tanquam ad auream meſſem*, as it were to a golden Harveſt, following rather their Tythe than their Text, and fiſhing not ſo much with *Peter*'s Net, as his Hook: O, it is a Fiſh with Money they ſeek after, according to that of the Prophet: The Prieſts teach for Hire, and the Prophets divine for Money; yet will they lean upon the Lord, and ſay, Is not the Lord among us?

With

With the untempered Mortar of ſuppoſed Sanctity, they raiſe up a Babel of Preſumption, from whoſe ſteep and elevated Top, they precipitate their giddy Followers; who ſhall at length, by woeful Experience, find the Tongues of theſe Teachers heavier than the Hands of *Moſes*, when he was ſupported by *Aaron* and *Hur*. Yet, alas! How many poor Creatures are ſeduced by them, who are honoured as the People of the Lord, though they be indeed of *Korah's* Conſpiracy?

Their Mouth ſpeaketh great ſwelling Words, and theſe filthy Dreamers deſpiſe Dominion, and ſpeak evil of Dignities; God commanding the Contrary, ſaying, Thou ſhalt not revile the Gods, nor curſe the Ruler of thy People. Let every Soul be ſubject to the higher Powers, there is no Power but of God, *&c.* ſaith St. *Paul*. Beſides, the Lord admoniſheth the *Jews*, ſaying, Bring your Necks under the Yoke of the King of *Babylon*, and ſerve him, and his People, and live. Nay more, they were commanded to ſeek the Peace of the City, and pray unto the Lord for it.

They therefore that break the Peace of our Land, fighting with the Sword of their Mouth againſt the Magiſtrates, thereby with the Fogs of Sedition to obſcure their Light, and with the Whirlwind of reproachful Words, to blow out the Lamp of their Glory; ſuch, I ſay, have their Eyes put out, with *Zedekiah*, and are poſting to *Babylon*, their Souls Confuſion.

Yet ſuch are our bleſſed Presbyterians, whoſe Words are as a Fire, to kindle Flames of Diſſenſion, and as an Hammer, to break in Pieces the Fabrick of our preſent Government, ſtirring up the People now againſt the Parliament, as before they did againſt the King; altho' they covenanted, to maintain the Privilege thereof; yet they take ſo much Privilege to themſelves, that, by their Conſent, the Parliament ſhall have none at all.

With *Abſalom*, they ſteal the Hearts of the People; and if not prevented, will at length openly rebel; ſuch a Whirl-wind muſt we expect to reap in *England*, whilſt they ſow the Wind of their Prating ſo much for *Scotland*. If the People, with *Ephraim*, feed on the Wind of their Words, no Marvel if their Stomach be nauſeous towards the States Advancement.

It is obſerved truly, that the People are like the Sea, and the Preachers are like to Wind: As the Sea of itſelf would be quiet, if the Winds did not move and trouble it; ſo the People would be tractable and peaceable, if ſuch ſeditious Orators did not ſet them in Agitation. If ſuch Minſtrels be permitted, no Wonder if the People make a Noiſe; if they ſhall be ſuffered to rail in the Pulpits, let us not blame the People for Murmuring in the Streets; if they without Controul may give a falſe Alarm, the People will be too apt to take it. As the Serpent *Porphyrius* is ſaid to be full of Poiſon, but wants Teeth to vent it; ſo the Presbyterian is full of Malice, but wants Strength to put it in Execution. Their Hatred is now like a ſubterraneous Fire, and Thunder in a Cloud; they only wait for a fit Time when it ſhall break forth into a Flame, and affright us with a terrible Clap, that they may ſet up their three-headed *Geryon*, Honour, Riches, and Pleaſure.

Some of the moſt crafty Foxes, altho' they covertly endeavour to ſpoil our Vines, by planting their ſtinking Elders, yet they openly pretend their Preſervation; ſo that they altogether look one Way, and row another. Others not ſo cunning, but as malicious, ſtand in a diametrical Oppoſition to all Orders of Parliament; and when they ſhould faſt, they will feaſt; and when they ſhould feaſt, they will be ſure to faſt; turning Days of Thankſgiving into Days of Humiliation, and calling Adhering to the Parliament, a Backſliding from the Truth; ſurely, they mean their Covenant; for as, if the Way, the Truth, and the Life, were exactly drawn in that Libel, as the World in a Map, they preſſed it with Rigour, as neceſſary to the Commonwealth's Well-being; and now, with Bitterneſs of Spirit, reject the Engagement, as an Engine of Deſtruction. Therefore, *Rebus ſic ſtantibus*, let the World judge, who are the Malignants, either they that deſire to live under their Vines, and under their Fig-trees, in Peace, or theſe that labour to foment a new War; ſome of them having not only a Finger, but a whole Hand in the *Scottiſh* Deſign againſt us?

Yet they would fain excuſe themſelves, by accuſing others of Malignancy, ſaying, or rather boaſting with the Phariſee: God, we thank thee, that we are not as other Men are; neither indeed are they, for they are not half ſo honeſt.

As *Auguſtine* writes of *Fauſtus* the *Manichee*; If this were to be juſt, to juſtify themſelves; aſſuredly, this Generation of Vipers had long ſince flown up into Heaven. But, alas! they

preſer themſelves before others, upon no better Ground than the *Marcionites* did exſol the Serpent above the Creator, becauſe the Creator did forbid to participate of the Tree of knowing Good and Evil, and the Serpent freely did permit it.

They would fain make us believe their *Entia* to be *Tranſcendentia*, and their Sots to be *Solomons*; but let us examine their Actions, and we ſhall find, that they travel with Iniquity, conceive Miſchief, and bring forth Falſhood: *Verbis proferunt virtutem, & factis deſtruunt veritatem*: In their Words they may ſeem to advance Virtue, but by their Works they overthrow Truth; not unlike the cunning Lapidary, who ſells a Beryl for a Diamond; but yet Chriſt ſuffereth ſuch in his Church, that the Truth might break forth with brighter Beams through the blackeſt Clouds of Oppoſition.

If *Arius* and *Sabellius* had not exceedingly vexed the Church of Chriſt, the deep Myſteries of the Holy Trinity would never have been ſo clearly and accurately determined by the Orthodox Doctors. If *Manichæus* had not maliciouſly railed upon the Old Teſtament, *Auguſtine*, that walking Library of Learning in his Time, would never have taken ſuch indefatigable Pains in anſwering all Objections againſt it: So, if theſe Mongrel *Geneva* Proſelytes had not, with a Storm in their Countenance, and a Tempeſt in their Tongue, oppoſed the Saints of God, the glorious Myſteries of Chriſt's Kingdom had not been ſo much revealed to his People: Had not theſe Enemies come in like a Flood, the Spirit of the Lord had not thus lifted up his Standard againſt them.

For Braſs God hath now brought Gold, and for Iron, Silver; therefore let their ſtormy Wind praiſe the Lord, and let the Wrath of theſe Men glorify his holy Name. Let the *Antiperiſtaſis* of their Malice make the Fire of our Zeal more intenſe: And, altho' the Interpoſition of theſe Lunaticks, as that of the Moon, may for a very little while eclipſe our Sun, yet it ſhall never go down; for the Lord himſelf will be our everlaſting Light, we ſhall be ever clothed with the Sun, and therefore tread the Moon of Variableneſs under our Feet; inſomuch that the Beaſt, which hath Horns like a Lamb, and ſpeaks as a Dragon, ſhall never exerciſe his Power over us, though they ſay, Curſed be the Man that obeyeth not the Words of our Covenant.

Whoſo then is a wiſe Man, and endued with Knowledge, among the Preſbyterian Party, let him lay his Hand upon his Heart, and conſider, whilſt Oil is yet in his Lamp, and thoſe Candles of Nature, his Eyes, not ſunk down within their Sockets; let him deſcend into himſelf, and ſearch out the Errof of his Ways; which being once found, let him not be aſhamed to cry *Peccavi* from the Bottom of his Heart; for this will be a Key to open the Wounds of Chriſt, and give a ready Paſſage to the Mercy-ſeat.

This is all the Harm I wiſh the Worſt of them; and, if *Alexander the Great* wept at the Sight of *Darius*'s dead Corpſe, and *Julius Cæſar* at the Spectacle of *Pompey*'s Head, certainly, as ſeverely as they may cenſure me, I ſhould turn *lumina in flumina, in fontem frontem*, Eyes into Tears, and Face into a Fountain, to behold their Deſtruction, altogether deſiring their ſpeedy Converſion; for which ſhall be always my fervent Prayer.

And, as for me, the Lord God will help me, therefore ſhall I not be confounded; therefore have I ſet my Face like a Flint, and I know that I ſhall not be aſhamed. He is near that juſtifieth me: Who will contend with me? Let us ſtand together. Who is mine Adverſary? Let him come near me.

A ſhort, legal, medicinal, uſeful, ſafe, and eaſy Preſcription to recover our Kingdom, Church, and Nation, from their preſent dangerous, diſtractive, deſtructive Confuſion, and worſe than *Bedlam* Madneſs; ſeriouſly recommended to all *Engliſh* Freemen, who deſire Peace, Safety, Liberty, Settlement. By *William Prynne*, Eſq; a Bencher of *Lincoln*'s-*Inn*.

JUDGES XIX. 30.

Conſider of it, take Advice, and ſpeak your Minds.

PROV. xii. 19, 20.

Deceit is in the Heart of them that imagine Evil, but to the Counſellors of Peace is Joy. There ſhall no Evil happen to the Juſt, but the Wicked ſhall be filled with Miſchief.

Printed at *London*, and are to be ſold by *Edward Thomas*, at the *Adam* and *Eve*, in *Little-Britain*, 1659. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

THE Ambition, Treachery, Turbulency, Avarice, and late infuſed Jeſuitical Principles of ſome ſwaying Officers in the Parliament's Army, aſpiring after the ſupreme Authority, Government, and publick Revenues of our three Kingdoms, having ſo far corrupted their Judgments, ſeared their Conſciences, depraved their Wills, and hardened their Hearts, as openly, frequently to violate all ſacred Oaths, Vows, Covenants, Obligations, Truſts, Commiſſions, Engagements to the late King, his Heirs and Succeſſors, the old Parliament, Kingdom, Nation, for whoſe Defence they were originally raiſed, and commiſſioned, and, to their own new-created Anti-parliamentary Juncto's, Conventions, Protectors, and Conventicles, which they have all ſucceſſively ſubverted, engroſſing the ſovereign, royal, and parliamental Power into their own Hands, oppoſing and advancing themſelves (by mere Treachery, Perjury, Violence, and other deſperate Ways of Unrighteouſneſs) like that Man of Sin, and Myſtery of Iniquity, above all that is worſhiped and called God; making no leſs than three publick Revolutions of our Government, and forcibly diſſolving two Parliaments, as they deemed them, of their own Modelling, convening, within ſix Months Space, laſt paſt; and thereby made our formerly renowned Nations, the Scorn, Reproach, Wonder, Deriſion of all the World; themſelves the Monſters of Men, the Shame of Chriſtianity, Chivalry; expoſed our three Nations to the uttermoſt Extremity of Danger by new unprecedented Ataxies, Diviſions, Incroachments upon their hereditary Rights, Liberties, Properties; cauſed a total Decay of all Sorts of Trade, Juſtice, legal Proceedings at Home, and occaſioned a ſpeedy much feared Invaſion from our potent combined Popiſh Adverſaries Abroad, when thus miſerably diſtracted

tracted, diſcontented, impoveriſhed, and totally diſabled to repulſe them: It is high Time for every publick-ſpirited *Engliſhman* in this ſtrange, diſtracting Confuſion (which hath almoſt as much divided and diſcontented all conſcientious Officers, Soldiers in the Army, Navy, as the People of all Callings, Conditions) to contribute their beſt Advice, by all juſt, legal, hopeful, ſpeedy Ways, agreeable with the Laws of God and the Land, and thoſe Rights, Liberties of the People (the Defence whereof all Officers, Soldiers in the Army, have ſo frequently and conſtantly avowed they were principally raiſed, and reſolved to defend, though they have, hitherto, failed in their Promiſes) to recover us out of the Labyrinth of our almoſt inextricable amazing Confuſions, ſettle our pernicious Diſtractions, and prevent that viſible, imminent, univerſal Deſolation elſe likely to fall upon our Church, State, Nation, Religion, beyond all Poſſibility of Eſcape, through the Army Officers raſh deſtructive Counſels, and Violations of their Truſts, Oaths, Engagements, both as Soldiers, Chriſtians, and Members of the Kingdom.

The only juſt, legal, probable Means now left that I can preſcribe both for our Nation's, Church's, Army's, preſent and future Safety too (if they will cordially and chriſtianly ſubmit thereto, as they ought in Conſcience, Juſtice, Prudence) is,

Firſt, For all ancient Nobility of the Kingdom (the hereditary great Council and Counſellors of the Nation in all actual Interregnums, and publick Confuſions, as our Hiſtorians, Records, Law Books, and the Commons themſelves in the Long Parliament reſolved) both by Cuſtom, Law, Right) to aſſemble themſelves by common Conſent at *Weſtminſter*, or ſo many of them at leaſt, or their Heirs, if dead, who conſtantly adhered to the Long Parliament, and there to iſſue out Writs according to the Statute of 16. *Car. Chap.* 1. on the third *Monday* of *November* next, under twelve or more of their Hands and Seals, for a free and legal Election of Knights, Citizens, Burgeſſes, Barons, in every City, County, Borough, Port, according to former Uſage, to appear at the Parliament-Houſe in *Weſtminſter*, the third *Monday* in *January* next enſuing, at a Parliament then and there to be held, in ſuch a Manner and Form as this Act preſcribes; wherein ſuch Propoſals and Counſels may, by common Conſent be purſued, as may, thro' God's Bleſſing, ſoon reſtore our priſtine Peace, Trade, Honour, Wealth, Proſperity, Felicity, Settlement, and ſecure us from all future Changes.

Secondly, For all Freeholders in every County of the Kingdom, at the next County Court in *November*, to meet together, and make Choice of the ableſt, honeſteſt, wiſeſt, ſtouteſt Gentlemen for their Sheriffs, to keep the Peace of the County, command the Militia, ſuppreſs all Inſurrections, elect, return Knights, Citizens, Burgeſſes to ſerve in Parliament, and execute the Office of a Sheriff; it being their ancient legal Right and Privilege, by ſpecial Grants of our Kings, both in and out of Parliament, which none, in late or preſent Power, ought to incroach upon, or deprive them of, and they are all now bound to exerciſe and maintain for their own Preſervation and Safety. This their Right I ſhall clearly evidence beyond Contradiction:

Firſt, By the People's ancient Right in *Edward the Confeſſor's* Time, or before, in their Folkmote to chuſe an Heretoke, a Baron, or Perſon of Quality, in every County, in Nature of a Captain, who had the Power of the County and Militia in every Shire, *Sicut et Vicecomites Provinciarum et Comitatuum eligi debent per ſingulos Comitatus in pleno Folkmoto*: As Sheriffs of Provinces and Counties ought to be choſen in every County; as you may read at large in Mr. *Lambard's Archaion*, *f.* 135, *de Heretochiis*; in Sir *Henry Spelman's Gloſſarium*, *Dux & Heretochius*, P. 232, 348, 349: My *Sovereign Power of Parliaments*, Part ii. P. 24, 25: *Cooke's two Inſtitutes*, P. 174, 175.

Secondly, By *Rot. Clauſ. Anno* 16 *Johan. Reg. Part.* i. *m.* 2. *dorſo.* 'Dominus Rex conceſſit 'Baronibus ſuis, Militibus & libere tenentibus 'de *Cornubia*, quod habeant Vicecomitem de 'aliquo ipſorum ad Electionem eorum. Idem 'vero Barones, Milites, & libere tenentes con'ceſſerunt *Willielmo Wiſe*, quod habeat Hun'dredum de *Eſtweneleſer* ad feodi firmam, ſibi '& hæredibus ſuis imperpetuum, per dimidi'um marci Argenti, ad feſtum Sancti *Michaelis* 'reddendum.'

Thirdly, 'By *Rot. Pat. An.* 5. *H.* III. '*memb.* 6 *H.* Dei gratia, &c. Archiepiſcopis 'Epiſcopis, Comitibus, Baronibus, Militibus, 'libere tenentibus & aliis omnibus de Com. '*Cornub.* ſalutem. Sciatis quod conceſſimus 'vobis quod liberam habeatis electionem eli-'gendi

'gendi vobis in Vicecomitem noſtrum unum 'de Com. *Cornub.* Et ideo vobis mandamus 'quod eligatis tres fideles & diſcretos de Com. '*Cornub.* & illos nobis præſentari fac. apud '*London* in Octab. Clauſi Paſche, & nos unum 'ex illis tribus, prout nobis placuerit, vobis 'dabimus ad Vicecomitem. Et interim com-'miſimus Comitatum illum *Cornub.* cum om-'nibus illis quæ ad nos pertinent dilecto & fi-'deli noſtro *Reginaldo* de *Valletorta* cuſtodiend. 'vobiſque mandamus quatenus eidem *Reginaldo* 'uſq; ad prædictum terminum ſitis inten-'dentes & reſpondentes in omnibus, tanquam 'Vic. noſtro & ballivo noſtro. Et in hujus, '&c. T. H. de *Burgo*, &c. apud *Weſtm.* 'xxviii. *die* Jan. *an. regni noſtro quinto.*'

Fourthly, 'By *Pat.* 10. *H.* III. *memb.* 4. 'Rex Archiepiſcopis Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, 'Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Militibus, 'libere tenentibus, & omnibus aliis de com-'munibus *Somerſet* & *Dorſ.* ſalutem. Sciatis 'quod electioni quam feciſtis de *Will.* fil. '*Henr.* ad Vic. noſtrum faciend. de Comitat. '*Somerſet* & *Dorſet* aſſenſum noſtrum præbu-'imus. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ei tan-'quam Vic. noſtro, quamdiu nobis placuerit, 'intendentes ſitis & reſpondentes. In cujus, '&c. Teſte Rege apud *Winton.* xxvii *die* Jan.'

Fifthly, By *Mat. Paris*, *Mat. Weſtminſter*, *Daniel*, and others, who record, that, in the Forty-fifth Year of King *Henry the Third*, the King placed new Sheriffs in every County, diſplacing the Sheriffs the Barons and People had made; whereupon the People, in every County, manfully reſiſted the Sheriffs, and would not obey, nor regard nor anſwer them in any Thing, whereat the King was much troubled. Much leſs then ought they now to obey any Sheriffs obtruded on them by the Army-Officers, or any other illegal uſurped Power.

Sixthly, By the Statute of *Articuli ſuper Chartas*, *An.* 28. *E.* I. *Chap.* 8. the King hath granted to his People, That they ſhall have the Election of Sheriffs in every Shire, where the Shrivalty is not of Fee, if they will. And, *Chap.* 13. Foraſmuch as the King hath granted the Election of Sheriffs to the Commons of the Shire, the King willeth, that they ſhall chuſe ſuch Sheriffs as ſhall not charge them, and that they ſhall not put in any Officer for Rewards or Bribes: And that they ſhall not lodge too often in one Place, nor with poor Perſons, nor with Men of Religion. By which Statutes (being but Confirmations of the People's former Rights by Cuſtom, or Kings Grants, on which ſome of them incroached, which was the Occaſion of theſe Acts) all Counties uſed to elect their Sheriff: And if they elected any mean or unfitting Perſon, as they ſometimes did, he then commanded them by his Writs to chuſe another, who was fit to diſcharge that Office; witneſs this memorable Record enſuing:

Cl. 31 *E.* I. m. 13 dorſo. 'Rex Corona-'toribus & toti communitati Comitatuum *Sa-'lop.* & *Staffard.* ſalutem. Cum nuper pro 'communi utilitate regni noſtri inter alia con-'ceſſerimus populo ejuſdem regni, quod habeat 'ſi voluerit electionem Vic. in ſingulis comita-'tibus dicti regni cum opus fuerit Vicecom. 'prædict. in eiſdem, ubi videlicet Vicecomes 'de feodo non exiſtit. Ac *Ricardus de Harlegh*, 'per vos in Vic. comitatuum prædictorum nuper 'electus, ad officium illud faciendum minus 'ſufficiens eſt, ſicut ex teſtimonio fide digno 'accepimus: Vobis mandamus quod aliquem 'qui melius ſciat & poſſit officio Vic. dictorum 'comitatuum intendere & utilior fuerit ad idem 'officium exequendum in Vic. eorundem comi-'tatuum pro vobis, ſi volueritis, eligatis, & 'ipſum ſic electum per aliquem legalem & cir-'cumſpectum hominem ex parte veſtra cum 'literis veſtris patentibus ſub ſigillis ſex de diſ-'cretioribus & probioribus Mil. eorundem co-'mitatuum Theſſ. & Baronib. noſtris de Scac-'cario in craſtino Sancti Michaelis prox. futuri 'ſine dilatione præſentetis, ut ipſe tunc ibidem 'præſtito ſicut moris eſt ſacramento, extunc 'ea faciat & exerceat, quæ ad officium Vice-'comitis pertinent in com. prædictis. Et ha-'beatis ibi tunc hoc breve: Sciturí, quod ſi 'talem per vos electum modo prædicto non 'præſentaveritis coram præfatis Theſſ. & Baro-'nibus noſtris in craſtino prædicto, prædicti 'Theſſ. & Barones extunc nobis de alio Vice-'comite vobis præficiendo in defectu veſtri 'providebunt.' Teſte Rege apud *Sarum. 16.* die April.

Eighthly, By Clauſ. 12 *E.* III. pars 2. m. 15. Clauſ. 13 *E.* III. pars 3. dorſ. 16. Cl. 14 *E.* III. pars 2. m. 3. *De Vicecomitibus Eligendis per totam Angliam*; wherein are ſeveral Writs iſſued, authoriſing and commanding the Peo-

ple,

ple, to elect their Sheriffs, in every County, throughout *England*; with other Records, to the like Effect, over tedious to recite at large.

Ninthly, By Mr. *Lambard*'s *Archaion*, *f.* 135. and Sir *Edward Cook*'s *two Inſtitutes on Magna Charta*, p. 174, 175, 558, 559, 566, who reſolve: That Sheriffs, in ancient Times, were, and ought to be choſen by the Freeholders of the County, in the County-Court, as Conſervators of the Peace, Coroners, Verderers, Conſtables, Petty Conſtables, were then, and ſince elected likewiſe by the People; as well by the King's Writs, as without them, in Caſes of Neceſſity.

Tenthly, By the conſtant Cuſtom of all Corporations, which are Counties within themſelves, having Power, annually, to chuſe Sheriffs only by the King's Charters, without any ſpecial Writ; as *London*, *Briſtol*, *Glouceſter*, *York*, *Canterbury*, *Coventry*, &c. uſe to do, Therefore every County in *England* and *Wales* may do the like without any ſpecial Writs, being a neceſſary, annual, ancient ſtanding Office, eſpecially, in theſe confuſed Times, when none have any legal Authority to iſſue out Writs or Commiſſions, to elect or ſwear Sheriffs, by Vertue of the premiſed Statutes: And the Army, Officers with other ſelf-created uſurping Powers, may as lawfully obtrude Mayors, Sheriffs, and other Officers, on every Corporation of *England*, without their Election, and deprive them of their Freedom to elect them; as thruſt Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, Coroners, or other eligible Officers upon Counties, and rob them of this their juſt, ancient Right and Privilege, now ſtrenuouſly, to be revived, aſſerted for their common Safety againſt all Incroachments thereon. The Statute of *Weſtminſter*, 1 *Chap.* 5, enacting, declaring, That, all Elections ought to be free, and not diſturbed by Force of Arms, under great Forfeitures, by no great Men, nor others.

Thirdly, Let all Counties, Cities, Boroughs, Ports, make Choice of the wiſeſt, ableſt, ſtouteſt, diſcreeteſt Perſons, ſuch as are beſt affected to Peace, Settlement, and the Nation's publick Intereſt, for their Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, not of raw, unexperienced, timorous, or Time ſerving, unſtable, ſelf-ſeeking, turbulent Men.

Fourthly, Let all Counties, Cities, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Yeomen, Clergymen, and Freemen of the Nation unanimouſly reſolve, to obey no new, illegal, tyrannical, upſtart Powers, Officers, Conventicles, Committees or Councils of Men whatſoever, forcibly obtruded on them; nor to execute any of their Orders or Commands; but only to obey ſuch legal Officers, as themſelves ſhall legally elect, or a free Parliament duly elected by them; nor pay any Taxes, Cuſtoms, Impoſts, Exciſes, Contributions whatſoever, to any Officers, Soldiers, Collectors, but ſuch as ſhall be impoſed by common Conſent, in a free and lawful Parliament, it being their ancient Birth-right (for Defence whereof, the Army was firſt raiſed) ratified not only by ſundry ancient Statutes and the late Petition of Right, but ſeveral Acts, Votes, Declarations, Judgments, the laſt long Parliament of King *Charles*, acknowledged in the Inſtrument of Government itſelf, the late Petition and Advice, the Army's own former Declarations, and the late diſſolved Junto, in their very laſt Knack, of the Twelfth of this Inſtant *October*, their Plea and Papers ſince.

Fifthly, If any Officers, and Soldiers of the Army, out of Faction, Ambition, Self-ends, or Jeſuitical Seduction, ſhall obſtinately, traiterouſly, maliciouſly, or tyrannically oppoſe the People in their Elections of Sheriffs, Knights, Citizens, Burgeſſes, or levy any Taxes, Exciſes upon them by armed Violence, contrary to all their former forfeited, now expired Commiſſions, Declarations, Engagements; let them then unanimouſly declare and proceed againſt them, as profeſſed publick Enemies, Traytors to their Native Country; who by their former and late Treacheries, Rebellions, and unwarrantable Proceedings againſt all their Superiors, tranſcending all Precedents in profane or ſacred Stories, have actually in Law, Juſtice, forfeited not only all their Commiſſions, Commands, and Arrears of Pay, but all their very Lives, Lands, Eſtates; and that our whole three Nations, by their ſolemn League and Covenant, for their own future Preſervation, are obliged to bring them to publick Juſtice, as themſelves have proceeded againſt Hundreds, nay, Thouſands of other Delinquents, not half ſo criminal as themſelves; and, thereupon, intreat all other Officers, Soldiers in the Army, who have any Fear of God, or Love to themſelves, their Poſterities, or Native Country, remaining in their Breaſts, as *Moſes* did the Congregation of *Iſrael*, in the Rebellion of *Korah*, *Dathan*,

and *Abiram*, who mutinied the People againſt him and *Aaron*, *Numb.* xvi. "Depart, I pray ye, from the Tents of theſe wicked Men, and touch nothing of theirs, leſt ye be conſumed in all their Sins. So they gat up from the Tabernacle of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* on every Side." And as many Officers, Soldiers, as ſhall, thereupon, deſert the Tents of their rebellious Commanders, and contribute their Aſſiſtance for the ſpeedy Calling, and ſafe Fitting of a free, lawful Parliament, without any future Mutinies, to interrupt or diſſolve it, when convened according to the premiſed Statute of 16 *Car. Chap.* 1. Let them be aſſured of their full Arrears, and of Indemnity, for what is paſt, which none elſe but a free and lawful Parliament can grant them, all other Indemnities being void in Law. And, if this will not ſatisfy, let them beware, leſt the Earth cleave aſunder, that is under them, and then open her Mouth, and ſwallow them up alive, with their Houſes, Men, Goods, and all appertaining to them, and they periſh from among the Congregation, as *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, with their Families and Adherents did, by this or ſome other exemplary Judgments, and a univerſal Inſurrection of our three whole diſcontented, oppreſſed, ruined Nations againſt them, which they may juſtly fear and expect, if they believe there is a righteous God, that judgeth in the Earth, a Lord of Hoſts able to ſcatter, puniſh, execute Vengeance on them here, and caſt them into Hell for ever hereafter, for their manifold, unlamented, reiterated, tranſcendent Rebellions; or repute theſe Texts Canonical, which I ſhall recommend to their ſaddeſt Meditations: *Prov.* xxix. 10. "He, that being often reproved hardeneth his Neck, ſhall ſuddenly be deſtroyed, and that without Remedy." As the late Anti-Parliamentary Junto's and Protectors have been. *Prov.* xi. 21. "Though Hand go in Hand, yet the Wicked ſhall not go unpuniſhed. *Pſal.* lxviii. 21. "God ſhall wound the Head of his Enemies, and the hairy Scalp of ſuch a one as goeth on ſtill in his Treſpaſſes." *Ezek.* xxiv. 14. "I the Lord have ſpoken it, it ſhall come to paſs, I will do it; I will not go back, neither will I ſpare, neither will I repent; but according to thy Ways, and according to thy Doings I will recompenſe, and they ſhall judge thee, ſaith the Lord." *Col.* iii. 25. "He that doth Wrong ſhall receive according to the Wrong done, and there is no Reſpect of Perſons with God;" who can, in a Moment, as eaſily deſtroy an whole Army, and great Hoſt of Men (as he did * *Sennacherib*'s, *Jeroboam*'s, and other Armies) as any one ſingle Perſon.

October the Laſt, 1659, the Day of King-condemning *John Bradſhaw*'s Death, and Tranſlation to his proper Place, and Arraignment, in the higheſt Court of Juſtice.

* 2 Kings, xiii. 35. 2 Chron. xiii. 16, 17.

Nennius,

Nennius, a worthy *Briton*, the very Pattern of a valiant, noble, and faithful Subject, encountering with *Julius Cæsar*, at his firſt Coming into this Iſland, was by him Death-wounded; yet nevertheleſs he got *Cæsar*'s Sword, put him to Flight, ſlew therewith *Labienus*, a Tribune of the *Romans*, endured Fight till his Countrymen won the Battle, died fifteen Days after: And now encourageth all good Subjects to defend their Country from the Power of foreign and uſurping Enemies. About the Year before Chriſt, 52. *MS.*

I MAY, by Right, ſome later Writers blame
Of Stories old, as rude, or negligent;
Or elſe I may them well unlearned name,
Or heedleſs, in thoſe Things about they went:
Some Time on me as well they might have ſpent,
As on ſuch Traitors, Tyrants, Harlots, thoſe,
Which, to their Countries, were the deadlieſt Foes.

Me, for myſelf, I would not this recite,
Although I have Occaſion good thereto;
But ſure, methinks, it is too great Deſpite,
Theſe Men to others, and their Countries, do:
For there are *Britons*, neither one or two,
Whoſe Names in Stories ſcarcely once appear,
And yet their Lives Examples worthy were.

'Tis worthy Praiſe, I grant, to write the Ends
Of vicious Men, and teach the like beware:
For what hath he of Virtue, that commends
Such Perſons lewd, as nought of Virtues care?
But for to leave out thoſe Praiſe-worthy are
Is like as if a Man had not the Skill
To praiſe the Good, but diſcommend the Ill.

I crave no Praiſe, although myſelf deſery'd
As great a Laud, as any *Briton* yore;
But I would have it told how well I ſery'd
My Prince and Country, Faith to both I bore:
All noble Hearts hereby, with Courage more,
May both their foreign Foes in Fight withſtand,
And of their Enemies have the upper Hand.

Again, To ſhew how valiant then we were,
You *Britons* good, to move your Hearts thereby
All other Nations leſs in Fight to fear,
And, for your Country, rather ſo to die,
With valiant, haughty Courage, as did I,
Than live in Bondage, Service, Slavery, Thrall
Of foreign Powers, which hate your Manhood all:

Do give me Leave to ſpeak but even a While,
And mark, and write this Story I thee tell:
By North from *London*, more than fifty Mile,
There lies the *Iſle of Ely*, known full well,
Wherein my Father built a Place to dwell;
And, for becauſe he liked well the ſame,
He gave the Place *He Ely hight*, his Name.

'Tis nam'd the *Iſle of Ely*, yet, perdy,
My Father nam'd it ſo; yet * Writers miſs,
Or, if I may be bold to ſay, they lye
Of him, which tell that far Untruth-like is.
What Truth, I pray you, ſeems to be in this?
He *Ely* lov'd, a goodly Place built there,
Moſt it delighted, reign'd not full a Year.

* *Lanquet, Stowe, Grafton, Flores Hiſtorici.*

He

He reigned forty Years, as others tell;
Which seems, as 'tis a Tale, more true by far:
By Justice guided he his Subjects well,
And liv'd in Peace, without the Broils of War:
His Children's noble Acts in Stories are,
In vulgar Tongue; but nought is said of me,
And yet I worthy was, the Young'st of three.

His eldest Son and Heir was after King;
A noble Prince, and he was named *Lud*;
Full politick and wise in every Thing,
And one that will'd his Country always Good:
Such Uses, Customs, Statutes he withstood,
As seem'd to bring the Publick Weal's Decay,
And them abolish'd, broke, repeal'd away.

So he the Walls of *Troy the New* renew'd,
Inlarg'd them made, with forty Tow'rs about;
And, at the West-side of the Wall, he view'd
A Place for Gates, to keep the Enemies out:
There made he Prisons for the poor Bank-rout,
Nam'd *Ludgate*, yet for Freemen Debtors, free
From Hurt, till with their Creditors they 'gree.

Some say, the City also took the Name
Of *Lud* my Brother, for he it repair'd;
And I must needs, as true, confess the same.
For why? That Time no Cost on it he spar'd.
He still increas'd and peopled every Ward;
And bade them aye *Kaer Lud* the City call,
Or *Ludstown*; now you name it *London* all.

At length he dy'd, his Children under Age,
The Elder named was *Androgeus*,
Committing both unto my Brother's Charge:
The Younger of them hight *Tennancius*.
The *Britons*, wanting aged Rulers thus,
Chose, for that Time, *Cassibellane* their King,
My Brother Justice meant in every Thing.

The *Roman* then the mighty *Cæsar* fought,
Against the *Galls*, and conquer'd them by Might:
Which done, he stood on Shores, where see he mought
The Ocean Seas, and *Britain* Cliffs full bright;
Quoth he, What Region lies then [illegible] Sight?
Methinks some Island in the Sea I see,
Not yet subdu'd, nor vanquish'd yet by me.

With that they told him, we the *Britons* [illegible]
A People stout, and fierce in Peace of War.
Quoth he, The *Romans* never yet, with Fear
Of Nation rude, was daunted off so far;
We therefore mind to prove them what they are;
And, therewithal, the Letters hither sent,
By those Ambassage brought, and thus they went:

C. Julius Cæsar, *Dictator of* Rome, *to* Cassibellane, *King of* Britain, *sendeth Greeting*.

SINCE that the Gods have given us all the West,
As Subjects to our *Roman* Empire high;
By War, or as it seemed, *Jove* the best,
Of whom we *Romans* came, and chiefly I.

Therefore to you, which in the Ocean dwell,
As yet not underneath Subjection due,
We send our Letters, greeting, were ye well;
In warlike Cases, thus we deal with you.

First that you, as the other Regions, pay
Us Tribute Yearly, *Romans* we require;
Then that you will, with all the Force you may,
Withstand our Foes, as yours, with Sword and Fire.

And thirdly, that by these you Pledges send,
T'assure the Covenants, once agreed by you:
So, with your Danger less, our Wars may end,
Else bid we War; *Cassibelane*, adieu.

Cæsar.

No sooner were these *Cæsar*'s Letters seen,
But straight the King for all his Nobles sent:
He shewed them what their Ancestors had been,

And

And pray'd them tell, in this, their whole Intent.
He told them whereabout the *Romans* went,
And what Subjection was, how ſervile they
Should be, if *Cæſar* bore their Pomp away.

And all the *Britons*, even as ſet on Fire,
(Myſelf not leaſt inflamed was to fight)
Did humbly him in joyful Wiſe require,
That he his Letters would to *Cæſar* write,
And tell him plain, we paſs'd not of his Spite.
We paſs'd at little, of the *Romans* we,
And leſs than they of us, if leſs might be.

Wherefore, the joyful King again reply'd,
Through Counſel wiſe of all the Nobles had,
By Letters he the *Romans* Hoſts defy'd:
Which made the *Britons* haughty Hearts full glad.
No Doubt, the *Romans* more than half were mad,
To hear his Letters written, thus they went,
Which he again to mighty *Cæſar* ſent:

Caſſibellane, *King of* Britain, *to* C. Julius Cæſar, *Dictator*, *ſendeth Anſwer.*

AS thou, O *Cæſar*, writ'ſt, the Gods have given to thee
The Weſt; ſo I reply, They gave this Iſland me.
Thou ſay'ſt, You *Romans*, and thyſelf, of Gods deſcend;
And dar'ſt thou then to ſpoil our *Trojan* Blood pretend?
Again, Though Gods have giv'n thee all the World as thine;
That's parted from the World, thou get'ſt no Land of mine.
And ſince likewiſe of Gods we came, a Nation free,
We owe no Tribute, Aid, or Pledge, to *Rome* or thee.

Retract thy Will, or wage thy War, as likes thee beſt,
We are to fight, and rather, than to Friendſhip preſs'd;
To ſave our Country from the Force of foreign Striſe,
Each *Briton* here is well content to venture Life.
We fear not of the End, or Dangers thou doſt tell;
But uſe thy Pleaſure, if thou may'ſt; thus fare thou well.

Caſſibellane.

When *Cæſar* had receiv'd his Anſwer ſo,
It vex'd him much; he fully ſtraight decreed
To wage us War, and work us, *Britons*, Woe:
Therefore he haſted hitherward with Speed;
We *Britons* here prepar'd ourſelves, with Heed,
To meet the *Romans*, all in warlike Wiſe,
With all the Force and Speed we might deviſe.

We *Britons* then far deem'd it meeter much,
To meet him firſt at th' Entry on this Land,
Than for to give an Entry here to ſuch,
Might, with our Victuals, here ourſelves withſtand.
'Tis better for thy Enemy to aband,
Quite from thy Borders, to a ſtranger Soil,
Than he, at Home, thee and thy Country ſpoil.

Wherefore we met him, at his Entry in,
And pitch'd our Camps directly in his Way:
We minded ſure to loſe, or elſe to win
The Praiſe, before we paſs'd from thence away.
So when that both the Armies were in Ray,
And Trumpet's Blaſt on every Side was blown,
Our Minds to either each were quickly known.

We joined Battle, fiercely both we fought;
The *Romans* to enlarge their Empire's Fame,
And we, with all the Force and Might we mought,
To ſave our Country, and to keep our Name.
(O worthy *Britons*, learn to do the ſame)
We broke the Rays of all the *Roman* Hoſt,
And made the mighty *Cæſar* leave his Boaſt.

Yet he, the worthieſt Captain ever was,
Brought all in Ray, and fought again a-new;
His ſkilful Soldiers he could bring to paſs
At once, for why his Trainings all they knew.
No ſooner I his noble Corps did view,
But in I broke amongſt the Captain's Band,
And there I fought with *Cæſar* Hand to Hand.

O God,

O God, thou might'ſt have given a *Briton* Grace,
T' have ſlain the *Roman Cæſar* noble then;
Which ſought his Blood the *Britons* to deface,
And bring, in Bondage, valiant worthy Men:
He never ſhould have gone to *Rome* again,
To fight with *Pompey*, or his Peers to ſlay,
Or elſe to bring his Country in Decay.

It joy'd my Heart to ſtrike on *Cæſar*'s Creſt,
O *Cæſar*, that there had been none but we;
I often made my Sword to try thy Breaſt,
But Lady *Fortune* did not look on me.
I able was, methought, with *Cæſars* three
To try the Caſe: I made thy Heart to quake,
When on thy Creſt with mighty Strokes I ſtrake.

The Strokes, thou ſtruck'ſt me, hurt me not at all,
For why, thy Strength was nothing in Reſpect;
But thou hadſt bath'd thy Sword in Poiſon all,
Which did my Wound not deadly elſe infect.
Yet was I, or I parted thence bewreck'd,
I got thy Sword from thee, for all thy Fame,
And made thee fly, for Fear to eat the ſame.

For, when thy Sword was in my Target faſt,
I made thee fly, and quickly leave thy Hold;
Thou never waſt, in all thy Life, ſo gaſt,
Nor durſt again be ever half ſo bold.
I made a Number of *Roman* Hearts full cold.
Fight, fight, you noble *Britons*, now, quoth I,
We never all will unrevenged die.

What, *Cæſar*, though thy Praiſe and mine be odd?
Perhaps the Stories ſcarce remember me:
Though Poets all of thee do make a God,
Such ſimple Fools in making Gods they be.
Yet, if I might my Caſe have try'd with thee,
Thou never hadſt return'd to *Rome* again,
Nor, of thy faithful Friends, been beaſtly ſlain.

A Number *Britons*, might'ſt thou there have ſeen,
Death-wounded fight, and ſpoil their ſpiteful Foes:
Myſelf, maim'd, ſlew and mangled more I ween,
When I was hurt, than T[illegible] more of thoſe.
I made the *Romans* Hearts [illegible] Hoſe:
In all the Camp no *Roman* ſcarc[illegible]
Durſt half a Combate 'gainſt a *B*[illegible]

At length I met a Nobleman, t[illegible]
Him *Labienus*, one of *Cæſar*'[illegible]
A Tribune erſt, had many *Brit*[illegible]
Was one of *Cæſar*'s Legates, [illegible]
Well met (quoth I) I mind [illegible]
Mends,
For all thy Friendſhip to our [illegible]
And ſo with *Cæſar*'s Sword his Friend I hew.

What need I name you every *Briton* here,
As firſt the King, the Nobles all beſide,
Full ſtout and worthy Wights, in War that were,
As ever erſt the ſtately *Romans* try'd;
We fought ſo long they durſt no longer 'bide.
Proud *Cæſar* he, for all his Brags and Boaſt,
Flew back to Ships, with Half his ſcatter'd Hoſt.

If he had been a God, as Sots him nam'd,
He could not of us *Britons* taken Foil;
The Monarch *Cæſar* might have been aſham'd,
From ſuch an Iſland, with his Ships recoil,
Or elſe to fly, and leave behind the Spoil:
But Life is ſweet, he thought it better fly,
Than hide amongſt us *Britons*, for to die.

I had his Sword, was named *Croceamors*,
With which he gave me in the Head a Stroke,
The Venom of the which had ſuch a Force,
It able was to pierce the Heart of Oak,
No Med'cines might the Poiſon out revoke:
Wherefore, though ſcarce he pierced had the Skin,
In fifteen Days my Brains it rankled in.

And then too ſoon (alas! therefore) I dy'd;
I would to God he had return'd again,
So that I might but once the Daſtard ſpy'd:
Before he went, I had the Serpent ſlain.
He play'd the Coward Cut-throat all too plain:
A beaſtly Serpent's Heart that Beaſt detects,
Which, e're he fight, his Sword with Bane infects.

Well

Well then, my Death brought *Cæſar* no Renown,
For both I got, thereby, eternal Fame,
And eke his Sword, to ſtrike his Friends adown;
Slew therewith his *Labiene* by Name:
With Prince againſt my Country's Foes I came,
Was wounded, yet did never faint, nor yield,
Till *Cæſar* with his Soldiers fled the Field.

Who would not venture Life in ſuch a Caſe?
Who would not fight at Countries whole Requeſt?
Who would not, meeting *Cæſar* in the Place,
Fight for Life Prince, and Country with the Beſt?
The greateſt Courage is by Facts expreſs'd:
Then for thy Prince with Fortitude, as I,
And Realm's Behoof, is Praiſe to live or die.

Now write my Life, when thou haſt Leiſure, and
Will all thy Countrymen to learn by me,
Both for their Prince, and for their native Land,
As valiant, bold, and fearleſs for to be.
A Pattern plain of Fortitude they ſee:
To which directly if themſelves they frame,
They ſhall preſerve their Country, Faith, and Fame.

St. *Edward*'s Ghoſt, or, *Anti-Normaniſm:* Being a pathetical Complaint and Motion, in the Behalf of our *Engliſh* Nation, againſt her grand, yet neglected Grievance, *Normaniſm*.

Quænam (malùm) eſt iſta voluntaria Servitus?
CICERO, *in Orat.* Philip. I.

London, printed for *Richard Wodenothe*, at the *Star*, under *Peter*'s Church in *Cornhill*. 1647. *Quarto*, containing twenty-eight Pages.

Ad LECTOREM.

Reader,

THIS *Eſſay, having long* * *waited for Room and free Audience on the publick Stage, doth now appear: If thou haſt a Mind to quarrel with it, it muſt be againſt the Matter, or the Form; againſt the Matter thou who art* Engliſh *canſt not, without betraying either thy Ignorance, in not knowing thy Nation's deareſt* † *Rights, or thy Impiety in oppoſing them, being no other than what ſhe enjoyed, and joyed in, till ſhe loſt them by perfidious Robbers. But, if it be the Form that thou diſreliſheſt, I confeſs, it needs much Favour, and therefore ſhould gladly have ſeen thee, or ſome other, to have prevented it with a better; yet, for thy better Bearing with the Prolixity of the Hiſtorical Part of it (occaſioned by the Copiouſneſs of the Subject, Worth, and oppoſite Arrogance) thou mayeſt remember, that it was King* Ahaſuerus's *choice Recreation to review the Acts*

* Being written *Anno Domini* 1642.
† *i. e.* The Title and Quality of a free Nation.

of his Anceſtors, and that the Jews *could hear even St.* Stephen *reciting their Lineal Pedigree patiently; however, it ſhall ſuffice me in this Buſineſs to have attempted to have done worthily, and I doubt not but every true* Engliſhman *will not only indulge the Author's Weakneſs, but alſo lend both his Heart and Hand in all lawful Means towards the Accompliſhing of its Demands, as without which obtained, at leaſt in a good Degree, this Nation can never be honourable, nor, conſequently, happy.* Vale.

JOHN HALL.

WHILE I behold and revolve the great and laborious Inverſions and Everſions of Things effected by the repreſentative Body of this Kingdom, in this and precedent Parliaments, with that liberal and vaſt Expence of *Engliſh* Blood, Lives, Labour, and Coſt, which, with the Height of Animoſity, and ſeeming Magnanimity, former Generations have beſtowed, and the preſent doth not ſpare in aſſerting the publick Cauſes of this Nation, and all, excepting what is about ſome Eccleſiaſtical Niceties, for the ſecuring, or enlarging, of our Eſtates and Privileges from domeſtick Oppreſſion, and concentered in the Object of Eaſe and Commodity, and ſuch like petty Advantages; I cannot but with Shame and Grief of Mind look upon the Genius of our Nation, as ſeeming to have tranſmigred from that metamorphoſed Prince of *Chaldea*, who, being tranſmitted from the Top of Humanity, into the Condition of Beaſts of the Field, for a great Part of his enſuing Age, made Fodder, and other bruti ſh Accommodations, the proper Subject of his Content and Contentions, not harbouring, in the mean Time, a Back-looking Thought towards that Royal Eſtate, by the Poſſeſſion whereof, he had been once the moſt eminent of the Mortals of his Age; or, as reſembling ſome ſtrange Hero, who being captived, and marked for a Slave, ſhould have his Senſes ſo captivated alſo, as to be more ambitious to be chambered in his Jail, and to glitter in gilt Fetters, than to be reſtored to his loſt Freedom and Reputation, contending with earneſt Extremity for the one, but not breathing ſo much as a Wiſh for the Procurement of the other.

That this is our Caſe, I would that the heavy, long, and overlaſting, Heaven grant not everlaſting, Groans of the hereditary Liberty and Honour of our Nation (the choiceſt and moſt eſſential Fundamentals of her temporary Well-being, and the moſt precious Part of her earthly Patrimony, the happy Gratification of her Youth) long ſince overthrown, and ſo many Ages together, lying Patients, moſt wretchedly, under a Maſs of unworthy Oppreſſion, did not too evidently evince, whilſt we, her Sons, in the Interim, ſparing no Endeavours in the Behalf of our leſs valuable Rights, are, in this Reſpect, ſo ſtupidly ſenſeleſs, that whereas we have Cauſe enough, with that *Æneas* Priſoner *Enceladus* (the eternal Monument of dejected Greatneſs) to teſtify the Weight of our diſgraceful Burden with fiery Sighs, and ſulphureous Blaſts of Indignation; we, contrariwiſe, are ſo far from any Reluctance, as to lie in a dead Sleep under it, as under our Grave-ſtone, having inſcribed thereon the Epitaph of our Honour in red Letters of Shame, not daring, or not willing, ſo much as to breathe forth a Complaint, or to wiſh for a Removal of that, than which there is nothing under Heaven more inſufferable to ingenuous Men, and to ſuch as would be accounted other than the Progeny of *Cham*, preordained to Servility.

This Mountain of Diſhonour, which the *Engliſh* Name hath ſo long groaned under, and yet we have never once adventured to complain of, much leſs endeavoured to remove, is no other than that infamous Title of a conquered Nation, and that by ſo infamous a Conqueſt; but, more eſpecially, the ſtill viſible Fetters of our Captivity, the Evidences of that Title; thoſe foreign Laws, Language, Names, Titles, and Cuſtoms, then introduced, and, to this Day, domineering over ours; our ſtupid Degeneraten eſs conſiſts in this, That in all our Contentions by Pen or Sword, in all the Eſſays of our Poets or Orators (excepting ſome few, whereof *Verſtegan* deſerves to be memoriſed) I could never yet find any conſiderable Endeavour for our Vindication from this Thraldom and Diſgrace; but rather, like tamed Creatures, or unnaturalled Janizaries, we ſooth

ſooth and applaud ourſelves in theſe Gives and ſervile Robes, as Patrician Ornaments; and (that, which, methinks, no true *Engliſhman* can obſerve without Indignation) many of thoſe that would be accounted to have honoured our Land, with their Pens, have placed that their Honouring us for a great Part, in celebrating the Glory of that *Normaniſm* and *Franciſm*, which the Deſert of our Sins hath inflicted on us, and ſeem to have ſacrificed their Love and Duty to their own Nation, together with their Diſcretion, for an Holocauſt on the Altar of that Name, which is diametrically Enmity to the *Engliſh*; and ſuch are thoſe that aſcribe ſo much Worth to the *Norman* Blood, and ſtrive to pen up all Nobility and Gentry within the accurſed Catalogue of thoſe Names that came from the *Gallick* Continent.

Indignities that merit a *Lucan*'s Genius, and *Tully*'s *dicendi vis*, to lay open and explode them; but ſince the ſuch of this Nation, contrary to my perpetual and earneſt Wiſhes and Expectation, are undutifully ſilent herein; Duty to my Country ſhall make it no Indiſcretion in me to undertake the Taſk, though, alas! performing it rather by an Intimation, than due Illuſtration of the Truths which follow.

There is no Man that underſtands rightly what an *Engliſhman* is, but knows withal, that we are a Member of the *Teutonick* Nation, and deſcended out of *Germany*; a Deſcent ſo honourable and happy, if duly conſidered, as that the like could not have been fetched from any other Part of *Europe*, nor ſcarce of the Univerſe; which will be plain and manifeſt, if we take a juſt Survey of the Glorioufneſs of that our Mother Nation, and that in the ſundry Reſpects of her ancient and illuſtrious Original, her generous Qualification, and magnifick and warlike Nature; her Atchievements, Domination, Greatneſs, and Renown; her Majeſty, and other heroical Points of Excellence, wherein ſhe is ſo tranſcendent, and which make her ſo Princely, as that no other Nation in every Reſpect, the *Scythick* excepted, may, without Arrogance, dare to compare with her.

To begin with her Original, of it I may ſay as *Virgil* of Fame, *Caput inter nubila condit*; ſhe is a primitive Nation, and vaunts her Deſcent to be from no other Place, than from the Top of *Nimrod*'s Tower, where was made the firſt Diviſion of Mankind into Nations; ſhe derives not herſelf (like thoſe of her Neighbours that boaſt ſo much of their great Birth) from the conquered Relicks of ruined *Troy*, whence alſo *Virgil* took ſo much Pains to deduce his *Romans*, or from any other Nation; but, as moſt conceive, the firſt Tranſmigration, that the *Teutones* made, was, as is aforeſaid, from the Building of *Babel*, from whence they were conducted by the great *Tuiſco*, whoſe Name they ſtill retain, and placed in thoſe Seats, which they have not only ever ſince defended againſt all Invaders and Intruders, but alſo moſt notably enlarged the ſame upon their Neighbours; others, in more ignorant Times, conceited they had their Original and Spring (like the Giants, *Myrmidons*, *Cadmus*'s new Men, and other warlike Breeds) from the Soil and Earth under them, as which was never known otherwiſe, than appropriate to their Name and Poſſeſſion.

To this Antiquity of the *Teutonick* Houſe, there wants not a conſpiring Quality of Blood effectual to make it the moſt illuſtrious and firſt Nation of *Chriſtendom*; for *Gomer*, *Japhet*'s eldeſt Son, is acknowledged, by Hiſtorians, to have been the firſt King and Poſſeſſor of *Europe*, whoſe Heir and Firſt-born was *Aſkenaz*, the Father and Denominator of the *German* Nation; the *Jews*, at this Day, calling the *Germans Aſkenites*, and the *Saxons*, our Progenitors, as the moſt noble Tribe, ſtill retaining, with a little Metatheſis, as well the Name as Blood of the ſame Royal Patriarch; but whether he were one and the ſame with *Tuiſco*, or elſe his Progenitor, is left uncertain.

For the general Qualification of theſe our Anceſtors, it hath ever ſpoke them to be no other than the true Sons of *Tuiſco*, that is, of *Mars*, as ſome interpret him. The firſt Character, that was given of them to the World, was by great *Alexander* himſelf, and reſulted from that compendious Diſcourſe betwixt him and their Ambaſſadors, when, upon their worthy Anſwer to his proud Queſtion, as the Supplement to *Curtius*'s Hiſtory recordeth, he pronounced them an haughty and cavaliering Nation, envying that any ſhould be as magnanimous as himſelf.

The next Light that was given of them to the Southern World was in lightning Terror; this was by that famed Expedition of the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, peculiarly ſo called, when thoſe our more immediate Anceſtors, wanting

Elbow-room in their native Country of *Low-Germany*, and the *Cimbrick Cherſoneſe*, undertook, in a Party of three-hundred thouſand Adventurers, to ſeek and mend their Fortunes in foreign Countries; the firſt Country they took in their Way was *France*, then called *Gaul*, a Country preordained for the Exerciſe and Subject of our Conqueſts, and bearing a Nation, at that Time eſteemed the Paragon of the World, and for Strength, Valour, and Numerouſneſs invincible; this *France*, and *French* Nation, till then unconquered, and in their maiden Glory, that *Almaign* Army overran, ſubdued, and trampled under Foot, thereby leaving to us, the Progeny of their Nation, the prime Right and Title of conquering them again; this Province being ranſacked, over the Belly thereof, thoſe ſecond *Anakites* bore on their uncontrolled March towards the *Alps* and *Italy*, where lay the Term and Scope of their Reſolution and Deſign, which was to try Maſteries with *Rome* for the Empire of the World; *Rome* was not then in her Infancy, under the Diſpleaſure of Heaven, and propugned by a diſorderly and unſkilful Multitude, as *Brennus* found her, but flouriſhing in the Height of her Fortune, Strength, and youthful Vigour; her Diſcipline unmatchable, her Armies almoſt invincible, and thoſe managed and conducted by the greateſt General of that Age, *Caius Marius*; ſo that well might theſe poſitive Advantages, concurring alſo with ſundry accidental Ones, which laſt were, indeed, the moſt efficacious Occaſions of the Event, lend the *Romans* the Fortune at that Time over thoſe our Anceſtors; but, although by the Diſpoſition of the ſupreme Will, they fell ſhort of their Deſign, and left the Honour of *Rome*'s Deſtruction for ſome (the *Goths*) others of their Countrymen, in enſuing Ages; yet did they ſhew forth ſuch famous Symptoms of more than human Daringneſs and Abilities, that the Affrightment, which they caſt before them, ſhook all *Italy*, and loaded the *Roman* Altars with Prayers at that Time, and long after, with Praiſes to their Deities, for the Deliverance of their City from ſo formidable an Invaſion; a Deliverance that endowed *Marius* with the pre-eminent Name amongſt *Rome*'s Preſervers, as being from the Invaſion of ſuch whoſe Performances proclaimed them a gigantean Army, and the moſt valiant Men that ever the *Romans* had to deal with.

Neither did our Anceſtors Glory fail to increaſe with the Increaſe of Time; for the next Age produced *Arioviſtus*, with his martial Army from *Germany* over the *Rhine* to the Second Conqueſt of *France*; ſo that twice was that Nation ſubdued and broken by our Anceſtors the *Teutones*, before ever the *Roman* Eagle durſt aſſail it: And, had not the *Roman* Fates interpoſed, all *France*, as well as *Belgia*, had long before the Time of *Pharamond*, fallen into the *Germans* Poſſeſſion. Theſe *Germans*, at that Time, as *Cæſar* recordeth, had the *French* in ſuch Vaſſalage and Subjection, as that they durſt not ſo much as mutter out a Complaint, or petition to their *Roman* Friends for Relief againſt them; nor did the *French*, who had been accounted of all Nations the moſt valiant, in that Age, preſume in any Sort to compare themſelves with the *Germans*; but, as the ſame great Author witneſſeth, confeſſed in plain Terms, that they were not able ſo much as to withſtand their fulminating Looks; and by their Reports of the *Germans* Formidableneſs, concurring with the *Cimbrick* Memory, ſo ſcared even *Cæſar*'s Legions, that all his Centurions fell to a Diſpoſing either of their Perſons to a more Security by Flight, or of their Eſtates to their Friends by Teſtament. And whoſoever ſurveys the Writings of *Cæſar*, *Tacitus*, and other *Roman* Authors of thoſe Times, no leſs eminent for Judgment than Authority, ſhall find in them the *Teutones*, our Anceſtors, to have been always accounted, in Effect, the *Anakitiſh* and moſt ſoldiery Nation of the World; and, for Perſonage, the Flower and Quinteſſence of Mankind, choſen and advanced above all Nations to the Dignity of the *Cæſarian* Guard; by Nature conſecrated to heroick Activeneſs, diſdaining other than ſanguinean Deſudations; and who, during the whole Age of the *Roman* Monarchy, reſiſted the Violence thereof, and were as often Invaders as invaded.

After the Diſſolution of the *Roman* Empire, How did the *Teutonick* Glory and Puiſſance break forth and diffuſe themſelves? The *German* Colonies filled all *Europe*; the *Franks* ſeized upon the *Tranſalpine Gaul*, ſince, from them, named *France*; the *Lombards* upon the other *Gaul*, afterwards called *Lombardy*; the *Goths* on *Spain*; and the *Saxons*, or *Engliſh*, our peculiar Progenitors, in a more plenary Way, upon the beſt Part of *Britain*, which

which we now poſſeſs, to which we have ſince alſo added the Command of the *Welſh*, *Iriſh*, and *Scots*: So that in all the Regions aforeſaid, as the Sovereignty and Royalty, ſo alſo moſt of the Nobility, and in *England* the whole Commonalty, are *German*, and of the *German* Blood; and ſcarcely was there any Worth or Manhood left in theſe Occidental Nations, after their ſo long Servitude under the *Roman* Yoke, until theſe new Supplies of free-born Men from *Germany* reinfuſed the ſame, and reinforced the then ſervile Body of the Weſt, with a Spirit of Honour and Magnanimity; inſomuch, that, as *Du Bartus* hath well obſerved, that Land may well be ſtiled the *Equus Trojanus*, or inexhauſted Fountain of *Europe*'s Worth and worthy Men; which was alſo apparent and conſpicuous in that ever-glorious and renowned Expedition of the Weſt, for the Holy Land under the Conduct of *Godfrey* of *Bulloigne*, wherein there was ſcarce a Perſonage of Worth, but who, together with the Plurality of the inferior Soldiery, was *German* by Birth or Blood.

As this our Mother Nation hath been tranſcendent above others in her Atchievements, and her noble and fruitful Iſſue of Tranſmigrators and Colonies, wherewith ſhe hath repleniſhed and re-edified her Siſter Nations of the reſt of *Europe*, and thereby inabled them to hold up their Heads, as now they do among the potent Monarchies of the World; ſo is ſhe no leſs eminent in the vaſt Bulk of her own Body, and the ample Tract of Land which ſhe holds and poſſeſſeth, and ſo ever hath done againſt all the World, being indeed the Heart and main Body of *Europe*, as reaching from the *Alps*, near to the frozen Ocean one Way, and from *France* and the *Britiſh* Sea, unto *Poland* and *Hungary*, the other Way, containing for Members her ſeveral Tribes of the Imperial *Germans*, the *Switzers*, *Belgians*, *Danes*, *Norwegians*, *Swedes*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, beſides us *Engliſh*: It is true, that the *Celtick* Nation was once very great and famous, as poſſeſſing both the *Gallia*'s and *Britain*; but ſhe hath long ſince, in all her three Seats, ſurrendered up her Poſſeſſions, or Liberty, together with her Name, to the Incroachments of her *Teutonick* Neighbours; and doubtleſs, were all the foreſaid Limbs of the *Teutonick* Nation as united in the political Aſſociation of one Head and Heart, as they are in the natural Ligaments and Communion of of Blood, Laws, Language, and Situation, that Empire would not only be the Head of the Weſt, as now it is, but alſo able to wreſtle with the Oriental Competitor, for the Command of the World, or at leaſt to ſhoulder out of *Europe* his intruding Uſurpation.

One more Flower of this our Mother Nation's Royal Garland, and a Point of her Prerogative above other Nations, not only of *Europe*, but alſo of the reſt of the World, the *Scythick* excepted, is her Unconqueredneſs, her untainted Virginity and Freedom from foreign Subjection, which, from her firſt Foundation and Cradle, ſhe hath ſo conſerved and defended, that none can truly boaſt to have been her Raviſher: The *Roman* Invaſions indeed often aſſayed her, but could never force her; as for *Alexander*, the *Germans* heard of him, but never ſaw him otherwiſe than by their Ambaſſadors, who gave him and the World Notice by their honourable Anſwer to his inſolent Queſtion, how much they feared him: And, laſtly, for *Charlemain's German* Wars, they were but as Civil and Domeſtick, his *Franks*, and more particularly himſelf, being then in all Things, but Habitation, *Germans*, and conſequently alſo his Atchievements may by good Right alſo be reckoned among the *German* Acts: What other Nation can glory of the like? It is confeſſed, that the *Greeks* and *Gauls* were, for many Ages, famous Aſſertors of their Liberties; but the latter of the two never enjoyed theirs ſince the Time of *Arioviſtus* and *Julius Cæſar*, and the poor, never enough to be lamented, *Greeks*, beſide their ancient Subjection to *Rome*, have in theſe latter Times loſt not only their Liberty, but alſo an Empire to boot, together with their Laws, Religion, Honour, and never before conquered Language, to the cruel Oppreſſion of *Turkiſh* Barbariſm, all which the *Teutones* have by the ſpecial Favour of Heaven, from their firſt Beginning, preſerved inviolate againſt all Invaders; indeed our Neighbours the *Scots* boaſt much of the like Privilege, but upon no equal Grounds, for their Remoteneſs and Inacceſſibleneſs, together with the Unprofitableneſs of their Soil, have been their chief Protection from following the Fortune of their Mother Nation of *Ireland*, and yet not ſo protected them, but as their own Chronicles confeſs, their Land hath been won from them, and they forced into Exile for ſixty Years by the *Romans*, and their Nation more than once ſubdued by our *Edward the Firſt*, when

when they ſo often ſwore Fealty and Subjection to the Crown of *England*; and for the *Scythians*, as they of all the World have the beſt Right to compare themſelves, as having never ſubmitted their Necks to any external Power, ſo may they alſo for that Privilege in Part thank their Remoteneſs and barren Climate, that have rendered their vaſt Country not worth the Conquering, and themſelves as difficult to be found as vanquiſhed by ſtrong and well appointed Armies.

But that, which makes up the Sum and Apex of this Nation's Pre-eminence, is her Imperial Crown, the Crown of *Chriſtendom*, which the divine Providence upon ſpecial Choice hath devolved on her, that ſo ſhe might be no leſs in Title than Merit the Queen of Nations; this her poſſeſſive Dignity was long ſince foretold by the *Druids*, who, as *Tacitus* recordeth, propheſied that the Empire ſhould be tranſlated from *Rome* over the *Alps*, and is no other than what ſhe was born to in the Right of *Askenaz*'s Blood, educated to an inviolated Freedom, and generous Exerciſes, and ſettled in by the Purchaſe of the Sword, and *Rome*'s Adoption; and the ſame hath been for many Ages by her, without Competition, enjoyed, ſhe poſſeſſing alſo moſt of the other Kingdoms and Principalities of theſe Parts by her Colonies, inſomuch that the *German* Nation may juſtly ſeem to have been created and appointed, for Heir of the Weſtern World, even as the *Scythick* of the Eaſtern, as betwixt which two Nations and their Colonies, both the Sovereignty and Poſſeſſion of the moſt Part of *Europe* and *Aſia* is divided, they being in all Things Parallels and Competitors; Heaven grant that at length our *Teutonicks*, ſhaking off their enervating Vices and Diviſions, with the ſame Manhood wherewith in ancient Times their Anceſtors retunded that *Scythick* Invaſion of the *Huns*, mawling that *orbis malleum*, and in after Ages chaced the *Turks*, another Tribe of the ſame Nation, from the Holy Land, and repreſſed their Incroachings on *Chriſtendom*, may alſo in theſe laſt Times, at leaſt, un-europe the ſame Enemy and his Barbariſm, and readvancing the Eagle in the Midſt of *Conſtantinople*, recover, to great *Tuiſco*'s Name, that Right and Honour in *Thracia*, which as may be conceived, his Perſon there ſometime enjoyed under the Name of *Mars*, confirmable by the ſtill laſting Analogy both in Roots and Accidents betwixt the *Greek* and *Teutonick* Idioms.

Such is the tranſcendent Quality of our Mother Nation, and in theſe ſundry Reſpects ſhe ſufficiently appears to be the chief and moſt honourable Nation of *Europe*; of all which Honour of her's we are true Inheritors and Partakers, either as Members of that Body, or as Children of that Mother, we being Fleſh of her Fleſh, and Bone of her Bone, yea of the moſt ancient and noble of her Tribes, according to the *Germans* Opinion; the *Saxon* ſtill retaining the Name, with a little Metatheſis, as is before related, of the Patriach *Askenaz*, and this ſo totally and intirely, that whatſoever Blood among us is not *Teutonick* is exotick; for, as is alſo before intimated, our Progenitors, that tranſplanted themſelves from *Germany* hither, did not commix themſelves with the ancient Inhabitants of this Country, the *Britons*, as other Colonies did with the Natives in thoſe Places where they came, but totally expelling them, they took the ſole Poſſeſſion of the Land to themſelves, thereby preſerving their Blood, Laws, and Language, incorrupted; and, in this Panegyrick of the *Teutonick* Blood, I have ſo prolixly inſiſted, not only to vindicate our own, as being a Stream of the ſame, and to evince the Nobility thereof, but withal to convince the Folly of thoſe Wretches among us, who averſing ours do ſo much adhere unto, and dote upon Deſcents from *France* and *Normandy*.

But, leſt any that cannot reproach us as *Germans*, ſhould calumniate us, as Tranſmigrators, the Conſideration of the general Quality of ſuch will be our ſufficient Apology, for that it is well known that moſt Colonies and Tranſmigrators are made up, and conſiſting of the Flower and choice Youth of that Country from whence they are tranſplanted, and being ſuch, *cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*, though they change Air, they retain their Spirits; and this is moreover obſervable for our Advantage, that we left not the Land of our Fathers, either as exiled for Demerits with the *Parthians*, nor forced and profligated by Neighbours, as many others, nor yet with the Mind of Rovers, that go unjuſtly to deſpoil others of their Goods and Country, but, than which nothing could be more honourable, the firſt Cauſe and Occaſion of our Coming into this Land was, at the earneſt Suit and Intreaty of the diſtreſſed *Britons*, the ancient Poſſeſſors of the ſame, to relieve and ſuccour their oppreſſed Nation, againſt the barbarous and

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more than unneighbourly Vaſtations and Invaſions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who with the Height of Inſolence and Ferocity, domineered, at that Time, over this Part of *Britain*; this was no leſs honourably atchieved than undertaken by our Anceſtors, for Prince *Hengiſtus*, with a ſmall Band of *Engliſh* Voluntiers, which he brought over from *Saxony*, renownedly repreſſed and quelled the Pride and Inſolence of the *Scots*, and with his additional Forces ſo ſecured this Land againſt them, that for many Ages after, they dared not to ſet Foot out of their own Limits; nor ever ſince could the moſt ſucceſsful of their Incurſions penetrate to the Walls of *York*.

But did we therefore leave the free Country of our Anceſtors, and come over hither to relieve and deliver others from foreign Subjection, that we ourſelves might ſucceed in Servitude? Sure it will ſcarce appear, that we had any ſuch Intent by our enſuing Doings and Sufferings, for after that, upon our fatal Falling out with the *Britons* about Pay, we had long wreſtled with that Nation, for the Poſſeſſion of this Land, and with infinite Expence of Blood and Labour, gained it wholly to ourſelves, *Hengiſtus*'s Aſſiſtance to the *Britons* being much of Kin to that of *Arioviſtus*, unto the *Sequaniſh Gauls*; What Inundations of Invaſions did we ſuſtain, what numberleſs Conflicts and Encounters did we continually maintain, for the Keeping of our Poſſeſſions, and Preſervation of our Honour and Liberty, as they were derived inviolate from our Progenitors? And all but againſt *Daniſh* Intruders, a People that were our Conſanguineans, our ancient Countrymen and Brethren, whoſe Prevailing over us would have introduced ſcarce ſtrange Laws or Language, nor other Blood than *Teutonick*; and although in Proceſs of Time, being overladen with their inexhauſted Numbers, and to avoid further Profuſion of Chriſtian and *Teutonick* Blood, we condeſcended to ſome Compoſition with them, and permitted them a Cohabitation with us; yet afterwards did we ſufficiently quit ourſelves of them, and their Intruding, and by a general Execution, made them an Example for ſuch like Uſurpers; ſuch was our ancient Antipathy to Servility, and the Abhorringneſs of our Nation's Genius from cloſing with Diſhonour.

Neither was this our Generoſity of Blood, and Freeneſs of Deſcent and Condition, the Sum of our Inheritance, or the whole Stock of Honour, that the Bounty of Heaven had committed to our Poſſeſſion: We were alſo bleſſed with a hopeful Language, and happy Laws; Laws envied, but not equalled in *Chriſtendom*, and, by Hiſtorians, admired, as moſt plain and compendious, and of ſuch a politick Structure, as made our Prince a true and happy Monarch, and yet ourſelves as free as any People of *Europe*. Our Language was a Dialect of the *Teutonick*, and although then but in her Infancy, yet not ſo rude as hopeful, being moſt fruitful and copious in ſignificant and well-ſounding Roots and Primitives, and withal capable and apt for Diffuſion, from thoſe her Roots, into ſuch a *Greek*-like Ramoſity of Derivations and Compoſitions, beyond the Power of the *Latin*, and her off-ſpring Dialects, as might have, with Majeſty, Delight, and Plainneſs, interpreted our Conceptions, and the Writings of Foreigners, to the Capacity of any *Engliſhman*, without the Help of a Dictionary, or the Knowledge of two or three other Languages, which now is requiſite to him, that will rightly underſtand or ſpeak even uſual *Engliſh*; and our Laws and Language being not only thus laudable, but alſo congenite, and appropriate to our Name and Nation, were moſt eſſential Parts of our Honour, and no leſs dear unto us, and that worthily, than our Blood, and ſo the pleaſant Subjects of our Delight and Study; as alſo our Princes and Nobility, being no leſs naturally our own, were the juſt Objects of our Zeal and Affection, as was teſtified in that Title of the Prince *Edgar Atheling*, who was ſtiled *England*'s Darling, for his Blood's Sake, and in Oppoſition to the *Norman*.

And is it then ſuitable to the Dignity, or tolerable to the Spirit of this our Nation, that, after ſo noble an Extraction and Deſcent, ſuch honourable Atchievements performed, ſo much done and ſuffered for our Liberty and Honour, againſt the moſt Mighty of Monarchs, and puiſſant Nations; and, after ſuch Privileges conferred on us from Heaven, we ſhould have our Spirits ſo broken, and un-teutoniſed, by one unfortunate Battle, as for above five-hundred Years together, and even for Eternity, not only to remain, but contentedly to reſt under the diſgraceful Title of a Conquered Nation, and in Captivity and Vaſſalage to a foreign Power?

Siccine in antiquam virtutem animoſque viriles
Et Pater Æneas & Avunculus excitat Hector?

Did our Anceſtors, therefore, ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke, with the Slaughter of their Legions, and, during the whole Age of that Empire, as *Tacitus* confeſſeth, reſiſt the Puiſſance thereof, that the Honour and Freedom of their Blood might be reſerved for an untainted Prey to a future Conqueror? Could not they endure the Sight of a *Cæſarian* Trophy, ſet up by *Germanicus* in their Land? And can we not only endure, but embrace the Title and Enſigns of a Conqueſt over us, that even ſtill triumphs in our Land, in her full Inſolence, while we can turn our Eyes and Meditations no where about us, but we meet with ſome Object that reproacheth us as Captives; if we addreſs a Look toward our Laws, they ſtill ſcorn to ſpeak otherwiſe, than in the Conqueror's Language, and are (if Maſter *Daniel* and others write true) for the moſt Part, his Introductions, ſhutting up the remaining Liberties of our Nation, under the Name and Notion of Franchiſes, as if we were no further to be accounted free, than infranchiſed, that is, adopted into the Quality of *Frenchmen*, or made Denizens of *France*, whereby, the firſt Point, that occurs to the Reader of our Laws, is our Shame; if we ſurvey our Language, we there meet with ſo much Tincture of *Normaniſm*, that ſome have eſteemed it for a Dialect of the *Gallick*; if we contemplate the Heraldry and Titles of our Nobility, there is ſcarce any other Matter than Inventories of foreign Villages, that ſpeak them to be not of *Engliſh* Blood; but tell us, as their Anceſtors ſometimes told King *John*, that their Progenitors conquered this Land by the Sword; and, *laſtly*, if we but hear the royal Title rehearſed, we hear it likewiſe attended with a *poſt Conqueſtum*; ſo that we cannot move with our Senſes, but we hear the Chains of our Captivity rattle, and are put in Mind that we are Slaves; *Vinci humanum eſt*, No People but may be overcome; that may be born withal; but *ſub victoria acquieſcere*, for ſo many hundred Years together, and in a ſo long continued Poſſibility of excuſſing Diſhonour, and regaining Liberty; to ſit, as it were, ſnoaring in a captive and ſervile Condition, and to be fed with the Bread of Captivity, were more proper to an *Aſiatick* Nation (thoſe *Natis ad ſervitutem*, as *Tully* calls them) than to one of *Europe*, and to any *European*, than a *Teutonick*, and indeed to tame Creatures and Cattle, than to thoſe that profeſs themſelves free-born Men.

But let us a little reflect upon the Nature and Quality of theſe Conquerors, with their Conqueſt over us, perhaps, they may be ſuch, as, for their Dignity, may ſay unto our Nation, as that Hero in the Poet:

——— *Solamen habeto*
Mortis, ab Æmonio quod ſis jugulatus Achille.

And their Domination over us ſuch, as againſt the Right and Equity whereof there is no Pleading: But, alas! what was that tenth Worthy, whom we are not aſhamed even ſtill to ſirname our *Conqueror*, but a *Norman* Baſtard, as a *Scottiſh* Writer well terms him, or, at beſt, a Vaſſal-duke of a *French* Province; and what his *Argyraſpides*, his gallant Followers the *Normans*, but a People compacted of the *Norwegians* and *Neuſtrians*, that is, of the Off-ſcowering and Droſs of the *Teutonick* and *Gallick* Nations, whoſe ambitious Leader, upon a Pretence of a various Title to this Crown, intruding upon us in a Time of Diſadvantage, and being thereupon put to try it out by the Sword with his then uſurping Competitor, by Subtlety, not Valour, obtained the Hand over him, and ſo, as Legatee and Kinſman of St. *Edward*, the laſt rightful *Engliſh* King, and, upon his ſpecious and fair Vows, and Promiſes, to preſerve inviolate our Laws and Liberties, was admitted to the Throne? So that all the Alteration and Diſhonour that followed was, by his villainous Perjuriouſneſs and Treachery, introduced upon us, and that Title of a *Conqueror* was not at firſt, but by the Flattery of ſucceeding Times attributed to him, and hath been ever ſince, by our ſordid Treachery againſt our Country, continued; whereas, had he aſſumed it at firſt (as was well obſerved by an illuſtrious Perſonage of our Neighbour-nation, the *Scots*, who are generally more ſenſible of our Diſhonour in this Reſpect, than moſt of ourſelves; perhaps, worthily mindful of the ancient Extraction of the moſt and chief of their South-landers from the *Engliſh* Blood; as he, I ſay, hath well obſerved in a late Speech of his made to his Majeſty) he muſt either have come ſhort of his ambitious Ends, or have fought

ſought after a new People to have exerciſed his Title upon, ſo odious at that Time was the Title of a conquered Nation to our Anceſtors.

But admit it were ſo, that he won this Land by the Sword, as he and his Followers afterwards boaſted, and that he obtained ſuch a diſmal Victory over us, as the *Norman* Writers predicate; whereas, notwithſtanding, if we may believe *Æmilius Veronenſis*, in his *French* Hiſtory, a more impartial Writer in this Cauſe, there was no ſuch Matter; who, taxing thoſe *Norman* Writers of Arrogance, reports that the Truth of it was, that our *Engliſh* Soldiers, whom *Harold*, the uſurping King, brought into the Field againſt the *Normans*, were no leſs diſpleaſed with him, than with his Adverſaries; and that they only put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence, without caring to offend the Enemy, and that, when, in the Beginning of the Battle, *Harold* chanced to be ſlain by an Arrow, the Controverſy was preſently ended, without more Blood-ſhed, an Agreement made, and the *Norman* admitted in Reſpect of his Claim, and upon his Promiſes aforementioned; this he reports. But were it ſo, that our *Engliſh* Nation was directly vanquiſhed and conquered by the *Normans*, at the Sound whereof every true *Engliſhman*'s Stomach may well riſe, Have not we more than once requited their Nation in the like Kind? How often have our Armies vanquiſhed and conquered, not only *Normandy*, but alſo *France* itſelf, whereof the other is but a Vaſſal-province? And why one Victory of theirs over us ſhould be of more Moment and Effect againſt us, than ſo many of ours againſt them? I ſee no other Cauſe or Reaſon, than Injuriouſneſs towards us, and Retchleſneſs in us.

But were it ſo alſo, that the *Norman* Race were as lawful Lords, and domineered by the ſame Right, of an abſolute Conqueſt over us, as the *Turks* do, at this Day, over the *Grecians*, betwixt whoſe Caſe and ours, Religion excepted, there is a near Affinity; Will any reaſonable Man be ſo unjuſt, or any *Engliſhman* be ſo impious, as to define it for unlawful in us, to endeavour to recover our Right, and loſt Honour and Liberty? Would any Man be ſo abſurd, as to ſtigmatiſe and deteſt it for Rebellion in the *Greeks*, to ſhake off, if they were able, the *Turkiſh* Yoke, and to recover from that Enemy's Uſurpation their ancient Honour, Laws, Liberty, and Language, that now lie overwhelmed and buried in *Turciſm*, as ours in *Normaniſm*? Surely, we ourſelves ſhould condemn them, if they would not endeavour it, while our own Laws attribute not, to the wrongful Diſſeizer, any ſuch Right to his forceably gotten Poſſeſſions, but that he may, with more Right, be rediſſeized by the firſt Owner, or his Heirs; and indeed, it were ſo far from Injuriouſneſs, both in the *Greeks* and us, to diſpoſſeſs the Uſurpers, that, in the mean Time, we are moſt injurious to ourſelves, our Progenitors, and our Poſterity, while we ſo traiterouſly yield up, to thoſe Robbers, what our Anceſtors ſo dearly purchaſed, and preſerved for us to enjoy, and afterwards to tranſmit, and leave to their and our Name and Blood, in all ſucceeding Ages; but, in this, we are far more inexcuſable than the *Greeks*, for that they never yet enjoyed the Means of a Deliverance, which we, either in a fair or forceable Way, ſcarce ever wanted; and ſurely, if our Right doth call, our Honour doth cry out upon us, that, if our Progenitors maſſacred the *Daniſh* Gariſons that uſurped over them, we ſhould not, like the *Jews*, Ear-boared Slaves, for ever ſerve the Progeny of their Subjects, the *Norwegians*; that we, who inſtead of being conquered with other Nations, by *Charlemain*, have conquered even the *French* themſelves, would not live Captives to their Vaſſals, the *Normans*; and that, ſince our Anceſtors never ſubmitted their Necks to the Yoke of *Rome*, we ſhould not ſuffer ours to be for ever wedded to one brought over from *Neuſtria*, the meaneſt Shire of one of *Rome*'s (anciently) captive Provinces, unleſs, perhaps, it be more honourable for our Country to be a *Norman Municipium*, than a *Roman* Province; to uſe the *Norman* Laws, than the Civil of the Empire, and the *Norman* Language, rather than the *Latin*; any of which notwithſtanding, the *Roman* Emperors, during their Prevailing over ſome Skirts of our ancient Country of *Germany*, as *Batavia*, *Rhætia*, and the Borders of the *Rhine*, never obtruded on our Countrymen there, but deſiring only, for their Worth, their perſonal Aſſiſtance in the Wars, permitted them and them only of all Nations, the Continuance of their own Laws, Language, and Liberties in all Things. But all theſe,

we, their degenerate Poſterity, have, in a large Degree, betrayed to the Uſurpation of a *Norman* Colony.

But if we think we have not yet received Shame enough by this *Norman* Conqueſt, in being thereby ſtripped and ſpoiled of all that Stock of Honour, which might have deſcended to us from our Anceſtors, and of all that our Nation had to take Pleaſure in; we want not a further Degree of the ſame Shame to conſider ourſelves in, that is, as we are by this pretended Conqueſt caſt into ſuch a Predicament and Condition, as makes us incapable of acquiring new Honour ever after, ſo long as we remain therein; the Evidence of this we may deſcry in our own Laws, wherein we find, that ſuch, as are in the Nature of Villains, are incapable of enjoying free-hold Lands, but, though they purchaſe never ſo much, it belongs all to their Lords. Should the *Turk*'s Janiſaries, under their Maſter's Conduct, conquer the whole World, yet could they not juſtly gain to themſelves the Name of Men of Honour, but only of ſtout and dutiful Slaves; which is alſo illuſtrated by that Apophthegm of *Tully*, who defining the Way for one that would attain to Higheſs, *Tunc*, ſaith he, *incipiat aliis imperare, cum ſuis iniquiſſimis Dominis parere deſierit*; Let him firſt unſlave himſelf, before he talk of getting Honour in inſlaving others; and therefore, though both *France* and *Spain* ſhould be by us never ſo often conquered, yet could our Name thereby take no true Luſtre, till it be cleared of this faſt-ſticking Blemiſh, and that we have unconquered ourſelves; but as an ill-humoured, or deformed Body, is not rectified by Nouriſhment, but finds its Pravity to increaſe and dilate with itſelf, ſo ſhould our Name and Fame, by our Atcheivements, be extended to the World's, both temporal and local, Ends; yet thither alſo would our Diſgrace accompany it in equal Characters, and proclaiming that we are a conquered, and ſtill captive People, quaſh all Honour, that otherwiſe might accrue or adhere unto us.

I ſhould be voluminous, ſhould I fully deſcribe how injurious and diſhonourable it is to our Nation for to continue under the Title and and Effects of this pretended Conqueſt, being ſuch as we ſee and feel even the Barbarous and contemptible *Iriſh* to be more than ſenſible and impatient of the like, while, with ſo much Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, and, againſt ſuch formidable Oppoſition, they endeavour the Excuſſion thereof: But I am far enough from exhorting to an Imitation of their violent and horrid Practice, we feel too much thereof among us, although for lighter Ends; neither, I hope, is any ſuch Way needful, ſince we all, from the greateſt to the leaſt, profeſs ourſelves *Engliſh*, and would ſeem to aim at the Honour of the *Engliſh* Name, his Majeſty, for his Part, having, by many Paſſages, ſhewed himſelf the moſt indulgent Patron thereof, and our Nobility and Commons on both Sides contending, or, at leaſt, pretending, for no other, none, I hope, amongſt us diſſenting, that, if any ſhould oppugn it, he were worthy to be proſcribed and proſecuted either as a viperous Malignant, or as a publick Adverſary; ſo that it is but the Carcaſe of an Enemy that we have to remove out of our Territories, even the Carcaſe and Bones of the *Norman* Duke's injurious and deteſted Perpetrations, much more meriting to be dug up, and caſt out of our Land, than thoſe Relicks of his Body that were ſo unſepulchred from his Grave in *Caen*; let us therefore, until we have wiped off this Shame of our Nation, and demoliſhed the Monuments thereof, no more talk of Honour, as being a a Thing that we have leaſt to do withal, but, yielding that and the Glory to the *Norman* Name, reſerve unto ourſelves Nothing but the Inheritance of Shame and Confuſion of Face; yea, let us either confeſs and profeſs ourſelves for ever mere Vaſſals and Slaves, or elſe attempt to uncaptive ourſelves, the End and Scope of this whole Diſcourſe, that is, effectually, yet orderly and legally, to endeavour theſe following Particulars:

1. That *William*, ſirnamed the *Conqueror*, be ſtripped of that inſolent Title (which himſelf ſcarce ever aſſumed after his Victory, much leſs pretended to before, but hath been ſince impoſed on him by *Norman* Arrogance and our ſervile Flattery) and that he be either reputed amongſt our lawful Kings by Force of St. *Edward*'s Legacy, or adjudged an Uſurper; however, that he may no longer ſtand for the Alpha of our Kings in the royal Catalogue.

2. That the Title to the Crown be ungrounded from any pretended Conqueſt over this Nation, and that his Majeſty be pleaſed to derive his Right from St. *Edward*'s Legacy, and the Blood of the precedent *Engliſh* Kings, to whom he is the undoubted Heir; and that he

he reſtore the ancient *Engliſh* Arms into the royal Standard.

3. That all the *Norman* Nobility and Progeny, amongſt us, repudiate their Names and Titles brought over from *Normandy*, aſſuming others conſiſtible with the Honour of this Nation, and diſclaim all Right to their Poſſeſſions here, as Heirs and Succeſſors to any pretended Conquerors.

4. That all Laws and Uſages introduced from *Normandy* be, *eo nomine*, aboliſhed, and a Supply made from St. *Edward*'s Laws, or the Civil, and that our Laws be diveſted of their *French* Rags (as King *James* of worthy Memory once royally motioned) and reſtored into the *Engliſh* or *Latin* Tongue, unleſs, perhaps, it may ſeem honourable for *Engliſhmen* to be ſtill in the Mouth of their own Laws no further free than *Frenchified*, and that they only, of all mortal Men, ſhould impriſon their Laws in the Language of their Enemies.

5. That our Language be cleared of the *Norman* and *French* Invaſion upon it, and Depravation of it, by purging it of all Words and Terms of that Deſcent, ſupplying it from the old *Saxon* and the learned Tongues, and otherwiſe correcting it; whereby it may be advanced to the Quality of an honourable and ſufficient Language, than which there is ſcarce a greater Point in a Nation's Honour and Happineſs.

To which may alſo be added the Removal of an Indignity of Kin to the former in Quality, though not in Cauſe, namely, the Advancing of the *French* Arms above ours in the royal Standard, as if, by our Anceſtors Conqueſt of that Nation, we had merited Nothing but the publick Subjection of our Honour to theirs: The *Scots*, though an inferior Nation, denying us any ſuch Privilege in their own Kingdom.

Theſe Things thus obtained, and *Normaniſm* thus aboliſhed, we may then, and then only, have Comfort in our Name; as after our Expulſion of that which is utterly deſtructive to the Honour of our Nation, which is the Motive unto us to demand and requite theſe Things; neither want there Reaſons ſufficient on the other Side, why they may and ought to be granted, ſome whereof are theſe:

1. For his Majeſty, it will be no Prejudice to his Title, nor Impeachment of the Honour of his Blood, ſhould he wave his Deſcent from *Normandy*, but rather an Improvement of the ſame, by how much it is more honourable to be derived from free Kings, than vaſſal Dukes, and from *Saxony*, the Heart and nobleſt Part of *Germany*, than from *Neuſtria* or *Norway*; and it will, moreover, ſettle him as well in the true Affections, as on the Throne of this Nation, which none of his Predeceſſors, ſince the pretended Conqueſt, could rightly enjoy, there being too much Tincture of Domination in their Rule, and of Captivity in our Obedience; and this is confirmed by that Love and Honour which the moſt glorious Kings of this Realm have here gained by their Inclining this Way; witneſs *Henry the Firſt*, approved and beloved above his *Norman* Predeceſſors, who, for that ſole Purpoſe, took to Wife *Edgar Atheling*'s Niece, the female Heir of the *Engliſh* Blood; next, *Edward the Firſt*, whoſe Memory is no leſs acceptable for his being the firſt Reviver of that Name in that Line, than for his Inlarging the Honour and Dominion of this State; Thirdly, *Edward the Third*, the moſt glorious, renowned, and precious of all our Kings, not only for his famous Victories, but withal, for Reſtoring, in a good Degree, the Uſe and Honour of the *Engliſh* Tongue, formerly exiled, by *Normaniſm*, into Contempt and Obſcurity; to which Purpoſe alſo it is obſervable, that none of our Kings ſince *William* the pretended Conqueror, and his Son, have bore their Name, the Impoſing whereof on our Princes, their royal Parents ſeem purpoſely to have avoided as juſtly odious to the *Engliſh* Nation, whereas, with what Honour they have continually uſed both the Name and Shrine of St. *Edward*, I need not recount. And if theſe Kings ſo lately after the Conqueror, and while the *Norman* Blood ran almoſt freſh in their Veins, thought it their Duty, in ſome Sort, to profeſs, for the *Engliſh* Name, againſt *Normaniſm*, how little miſ-becoming will it be for his Majeſty, after his ſo many Ages Ingraftment into this Nation, and Diſunion from the other, and having in him, for one Stream of the *Norman* Blood, two of the true *Engliſh*, to profeſs himſelf altogether *Engliſh*, and to advance that Nation to the greateſt Luſtre he can, whereof he profeſſeth himſelf the natural Head; yea, it will ſo far tranſfer him above the Honour and Felicity of his Predeceſſors, as it is more honourable and happy for a Prince to be called and accounted the natural Father of his Country, than the exotick Lord

of the ſame, of which Titles the very Tyrants of *Rome* were ambitious for the former, but rejected and deteſted even the one Half of the latter.

2. For the *Norman* Progeny, they may conſider, that themſelves, as *Norwegians*, are originally, as *Verſtegan* hath well obſerved, of one and the ſame Blood and Nation with the *Engliſh*, namely, the *Teutonick*, and that, in doing what is here required, they ſhall but ſhake off that Tincture of *Galliciſm*, which their Anceſtors took in *Neuſtria*, and rejoin themſelves with their ancient Countrymen; which alſo even their own Honour requires of them, even according to the Opinion of the ancient *Treviri*, who as, *Tacitus* recordeth, though Inhabitants of *France*, yet diſdained to be accounted of the *French* Blood, but ambitiouſly adhered to their Deſcent from *Germany*; the *Gallick* Nation having been ſervile ever ſince the Time of *Julius Cæſar*, and no other their Language, which we ſo much dote upon, than an Effect of the *Roman* Conqueſt over them, and a Teſtimony of their long Vaſſalage and Subjection to that Empire.

But, if they can reliſh no Honour but what muſt ariſe, and fetch Life, from our Shame, let them revolve how loth they would be to be ſerved, as ſometime the *Romans* dealed with the inſulting *Gauls*, the Relicks of *Brennus*'s Army, whom they utterly rooted out of *Italy*, *Nequis ejus gentis ſupereſſet qui incenſam a ſe Romam jactaret*, as an Hiſtorian hath it; and, if they will needs continue the *Danes* Succeeders in inſulting over us, they may alſo remember that we are the Poſterity of thoſe *Engliſh* who maſſacred them, and that when they had a potent Kingdom at Hand to revenge it, which theſe others are to ſeek for.

3. *Laſtly*, State Policy requires it, it being requiſite to the Good and Safety of the Kingdom in general; for, if ingenuous Valour in the People, and their Love to their King, State, Nobility, and Laws, with Regard to Honour, be the chief Strength of a Realm againſt Foreign Invaſions (for Inſtance, and Teſtification whereof, we need look no further than the *Scots*) it is neceſſary, that, if our State ſhould enjoy that Strength, our Nation enjoy theſe Demands; for, How can we love and fight for thoſe Laws which are ours only by our Enemies Introduction, and are our Diſgrace inſtead of Honour; or for that Sovereignty and Nobility, in whoſe very Titles, as before is related, we read our Country to be already in Captivity, and that the Alteration of the State will be, to us, but Changing of uſurpant Maſters? Neither will the Recordation of our ancient Honour be any better a Provocation to that Purpoſe: Should the *Turk* go about to exhort his *Grecian* Soldiers to Valiantneſs in his Cauſe, and againſt his Foreign Enemies, by commemorating unto them the ancient Glory and Proweſs of their Nation, Would not that Cohortation merit to be taken as an inſulting Irriſion? And, Should not the firſt Effect thereof be a vindictive Incitement of them againſt himſelf, as the moſt proper Object thereof in all Reſpects? So alſo cannot the Remembrance of our ancient Glory, if we conſider ourſelves aright, incite us to any Thing more than the Clearing of ourſelves from this inſulting Conqueſt, as already, and long ſince, preſſing us with that Diſhonour, which other Dangers at moſt but threaten? And as, upon theſe Grounds, we can ſcarce find Courage to fight for the Safety and Preſervation of the State; ſo for the ſame Reaſons have we as little Heart to pray or wiſh for the ſame, until our national Honour be reſtored to a Coexiſtence therewith.

Since, therefore, theſe Things are ſo behoveful for our Nation to demand, and for our State to grant, if, after due Conſideration thereof, we continue to want the happy Fruition of the ſame, it muſt be aſcribed either to an overgrown Baſeneſs of Mind in the one, or an unnatural Malignity in the other, as indulging rather to a Foreign Name, than to a Nation whereof the ſaid State is a Part, and intruſted with the Welfare and Honour thereof; and in this ſtill-ſervilliſing Caſe it will be ridiculous for us, the Nation, to pretend to Honour or Renown, but more proper for us for ever to profeſs ourſelves [illegible] wherein we take up our Reſt [illegible] tivity and Servility: But, if we [illegible] glorious Morning, and [illegible] ed Honour, refulging in the [illegible] pliſhment of theſe our Deſires, [illegible] with Alacrity preſs all that th[illegible] inveſteth unto the Defence and [illegible] the *Engliſh* Dominion, and, [illegible] claiming our Nation, and tra[illegible] thers, as many of us now do,

especially in *Ireland*, we shall joy to make *Anglicism* become the only Soul and Habit of all, both *Ireland* and *Great-Britain*. *Dixi. Octob.* 1642. *J. H.*

Two Ordinances of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the speedy Demolishing of all Organs, Images, and all Manner of superstitious Monuments in all Cathedral or Parish Churches and Chapels, throughout the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, the better to accomplish the blessed Reformation so happily begun, and to remove all Offences and Things illegal in the Worship of God.

Die Jovis, 9 Maii, 1644.

Ordered by the Lords in Parliament assembled, that these Ordinances shall be forthwith printed and published,

Jo. Brown, Cler. Parliamentorum.

London, printed for *John Wright* in the *Old-Baily*, *May* 11, 1644. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

Die Jovis, 9 Maii, 1644.

An Ordinance for the further Demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition.

THE Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, the better to accomplish the blessed Reformation so happily begun, and to remove all Offences and Things illegal in the Worship of God, do ordain, That all Representations of any of the Persons of the Trinity, or of any Angel or Saint, in or about any Cathedral, Collegiate, or Parish-Church, or Chapel, or in any open Place within this Kingdom, shall be taken away, defaced, and utterly demolished, and that no such shall hereafter be set up. And that the Chancel-ground of every such Church or Chapel, raised for any Altar or Communion-table to stand upon, shall be laid down and levelled. And that no Copes, Surplices, superstitious Vestments, Hoods, or Roodlofts, or Holy-water Fonts shall be, or be any more used, in any Church or Chapel within this Realm: And that no Cross, Crucifix, Picture, or Representation of any of the Persons of the Trinity, or of any Angel or Saint, shall be or continue upon any Plate, or other Thing, used or to be used in or about the Worship of God; and that all Organs, and the Frames or Cases wherein they stand in all Churches and Chapels aforesaid, shall be taken away, and utterly defaced, and none other hereafter set up in their Places: And that all Copes, Surplices, superstitious Vestments, Roods, and Fonts aforesaid, be likewise utterly defaced; whereunto all Persons within this Kingdom, whom it may concern, are hereby required, at their Peril, to yield due Obedience.

Provided

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY 93666

Provided that this Ordinance, or any Thing therein contained, ſhall not extend to any Image, Picture, or Coat of Arms, in Glaſs, Stone, or otherwiſe, in any Church, Chapel, Church-yard, or Place of publick Prayer, as aforeſaid, ſet up or graven only for a Monument of any King, Prince, or Nobleman, or other dead Perſon, which hath not been commonly reputed or taken for a Saint; but that all ſuch Images, Pictures, and Coats of Arms, may ſtand and continue in like Manner and Form as if this Ordinance had never been made; and the ſeveral Churchwardens, or Overſeers of the Poor, of the ſaid ſeveral Churches and Chapels reſpectively, and the next adjoining Juſtice of the Peace, or Deputy Lieutenant, are hereby required to ſee the due Performance hereof; and that the Repairing of the Walls, Windows, Grounds, and other Places, which ſhall be broken or impaired by any the Means aforeſaid, ſhall be done and performed by ſuch Perſon and Perſons, as are for the ſame End and Purpoſe nominated and appointed by a former Ordinance of Parliament, of the Eight-and-twentieth of *Auguſt*, 1643, *For the utter Demoliſhing of Monuments of Superſtition or Idolatry*.

Die Lunæ, 28 Auguſti, 1643.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, for the utter Demoliſhing, Removing, and Taking away of all Monuments of Superſtition or Idolatry.

THE Lords and Commons in Parliament, taking into their ſerious Conſiderations how well-pleaſing it is to God, and conducible to the bleſſed Reformation in his Worſhip, ſo much deſired by both Houſes of Parliament, that all Monuments of Superſtition or Idolatry ſhould be removed and demoliſhed, do ordain, That, in all and every the Churches and Chapels, as well Cathedral and Collegiate, as other Churches and Chapels, and other uſual Places of publick Prayer, authoriſed by Law within this Realm of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, all Altars and Tables of Stone ſhall, before the firſt Day of *November*, in the Year of our Lord God 1643, be utterly taken away and demoliſhed; and alſo all Communion-tables removed from the Eaſt-end of every ſuch Church, Chapel, or Place of publick Prayer, and Chancel of the ſame, and ſhall be placed in ſome other fit and convenient Place or Places of the Body of the ſaid Church, Chapel, or other ſuch Place of publick Prayer, or of the Body of the Chancel of every ſuch Church, Chapel, or other ſuch Place of publick Prayer: And that all Rails whatſoever, which have been erected near to, before, or about any Altar, or Communion-table, in any of the ſaid Churches or Chapels, or other ſuch Place of publick Prayer as aforeſaid, ſhall, before the ſaid Day, be likewiſe taken away; and the Chancel-ground of every ſuch Church or Chapel, or other Place of publick Prayer, which hath been, within twenty Years laſt paſt, raiſed for any Altar or Communion-table to ſtand upon, ſhall, before the ſaid Day, be laid down and levelled, as the ſame was before the ſaid twenty Years laſt paſt: And that all Tapers, Candleſticks, and Baſons ſhall, before the ſaid Day, be removed and taken away from the Communion-table, in every ſuch Church, Chapel, or other Place of publick Prayer; and neither the ſame nor any ſuch like ſhall be uſed about the ſame, at any Time after the ſaid Day: And that all Crucifixes, Croſſes, and all Images and Pictures of any one or more Perſons of the Trinity, or of the Virgin *Mary*, and all other Images and Pictures of Saints, or ſuperſtitious Inſcriptions in or upon all and every the ſaid Churches or Chapels, or other Places of publick Prayer; Church-yards, or other Places to any the ſaid Churches and Chapels, or other Place of publick Prayer belonging, or in any other open Place [illegible] the ſaid firſt Day of *November* [illegible] and defaced, and none of the [illegible] permitted in any ſuch Church [illegible] other Places, as aforeſaid.

And be it further ordained, That [illegible] every ſuch Removal of the ſa[illegible] bles of Stone, Communion-[illegible] Candleſticks and Baſons, Crucif[illegible] Images and Pictures, as aforeſ[illegible] way of the ſaid Rails, and Lev[illegible] Grounds ſhall be done and

the Walls, Windows, Grounds, and other Places, which ſhall be broken, impaired, or altered by any the Means aforeſaid, ſhall be made up and repaired in good and ſufficient Manner, in all and every of the ſaid Pariſh-churches or Chapels, or uſual Places of publick Prayer belonging to any Pariſh, by the Church-warden or Churchwardens of every ſuch Pariſh, for the Time being, reſpectively; and, in any Cathedral or Collegiate Church or Chapel, by the Dean or Sub-dean, or other chief Officer of every ſuch Church or Chapel, for the Time being; and, in the Univerſities, by the ſeveral Heads and Governors of every College or Hall reſpectively; and, in the ſeveral Inns of Court, by the Benchers and Readers of every of the ſame reſpectively, at the Coſt and Charges of all and every ſuch Perſon or Perſons, Body Politick or Corporate, or Pariſhioners of every Pariſh reſpectively, to whom the Charge of the Repair of any ſuch Church, Chapel, Chancel, or Place of publick Prayer, or other Part of ſuch Church or Chapel, or Place of publick Prayer, doth or ſhall belong. And, in caſe Default be made in any of the Premiſſes, by any of the Perſon or Perſons thereunto appointed by this Ordinance, from and after the ſaid firſt Day of *November*, which ſhall be in the Year of our Lord God 1643, That then every ſuch Perſon or Perſons, ſo making Default, ſhall for every ſuch Neglect or Default, by the Space of twenty Days, forfeit and loſe forty Shillings, to the Uſe of the Poor of the ſaid Pariſh, wherein ſuch Default ſhall be made: Or, if it be out of any Pariſh, then to the Uſe of the Poor of ſuch Pariſh, whoſe Church is or ſhall be neareſt to the Church, or Chapel, or other Place of publick Prayer, where ſuch Default ſhall be made. And, if Default ſhall be made after the firſt Day of *December*, which ſhall be in the ſaid Year 1643, then any one Juſtice of the Peace of the County, City, or Town, where ſuch Default ſhall be made, upon Information thereof to him to be given, ſhall cauſe or procure the Premiſſes to be performed, according to the Tenour of this Ordinance, at the Coſt and Charges of ſuch Perſon or Perſons, Bodies Politick or Corporate, or Inhabitants in every Pariſh, who are appointed by this Ordinance to bear the ſame.

Provided that this Ordinance, or any Thing therein contained, ſhall not extend to any Image, Picture, or Coat of Arms in Glaſs, Stone, or otherwiſe, in any Church, Chapel, Church-yard, or Place of publick Prayer, as aforeſaid, ſet up or graven only for a Monument of any King, Prince, or Nobleman, or other dead Perſon, which hath not been commonly reputed or taken for a Saint; but that all ſuch Images, Pictures, and Coats of Arms may ſtand and continue in like Manner and Form, as if this Ordinance had never been made.

JOH. BROWN,
Cler. Parliamentorum.

A Diary of the Siege of *Luxembourg*, by the *French* King's Forces, under the Command of the Marſhal *de Crequi*; containing a full Account of all that paſſed in the Siege and Surrendry of the Town. *London*, printed by *J. G.* for *D. Brown*, at the *Black Swan*, without *Temple-Bar*; and are to be ſold by *W. D.* in *Amen Corner*, 1684. *Quarto*, containing fifty-ſix Pages.

LUXEMBOURG.

LUXEMBOURG, the Metropolis of the Duchy, bearing the ſame Name, is finely ſeated, commodious, of a great Compaſs, and very ſtrong; being alſo indifferently full of Houſes: The principal Church is dedicated to St. *Nicholas*. There is beſides, a very fair Convent, which, as it is ſaid, the Inſcriptions alſo upon the Walls thereof teſtifying as much, was one of the firſt of St. *Francis*'s Order, built in his Life-time. This Town has undergone many Misfortunes, having, upon all Occaſions of War, ſerved for the Butt, whereat, Fortune diſcharged her Arrows. It was, in the Year 1542, taken and plundered by the *French*, under the Command of the Duke of *Orleans*, Son to the great King, *Francis the Firſt*. In the Year 1543, it was again taken and plundered by the *French*, and was finally, on the Fourth of *June*, in this preſent Year, 1684, brought under the Dominion of the *French*.

The Town of *Luxembourg* is built upon a Rock, waſhed almoſt on every Side, by a little River, called *Alſiette*, which comes from the South; and, having almoſt encompaſſed that Place, continues its Courſe towards the North. The Part of the Rock, invironed by the River, is exceeding ſteep, and needs no other Defence but its natural Situation; ſo that they have ſcarce built any Fortifications on thoſe Sides. The Side not invironed by the River, which looks towards the Weſt, is fortified with four Baſtions cut into the Rock, as is alſo the Ditch, which is very deep. There are before theſe Baſtions, Counterguards, Half-Moons, and Ravelins cut into the Rock, as are alſo the Ditches that cover them. Before all theſe Works, there are two open Ways, with their Cauſeys; the firſt whereof is defended by four Redoubts of Stone in the Angles, bearing out from the Counterſcarp. This Side which is not invironed by the River was the only Place, whereby the Town could be aſſaulted; all the reſt being found too ſteep; and, of this Side, the Part attacked was the new Gate, which is on the North, near the Place where the River begins to turn away from the Town.

The *French* Army, commanded by the Marſhal *de Crequi*, inveſted the Place, *April* the Twenty-eighth, 1684, *N. S.* Some Days were ſpent in Preparatives for the Siege, and taking their Quarters.

The Head Quarters were [illegible] the Height of *Bambuche*, to the Vi[illegible]; and there were quartered eigh[illegible] and Battalions, with four Compani[illegible]. The Quarters of the Count *du Pleſſis*, the Marquis *de Genlis*, and the Sieur *de Joyeuſe*, Lieutenant-Generals, were thus ordered: The firſt, from *Linſing*, to the Hill of the Abbey of *Bonnevoye*, with ſeven Squadrons, and eleven Battalions; the ſecond, from the ſame Hill to the Stream, which goes up towards the Village of *Hont*, with five Battalions; the third, from the River of *Alſiette*, as you go back again up to *Hont*, as far as the Village of *Homeldange*, and there were poſted eight Squadrons, and ſix Battalions. There were alſo quartered, in the Bottom of *Homeldange*, two Squadrons of Dragoons of the Baron *de Hasfeld*, with two Battalions of Fuſeliers, and the Company of Miners and Gunners.

May the 8th. The Marſhal *de Crequi* gave Orders, to open their Trenches.

The Count *du Pleſſis*, Lieutenant-General, for the Day, the Count *de Broglio*, Marſhal de Camp, and the Duke *de la Ferte*, Brigadier of Foot, poſted themſelves between Five and Six in the Evening, on the Hills of our Lady of Conſolation, with two Battalions of *Champaign*, which had, at their Head, the Bailey *Colbert*, Colonel of that Regiment, one Battalion of *Enguien*, and one of *la Ferte*. The two firſt Battalions marched in a Bottom, behind the Chapel, and two others on their Left-hand, upon the Reverſe of theſe Hills. The Count *de Tolart*, Brigadier of Horſe, came upon the ſame Hills, with the Horſe under his Command, which were four-hundred to guard the Trenches, having before him two-hundred Foot to make Uſe of, in Caſe the Beſieged ſhould make any Sally. At Nine in the Evening, they opened, about Half a Muſquet ſhot from the Counterſcarp, a Tren[illegible] the attacked Side of the Plac[illegible] hundred Toiſes long, and this V[illegible] ried on two ſeveral Ways, th[illegible] Chapel, on the Left-hand of t[illegible] ters; and the other, on the Sid[illegible] on the other Side of the oppoſit[illegible] Pioneers of the Attack of *Cha*[illegible] on the Work, from the Righ[illegible] within fifty or ſixty Toiſes of [illegible] *Miracles*, which is about a P[illegible] the Counterſcarp; and thoſe o[illegible]

la Ferte and *Enguien*, carried on the Work from the Left to the Right; and theſe Works met about the Mid-way. The Sieur *de Vauban*, Marſhal of the King's Camps and Armies, who had been, at Noon, to view the Counterſcarp, and who had the Inſpection over theſe two Attacks, cauſed to be traced this Night two Batteries, with Lines of Communication to the Trench, upon a riſing Ground, about thirty or forty Toiſes on this Side the Chapel, in Reſpect of the Beſiegers. The Marquis *de Renti*, Marſhal de Camp, made a falſe Attack upon the Height of the *Fauxbourg* of *Gromp*, or of the *Baſſeville*, with a Battalion of *Conde*; the Marquis *de Crenan* made another, by the Bottom of the Abbey of *Bonnevoye*, with five-hundred detached Men; and at the ſame Time there was a Battery traced upon the Hill of *Paffendal*, where there was a Battalion of *Orleans*, with a Detachment of two-hundred Men. The Prince *de Conti*, and the Prince *de la Roche ſur Yon*, his Brother, were preſent at the Opening of the Trenches, and paſſed the Night there. The Beſieged, for above five Hours, made not one Shot, but about Two, in the Morning, they began to fire very briſkly at us, with their Muſquets. There were not, however, above eight or nine of our Men killed and wounded, which were of the Regiment of *Champagne*. About Break of Day, they played alſo ſmartly upon us with their Cannon, which yet had not any conſiderable Effect. Some Horſe ſallied out of the Town, about Four or Five in the Morning, but haſtily retreated at the firſt Firing of the Detachments, which were commanded to ſhelter the Labourers. They perſiſted, all that Day, to play upon us, with their Cannon, but ſtill without much Succeſs. On our Side, they continued to work on the Batteries.

9th. There was a Man ſtopped, who endeavoured to get into *Luxembourg*; and there was found about him a Paſſport from the Marquis *de Grana*, dated *Auguſt* the Twenty-eighth, with Bills of Exchange, for five and thirty-thouſand Florins, payable in *Luxembourg*, and many Letters in Ciphers. We knew alſo, by the ſame Way, that there were ſeveral Officers who deſigned to get into the Town, to join with their Regiments there.

In the Evening, the Marquis *de Genlis*, Lieutenant-General for the Day, and the Sieur *de Joſſeaux*, Brigadier of Foot, relieved the Count *du Pleſſis*, and the Duke *de la Ferte*, who had the Right-hand of the great Attack; and the Sieur *d'Erlac*, Marſhal de Camp, relieved the Count *de Broglio*, who had the Left. Two Battalions of *Navarre* relieved on the Right the two of *Champagne*, and the Battalions of *Vaubecourt* and *Conti*, at the Head of which, was the Prince *de Conti*, accompanied by the Prince *de la Roche ſur Yon*, in the Quality of a Volunteer, relieved on the Left that of *Enguien*, and that of *la Ferte*. The Beſieged, at the Time we went to relieve the Trenches, ſet Fire to the Houſes of a Part of the *Fauxbourg* of *Paffendal*; they quitted alſo a Mill, which was but fifty Paces from it, having prepared a Mine to blow it up, in the Belief they had, that our Men would ſeize thereon; but we went not thither, and the Mine ſprang without the Succeſs they expected. During the Night, we carried on a ſecond Trench, parallel to the firſt of the great Attack, within ſixty Toiſes of the Covered Fore-way of the Place; and the Communications were made, without any of the Workmen's being killed or wounded; although the Enemy fired ſtifly upon them, with their Muſquets. The Sieur *de Montmeillant*, Captain in the Royal Regiment, and the Sieur *de Favigny*, Captain and Aid Major of *Piedmont*, and four or five Lieutenants were ſlightly wounded. We continued alſo to work diligently on the Batteries raiſed on the Hills of our Lady of Conſolation. The Beſieged, about Break of Day, played briſkly with their Cannon; but we had not above ſix or ſeven Soldiers ſlain.

10th. Two of our Batteries, of ſeven Pieces of Cannon each, began to play about Eight in the Morning with great Succeſs; and a Battery of nine Mortar-pieces, which had been put in Order by the Sieur *de Vigny*, began about Noon to caſt its Bombs againſt a Platform of the Baſtion on the Right; and we diſmounted three Pieces of a Battery of four Pieces, which the Beſieged had erected there, and from whence they fired very vigorouſly. The ſame Day a Battery of five Pieces, which was upon the Hill of *Bonnevoye*, began alſo to play. We raiſed one of two Pieces upon the riſing Ground, which looks into the *Fauxbourg* of *Gromp*, and we continued to work upon one of fifteen on the Hill of *Paffendal*; which was finiſhed with the Loſs only of nine Soldiers killed, and ſeven or eight wounded, with three or four Officers.

In the Evening, the Sieur *de Joyeuse*, Lieutenant-General for the Day, the Marquis *de Renti*, Marshal de Camp, and the Sieur *de Refuge*, Brigadier of Foot, relieved the Marquis *de Genlis*, the Sieur *d' Erlac*, and the Sieur *de Josseaux*, with the two Battalions of *Piedmont*; the first Battalion of *Auvergne*, and the first Battalion of the Royal *Roussillon*, which entered the Trenches in the Place of the two Battalions of *Navarre*, and the two of *Vaubecourt* and *Conti*. In the Night there was carried on a third Trench, parallel to the second, about thirty Paces from the first Covered-way, which comprehended all the Outworks of the Attack. The Besieged burnt this Night the other Part of the *Fauxbourg* of *Paffendal*; and fired also at us briskly with their Musquets.

All the following Day they played upon us with their Cannon, and yet killed us but about seven or eight Men, and wounded ten or twelve. The same Day, *viz.* the 11th, the Besiegers finished their Battery of fifteen Pieces, and with their Cannon and Bombs intirely ruined the Platforms and Defences of the Bastion on the Right.

In the Evening, the Count *de St. Geran*, Lieutenant-General, and the Marquis *de Nesle*, Brigadier of Foot, relieved the Sieur *de Joyeuse*, and the Sieur *de Refuge*, who were on the Right Hand of the great Attack; and the Chevalier *de Tilladet*, Marshal de Camp, relieved the Marquis *de Renti*, who was on the Left. The Trenches were mounted on the Right by two Battalions of *Normandy*, who took the Post of the two Battalions of *Piedmont*; and the Battalions of *Lyonnois* and *Turenne* relieved on the Left the Battalions of *Auvergne* and the Royal. The Trench, which comprehended all the Outworks of the Place, was carried on within twenty Paces of the first open Way. The Sieur *de Vigny* made a Battery an hundred and fifty Paces to the Left, from the first he had made, to ruin with Bombs the Platform and Batteries which were upon the Bastion on the Left. The Lieutenant of the Grenadiers of *Normandy*, a Sub-Lieutenant of *Enguien*, and nine Soldiers were slain, and six or seven wounded.

The Morrow, being the 12th, the other Batteries were finished, and thirty-eight Pieces of Cannon, and fifteen Mortar-pieces, began that Day to play continually. The same Day about Noon, a Cannon-bullet [illegible] set on Fire thirty Bombs of [illegible], which were on the Sieur *de* [illegible]'s first Battery: Seven Gunners and two Soldiers were killed, and there were six grievously wounded. The Sieur *de Caillemote*, second Son of the Marquis *de Ruvigny*, was wounded in the Throat with a Musquet-shot.

In the Evening, the Marquis *de Lambert*, Lieutenant-General, the Sieur *de Rubantel*, and the Marquis *de Crenan*, relieved the General Officers which were in the Trenches; two Battalions of the Marine relieved the Post on the Right Hand, and two Battalions of the Queen's relieved the Post on the Left. During the Night the Besiegers lodged themselves on the Causey of the Covered-way; and there was a Communication made from one Lodgment to the other. The Work was carried on at the Attack of *Bonnevoye*, within thirty Paces of the Ditch, on the Side of the Gate of *Thionville*, where a Battery of five Pieces was raised. At the same Time we advanced five of the great Battery of *Paffendal*, for to batter on the Reverse the Bastion and Outworks of the great Attack on the Left, and to beat down the Gate of *Paffendal*. There was opened at the Attack of *Gromp*, within twenty Paces of the Ditch, a Trench, parallel to the Front, which has upon one and the same Line four Towers, and which faces the Hill of *Cromp*: We brought down the Battery which was upon this Hill, with a Design to beat in Pieces the Gate of this *Fauxbourg*, and so to be able to dismount two Pieces which were on a Platform within an hundred Paces on the Right Hand of this Gate, and which much incommoded the Besiegers: We seized on a Church within half a Musquet-shot of the Place, situated upon a rising Ground between *Gromp* and *Paffendal*, the Enemy not making any Resistance. Fifty Men were left there to keep it. The [illegible] a Serjeant killed, with about [illegible] twenty wounded.

13th. In the Morning, a S[illegible] came into the Camp: He [illegible] Prince *de Chimay* had been o[illegible] the Defence of the Outwork[illegible] men, and to draw the Soldier[illegible] for Fear of their running awa[illegible] the Besieged sprang two littl[illegible] Lodgment we had made on [illegible]

upon the Cauſey of the firſt Covered-way: There were three Soldiers ſlain, and about fifteen wounded.

In the Evening, the Count *du Pleſſis*, Lieutenant-General, the Sieur *de Gournay*, Marſhal de Camp, and the Sieur *de Maumont*, Brigadier of Foot, relieved the General Officers in the Trenches: A Battalion of *Bourbounois*, one of *Humieres*, one of the Crown, and one of *Languedoc*, relieved thoſe which were at the great Attack. The Marquis *de Humieres*, only Son to the Marſhal *de Humieres*, was ſlain by a Muſquet-ſhot, which hit him in the Head. About Midnight, four Parties of Grenadiers, of ten Men each, had Order to enter at the ſame Time, by four ſeveral Places, into the firſt Covered-way, to ſettle themſelves therein, if they found not too great Reſiſtance; and to ſeize on a Redoubt, called the Redoubt of St. *Mary*, which is between the two Covered-ways: But, after they had borne a violent Charge of Muſquets, Grenadoes, and Fireworks, they were forced to retreat, becauſe this Redoubt was reveſted in the ſame Manner as the Ditch, wherein there was a Caponiere filled with Muſqueteers, and becauſe there was no Getting into it but by a Gallery under Ground, the End whereof joined to the Covered-way neareſt the Place.

Thus were we obliged to proceed along by digging as far as the Paliſadoes, whence we carried on a Lodgment in the Covered-way, which the Beſiegers extended on the Right and Left of the Bottom of the Ditch of the Redoubt; and the Miners, to overthrow it, wrought under the Ditch. At the Attack on the Left, our Men lodged themſelves on the Cauſey of the Covered-way, whence was a Communication made to the Lodgment on the Right. A Lieutenant of the Royal Regiment was killed, with three Serjeants, nine or ten Soldiers, and five Cannoniers; and a Captain with about twenty Soldiers wounded.

In the Evening, the Poſts of the Trenches were relieved by the *Marquis de Genlis*, Lieutenant-general, the Marquis *d'Uxelles*, Marſhal de Camp, and the Duke *de la Ferte*, Brigadier of Foot, with two Battalions of *Champagne*, that of *la Ferte*, and one of *Orleans*. There was finiſhed on the Right-hand of the great Attack, a Lodgment in the Covered-way, upon the Brink of the Ditch of the Redoubt, where the Miners could not eaſily go on, becauſe of the Rock they there met with: We brought on two Pieces of Cannon, endeavouring to break the Communication of the Redoubt with the ſecond Covered-way. On the Left-hand of the Attack, was ſent forth a Detachment of Grenadiers of *la Ferte*, to ſee if the Enemies had quitted the firſt Covered-way on that Side. They could not come to know it, becauſe the Enemies were there couched on their Bellies, and, at the Appearance of our Men, roſe, and obliged them to retire: Ten of the Grenadiers were ſlain, and two mortally wounded; the Captain had his Arm broken, and the Sub-Lieutenant was wounded: The Marquis *de Genlis*'s Aid de Camp received a mortal Wound, and two Officers of *Orleans* were ſlightly wounded.

15th. Three Fugitives from the Place related, That the Governor of the Town, the Prince *de Chimay*, was that Night wounded in the Leg, and that the Major was killed. That Day we advanced two Batteries, each of two Pieces of Cannon, for to batter a Redoubt, which is near the two Covered-ways on the Left; and, in the mean Time, we played the moſt advantageouſly we could from the Batteries that were in Condition, for to ruin the Outworks and Defences of the Baſtion on the ſame Side: We ſeized alſo two Redoubts on the Back-ſide of *Paſſendal*, which the Cannon of the Beſiegers had very much damaged.

In the Evening, the Guard of the Trenches was relieved by the Sieur *de Joyeuſe*, the Count *de Broglio*, and the Sieur *de Joſſeaux*, with the two Battalions of *Navarre*, that of *Vaubecourt*, and that of *Conti*, in the Head whereof was the Prince *de Conti*: The Marquis *de la Valette* had, at the ſame Time, his Thigh broken by a Cannon-Shot from one of our Batteries which had paſſed over the Town. In the Night, the Beſiegers made themſelves Maſters of a third Redoubt on the Back-ſide of *Paſſendal*. We carried on the Lodgment, which was upon the Cauſeway of the firſt Covered-way, near fifteen Toiſes to the Right and Left; and, in the Midſt of this Advance, were raiſed two Platforms, for to look backwards into the Covered-way: The Beſieged fired fiercely all the Night, but with little Succeſs. About Five in the Morning, they quitted the Covered-way, and ſprang a Mine, which they believed muſt be under our Lodgments; but it had not any Effect. The Beſiegers took the Advantage of an Enforcement,

which this Mine had made near the Paliſadoes, and made Uſe of it to lodge themſelves there: But this Deſign would not eaſily have ſucceeded, had not the Prince *de Conti*, by his Preſence and Bounty, encouraged the Soldiers, whom the Fear of a ſecond Mine hindered from Working. An Engineer and four Soldiers were ſlain on this Occaſion, and a Captain of *Navarre*, one of *Burgundy*, the Sub-Lieutenant of the Grenadiers of *Conti*, and nine or ten Soldiers were wounded. We extended the Lodgment which was on the Brink of the Ditch of the Redoubt.

16th. The Beſieged battered with much Succeſs the Redoubt which was on their Left, between the two Covered-ways; and a Mine, which had been made to open the Ditch of that Redoubt on the Right, had all the Effect they deſired. The Sieur *de Couet*, Major of *Conti*, was killed in coming down from the Trenches. We have ſince the 16th ruined, with the great Battery of *Paffendal*, a Traverſe of Stone, about ſix Toiſes long, which was at the Point of an Half-Moon, that covers the Baſtion on the Left, to hinder us from Looking between the oppoſite Hills into the Covered-way of the Place; we likewiſe ruined, with the ſame Battery, two Towers which covered the Gate of the Tower on that Side.

According to the laſt News, come from the Siege, they continued to batter many little Works, full of Earth, and in Confuſion againſt this Gate, the Baſtion, and the three Redoubts, whereof ours had made themſelves Maſters, and which flanked the Reverſe of the Hills. The Beſiegers were reſolved to ſet afterward the Miner to the Baſtion, and they hoped to ſucceed eaſily therein, becauſe there was no Ditch on that Side.

16th. In the Evening, the Count *de St. Geran*, Lieutenant-General for the Day, and Sieur *de Refuge*, Brigadier of Foot, mounted the Trenches on the Right, and the Sieur *d'Erlac*, Marſhal de Camp, mounted on the Left. Two Battalions of *Piedmont* relieved thoſe of *Navarre*, and two Battalions of *Auvergne*, and the *Royal*, relieved thoſe of *Vaubecourt* and *Conti*.

We carried on, during the Night, to the Mine, the Trench which is on the Brink of the Ditch of the Redoubt on the Right, advancing towards the ſecond Covered-way; and we continued to batter a Breach in the Redoubt. On the Left, we extended [illegible] firſt Covered-way to the Lodgment which had been made there, and we wrought [illegible] Communication of the three Redoubts, which are on the Backſide of *Paffendal*: The Enemy fired vigorouſly this Night, and there were nine or ten Soldiers killed, and about twenty wounded. The ſame Night we extended, at the Attack of *Grondt*, the Lodgment all along the Ditch, and brought thither a Battery of three Pieces. There was not any new Work made on the Side of the Attack of *Bonnevoye*.

In the Evening of the 17th, the Marquis *de Lambert*, Lieutenant-General, and the Marquis *de Cronan*, Brigadier of Foot, relieved the Guard of the Trenches on the Right, with a Battalion of *Normandy*, and that of *Soiſſons*; and the Marquis *de Renti*, Marſhal de Camp, relieved it on the Left with a Battalion of *Lyonnois*, and that of *Turenne*.

We continued on the Right to batter the Redoubt, and to work through the Mine, with a Deſign to incloſe it. We perfected on the Left the Lodgments and Communications which had been made there, and we diſcharged Abundance of Cannon and Bombs, to finiſh the Ruining the Defences of the attacked Side, and the Paliſadoes which remained on the ſecond Covered-way. The Beſieged alſo fired fiercely during the Night, and killed us about twenty Soldiers, and wounded twenty-five or thirty, with four or five Officers.

18th. In the Evening, the Count *du Pleſſis*, Lieutenant-General for the Day, and the Marquis *de Neſle*, Brigadier of Foot, relieved the Poſts on the Right with two Battalions of the Marine, and the Chevalier *de Tilladet*, Marſhal *de Camp*, relieved the Poſts on the Left with two Battalions of the Queen's.

The Redoubts of this Attack are of very good Stone, and every where Cannon-proof. They have three Stories of Battlements, with a reveſted Ditch, ſixteen Feet broad, and fourteen deep, in the Reveſtment [illegible] Caponieres, which command [illegible] Theſe Redoubts have Communication with the Ditch of the Place, and the [illegible] by three Galleries under Ground [illegible] upon another, of ſix Feet in Height [illegible] in Breadth.

The Count *du Pleſſis* viſited [illegible] the Trenches. He ſent to view the [illegible] which our Cannon had made [illegible] Story of the Redoubts on the [illegible]

which the Breaches of the Mines made an Aſcent. We found no Body there, and the Count *du Pleſſis* ſent thither only ſix Grenadiers and a Serjeant, for fear there might be Mines. They ſaw through the Holes of the Arches, that the Enemies kept yet the lower Story, and they caſt Grenadoes at them, but they were not ſufficient to drive them away. The Count *du Pleſſis* cauſed Bombs to be thrown at them, which yet diſſipated them not, till they had had their Effect, and he ſent to charge them Sword in Hand.

At the ſame Time, we carried on the Mine-work to the Galleries of Communication from the Redoubt to the Ditch, and the Covered-way of the Place, and we lodged ourſelves by this Mining in the Midſt of the ſecond Cauſeway. The Enemies, perceiving the Beſiegers ready to pierce the Communication, were afraid to be cut off without being ſuccoured, and retired with ſo much Precipitation through the middle Gallery into their Ditch, that they left many Muſquets, and ſome Hats in the Redoubt.

We rolled afterwards two great Caſks full of Faggots into the ſecond Gallery, notwithſtanding the Beſieged fired furiouſly upon us from the Gate; and, after two Hours Fight under Ground, we ſet up a Traverſe to hinder their Return to the Redoubt.

The Enemy did alſo the ſame on their Side, to ſtop the Progreſs of our Workmen. They had prepared four Mines at the four Corners of the Redoubt, but they could not ſet them on Fire, becauſe of the Water, which was in the loweſt Gallery.

We continued to batter a Breach in the Redoubt on the Left, to make a Mine to open the Ditch, and to incloſe this Redoubt by Mining, as we had that on the Right. We made a Lodgment on the Backſide of *Paffendal*, the Length of the Traverſe, and the Face of the Half-Moon, within four Paces whereof the Works were advanced. But we were conſtrained to quit it by the Abundance of Bombs, Grenadoes, and Fireworks, which the Beſieged caſt from the Half-Moon, and the Covered-way. The Communication of the two Attacks was made during the Night, notwithſtanding thirty Toiſes of the Rock, which were between the two Lodgments.

The ſame Day, being the 19th, four Miners were ſet to the Attack of *Grondt*, from the Gate unto the neareſt Tower; and they wrought with ſo much Diligence, that in the Evening they began to charge the Mines. A Captain of the Queen's, and two or three inferior Officers were wounded: Five or ſix Soldiers were ſlain, and about twenty wounded.

19th. In the Evening, the Marquis *de Genlis*, Lieutenant-General, and the Marquis *de Crenan*, Brigadier of Foot, mounted the Trenches on the Right-hand with the Battalions of *Bourbonnois* and *Humieres*, and the Sieur *de Rubantel*, Marſhal de Camp, mounted on the Left with the Battalions of the Crown and *Vermandois*.

In the Night we extended on the Right the Lodgment, which was upon the Communication of the Redoubt with the ſecond Covered-way, above five and thirty Toiſes to the Right and as much to the Left: And this Lodgment was in ſome Places within twelve Paces of the Paliſadoes. We perfected on the Left the Lodgment which was made to incloſe the Redoubt.

We had proceeded very ſlowly in battering it, becauſe we judged it not fit to finiſh the making a Breach therein, before the Miner, who was ſet to the exterior Wall of the Ditch, and who had required two Days to open it, becauſe of the Rock he found there, was nearer finiſhing his Work. There was made alſo a Place of Arms, capable to contain a thouſand or twelve-hundred Men in the Trench, which communicates with the two Lodgments.

We re-eſtabliſhed with great Gabions along the Traverſe, as far as the Point of the Counterguard, the Lodgment we had there the Night before, and which we had quitted in the Day. The Beſieged caſt Store of Bombs and Grenadoes, to hinder us from re-eſtabliſhing it. The Count *de Gaſſe*, Colonel of the *Vermandois* Regiment, who ſupported the Head of the Work on the Left, had there twenty Grenadiers killed or wounded. The Enemy caſt an extraordinary Number of Grenadoes, when we were got within an Halbard's Length of the Angle of the ſecond Counterſcarp.

20th. In the Morning they ſprang a Mine, which they had under the two Angles. That on the Right overthrew twenty Gabions, without hurting above two Soldiers, and the Damage was repaired in two Hours, by the Care of the Sieur *Lapara*, Engineer. The Mine on the Left had not any conſiderable Effect. The Beſiegers alſo at Seven in the Morning ſprang the Mine of *Grondt*; and it made a Breach for ſix Men to enter a-breaſt. The Grena-

diers

diers of *Languedoc* and *Burgundy* aſcended firſt, with ſo much Vigour, that they drove away fifty Soldiers, which defended it, and made ten Paces beyond the Breach a Lodgment forty Toiſes long, notwithſtanding they were fiercely ſhot at from the Rampart, and the Ravelin of *Grondt*. The Captain of the Grenadiers of *Burgundy*, and he of the Grenadiers of *Languedoc*, two inferior Officers, and thirty Soldiers were wounded; and there were nine or ten Soldiers ſlain.

About Three in the Afternoon, four Soldiers of the Beſieged came into the Camp; and they averred, that the Beſiegers had killed or wounded them ſince the Siege above three-hundred Men: That Captain *Gregory*, a famous Officer amongſt them for Commanding of Parties, was killed, and not the Major of the Town, as the Report went: That the Prince *de Chimay* made the Women and Children work upon the Retirades; and that he was ſtill reſolved to make a vigorous Defence.

20th. In the Evening, the Sieur *de Joyeuſe*, Lieutenant-General, and the Marquis *de Neſle*, Brigadier of Foot, mounted the Trenches on the Right with two Battalions of *Champagne*; and the Marquis *de Renti*, Marſhal de Camp, mounted on the Left with a Battalion of *la Ferte*, and one of *Orleans*.

We extended, during the Night, a great Line, which made the Place of Arms, from one Redoubt to the other, and we put it into a Condition to contain above Three-thouſand Men. On the Left the Lodgment, which was along the Traverſe, was continued to the Middle of the Face of the Counterguard, notwithſtanding the Enemy fired all Night briſkly upon us with Muſquets, Bombs, and Grenadoes.

We began alſo a Platform on the Right to look backwards into the Covered-way of the Place, and there were ſeven or eight Soldiers killed, and about Thirty wounded, with two Officers. The Count *de Tonnerre*, Colonel of the Regiment of *Orleans*, was wounded in the Head.

21ſt. At Three in the Afternoon, the Beſieged quitted the Redoubt on the Left-hand, ſeeing that it was intirely incloſed by the Works of the Beſiegers, and ſeeing alſo the great Breach their Cannon had made therein. They retired into the Caponieres of the Ditch of the ſame Redoubt, and from thence fired fiercely upon thoſe that were in it. The Beſiegers put two Pieces in Battery, to drive them thence.

21ſt. In the Evening, the Count *de Geran*, Lieutenant-General, and [illegible] *Joſſeaux*, Brigadier of Foot, relieved the Guard of the Trenches on the Right, with two Battalions of *Navarre*; and the Marquis *d'Uxelles*, Marſhal de Camp, relieved it on the Left, with the Battalion of *Roubecourt*, and that of *Conti*, at the Head whereof is the Prince *de Conti*.

About Seven o'Clock, the Enemy ſprang a Mine between two Lodgments, which the Beſiegers had upon the Reverſe of *Paſſendal*; but it neither killed nor hurt any Body.

At Nine the Miner was put to the Middle of the Counterguard, which covers the Baſtion. The Beſieged, an Hour after, ſprang a ſecond Mine, on the ſame Side. There were three Soldiers killed, and Six or Seven wounded. Some Time before we had diſcovered a Mine in the Redoubt on the Right-hand, and taken out the Powder. During the Night, we brought a Battery of ſeven Pieces, within thirty Paces of the Counterſcarp; and perfected the Platform, and Place of Arms, which joins the two Redoubts.

22d. At Break of Day, the Cannon of the great Battery of *Paſſendal*, fired by Misfortune at the Counterguard, and there were two Miners killed, and three others wounded, with a Lieutenant of the Regiment of *Conti*, and three Soldiers. Four Soldiers of the Regiment of *Conti*, animated by the Preſence and Liberalities of the Prince, who executes all the Functions of a Colonel, continued to work in the Mine, whence many had been repulſed by the Enemies fierce Firing.

The Miners found at Nine in the Morning a Gallery in the Wall of the Counterguard, pierced with Battlements, which flanked the Reverſe, and ſeized thereon. They found another underneath, which cut the Counterguard a-croſs, and which gave us [illegible] ten Miners into this laſt, to [illegible] many Branches, to the End, to [illegible] the Earth into the Ditch.

The Enemy, having perceive[d] our Miners, caſt ineffectually [illegible] Fire-works, and Barrels full [illegible] drive them away, and to oblig[e] to quit the Lodgment. The [illegible] the Prince *de Conti* cauſed to be [illegible] Captain, who commanded ſixt[y]

Regiment, a Traverſe, which the Beſieged poſſeſſed in the *Fauxbourg* of *Paſſendal*, fifty Paces from their Gate, for to go ſecurely to fetch Water at the River. The Enemies were driven from this Traverſe, although they reſiſted very ſtoutly; and we ſeized on an Out-Gate of the Town, fortified with good Towers.

About Eleven in the Morning, we knew, that the Enemies had made many Traverſes within their Counterſcarp, and the Beſiegers, doing their utmoſt to hinder their Finiſhing this Work, made themſelves Maſters of the firſt Redan on the Right, and that on the Left.

The Beſieged endeavoured to drive them thence, with a Shower of Grenadoes and Stones; but it was without any Succeſs, and they were alſo, in Fine, repulſed by the great Firing and extraordinary Vigour of the Beſiegers.

During the Guard, about twenty Soldiers were ſlain, and there were four Officers, one Enginier, and forty or fifty Soldiers wounded; at the Attack of *Grandt*, during the Night of the 21ſt, to the 22d, and all this Day, the Beſiegers laboured to get Ground on the Right, leaving the Ravelin on the Left, and they brought Cannon to ruin the Communication of the Gate with the Caſtle, which they batter inceſſantly.

The Marſhal *de Crequi* continues to viſit and preſs the Works, and to give all the Orders, neceſſary for advancing the Siege, with all the Vigilance and good Conduct imaginable.

There arrive daily at the Camp many Noblemen Strangers, whom Curioſity, excited by the Report, which is ſpread about of the Beauty of this Siege's Works, and of the good Order of the Attacks, brings thither from all the neighbouring Countries.

The Enemies have done their utmoſt to endeavour the Putting ſome Succour into the Place.

The Count *de Valſaſſine*, and the Duke *de Bejar*, undertook to get in at the Head of four hundred reformed Officers, and three-hundred Dragoons, and they came within three Leagues of the Place. But having learned, from the Guides of the Country, the Diſpoſition of our Works, and that it would be impoſſible to execute their Deſign, they retreated, and took their Way to *Bruxelles*.

The Works, which have all been conducted by the Sieur *de Vauban*, with ſuch Succeſs, that they have hindered the Enemy from making any Sally, are in very good Condition. They would have been farther advanced, had not the Marſhal *de Crequi*, according to the King's Orders, ordered the Attacks with all the Precautions, neceſſary to ſpare the Troops, and moderate the Ardour of our Gentry.

May the 22d. In the Evening, the Marquis *de Lambert*, Lieutenant-General, and the Sieur *de Refuge*, Brigadier of Foot, relieved the Poſts on the Right-hand of the Trenches with two Battalions of *Piedmont*. The Sieur *de Langallery*, Marſhal de Camp, relieved the Poſts on the Left, with one Battalion of *Auvergne*, and two Battalions of the Royal.

During the Night, and the following Day, our Men wrought on the Right-hand upon a Battery of three Pieces of Cannon againſt the Paliſadoes of the Counterſcarp, for to batter the Face of the Baſtion of that Side, and that of the Half-Moon, which is on the Left, and for to diſmount a Piece of Cannon, the Enemies had put there a little While ſince. We began alſo a Battery of Mortar-pieces behind the firſt Battery, for to hinder the Firing which the Beſieged made from the Baſtion and Half-Moon.

The two Lodgments of the Beſiegers were lengthened, and there were finiſhed two or three-and-twenty Mines in the Counterguard, to be made Uſe of, when we ſhould have ſeen the Effect of three others, which had been made at the Point of this Counterguard. The Enemies caſt, during the Night, a great Quantity of Grenadoes and Fire-works upon the Workmen, and into the firſt Poſts, for to retard the Works. But, in the Day, the Beſiegers fired ſo fiercely, that it hindered them from appearing to ſhoot; and the Work went on without any Oppoſition. There was made, at the Attack of old *Munſter*, a Battery of Mortar-pieces, for to endeavour to drive the Enemies out of the third Part, which was left them of the Caſtle, and to make a Lodgment there without much Loſs. At the Attack of *Grondt*, the Houſes whereof the Beſieged had this Night burnt, the Works went ſtill on; leaving on the Left the Ravelin, which they poſſeſſed, and puſhing towards the Gate of the Caſtle of *Munſter*, which was, in the mean Time, continually battered by our Cannon. The Marquis *de Montpeſat* was killed at this Guard, this Day, in the Morning. We loſt there an Enginer, with ten or twelve Soldiers; and

and there were two Captains of Foot, and three inferior Officers wounded, with fifty Soldiers.

The ſame 23d, in the Evening, the Count *du Pleſſis*, Lieutenant-General, and the Sieur *de Morton*, Brigadier of Foot, relieved the Poſts of the Trenches on the Right with a Battalion of *Normandy*, and that of *Soiſſons*. The Sieur *d' Erlac*, Marſhal de Camp, relieved the Poſts on the Left with the Battalions of *Lyonnois* and *Turenne*. In the Night we extended, and perfected the two Lodgments on the Counterſcarp; and we wrought to make the Communication of the one with the other. The Beſieged ſprang a Mine under the Lodgment on the Left, but no Body was hurt by it, becauſe our Men were retired to free themſelves from a very great Number of Grenadoes and Fire-works, which the Enemies caſt there, during the Space of two Hours; we reſettled ourſelves there afterwards, much better than we were before. At Six in the Morning, the Enemies pretended they would make a Sally; but they durſt not advance, having ſeen our Grenadiers march towards them with great Reſolution. An Hour after, the Battery of three Pieces of Cannon began to play, and, at the ſame Time, we caſt Store of Bombs from the Battery of Mortar-pieces, which was behind it. The Fifth of theſe Bombs fell upon two or three-thouſand Grenadoes, which were in their Half-moon, and ſet them on Fire. The Fire was very great for above an Hour; and we ſaw in the Air Abundance of Hats and Pieces of Cloaths, which made us judge, that many of the Enemies were killed and wounded.

24th. Our Men charged the Mines of the Counterguard, and we battered, with two Pieces of Cannon, the Caponieres, which are in the Ditch, that runs along the Right-ſide of this Work. The great Battery of *Paffendal* continued to batter a Breach in the Face of the Caſtle, which looks toward this *Fauxbourg*; and we continued alſo to caſt therein Store of Bombs with good Succeſs. The Beſieged poſſeſſed no more of the Counterſcarp, but the Redan, which covers the Half-moon, and the two Parties were ſo near one another, that the Enemies, with Hooks, plucked away our Gabions and Faggots, and drew them into their Ditches: Theſe great Progreſſes began to ſhake the Beſieged. Two Run-aways, come from the Place to the Camp, affirmed, that the Colonels, and a Part of the Officers of the Gariſon, ſpoke of Capitulating, to preſerve their Soldiers; the Beſieged having [illegible] above ſix-hundred Men, killed or wounded, by our Bombs, or by Shot from the Trenches. Theſe Fugitives added, That the Inhabitants, and the Women, inceſſantly beſought the Prince *de Chimay* to prevent, by a Capitulation, the Miſeries whereunto they ſhould be expoſed, if they expected the laſt Extremities. The Beſiegers loſt, at this Guard, the Sieur *de Valorge*, Captain of the Grenadiers of *Lyonnois*, with eleven Soldiers; an Engineer, two inferior Officers, and about forty Soldiers, were wounded. My Lord *Howard*, Son to the Earl of *Carliſle*, who was a Volunteer, was mortally wounded, as he was giving Marks of a great Courage.

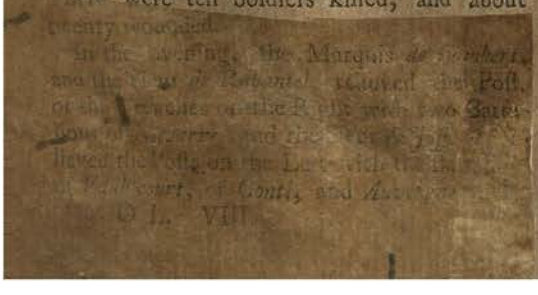
In the Evening, the Marquis *de Genlis*, and the Marquis *de Neſle*, mounted on the Right-hand of the Trenches with two Battalions of the Marine; and the Count *de Broglio* mounted on the Left with two Battalions of the Queen's. In the Night, the Enemies fired very fiercely, to drive the Beſiegers from their Lodgments, who yet failed not to keep themſelves there. They made alſo an Attempt againſt the Miners of the Counterguard, and were repelled, with the Loſs of ſome Soldiers. The Beſiegers abandoned the Attack of *Grondt*, after they had drawn thence their Cannon. At the Attack of the Caſtle of old *Munſter*, we brought two Pieces of Cannon, wherewith we made a Breach of twelve Paces in the Gate, which the Beſieged held; and we made two Batteries of Mortar-pieces, which continually caſt Bombs there. There were, at this Guard, five or ſix Soldiers killed, and about twenty wounded.

In the Evening of the 25th, the Sieur *de Joyeuſe* mounted on the Right w[illegible] and *Humieres*; and the Marqu[illegible] the Left, with the Crown and *V*[illegible] Beſieged, at the Beginning of t[illegible] ſo great a Quantity of Fire-wor[illegible] fiegers had no ſmall Difficulty [illegible] Powder they carried to char[illegible] They had already burnt two [illegible] who carried ſome in Bags. T[illegible] gan three Covered-ways upon [illegible] *Paffendal*, between the Place [illegible] Redoubts, for to go to the

Counterguard, when it ſhould be made. They continued to batter a Breach in the Point of the Half-moon, to ruin the Caponieres of the Ditch of the Counterguard, and to extend the Mine-work to the Right and Left of the Redan of the Counterſcarp, which the Beſieged were, in fine, obliged to quit. There were, at this Guard, a Captain of Foot, and ten or twelve Soldiers ſlain, and about twenty Soldiers wounded.

26th. In the Evening, the Count *de St. Geran*, and the Duke *de la Ferte*, relieved the Poſts of the Trenches on the Right with two Battalions of *Champagne*, and the Chevalier *de Tilladet* relieved the Poſts on the Left with the Battalions of *la Ferte*, *Conde*, and *Orleans*; the Battalion of *Enguien* went on the Side of the Caſtle. During the Night, the Beſiegers finiſhed the three Ways, begun on the Reverſe of *Paffendal*; they carried on the Mine-work, as far as the Bottom of the Ditch of the Counterguard; and they wrought at the Deſcent of the Ditch of the Half-moon, in the Point whereof, there was already a Breach for two Men to get up a-breaſt: There was not, however, any Appearance of hazarding to get up by this Breach, though it had been even greater, becauſe we were aſſured, that there were Mines there, and becauſe it was but in the firſt Envelope of the Half-moon, which was double. The Beſieged ſprang two Mines in the laſt Redan of the Counterſcarp; the firſt had not any Effect, and the other killed three Soldiers, and wounded nine or ten.

27th. In the Morning, we finiſhed the Charging of the Mine; and we made the Powder be carried by Soldiers, diſguiſed like Labourers: We made them be thus diſguiſed, becauſe we had, for ſome Time, obſerved, that the Beſieged ſhot not much at the Labourers, believing that they were Countrymen thereabouts, whom the Beſiegers conſtrained to work. We employed ourſelves diligently in cloſing the Mine, and diſpoſed all Things, with great Care, for ſpringing it the Morrow-morning, and for mounting afterwards to the Breach. There were ten Soldiers killed, and about



ring the Night, according to the Orders of the Marſhal *de Crequi*, we made all the Preparatives neceſſary for the Attack, which was to be made the Morrow-morning upon the Counterguard; and Things were diſpoſed with ſo much Prudence, that never any Action was begun and continued with better Order, leſs Confuſion, more Conſtancy, and greater Succeſs. At Break of Day, the Marquis *de la Freſeliere* put the Batteries in ſo good a State, that the Cannon of the Beſiegers played inceſſantly for two Hours. The Sieur *de Vigny* cauſed alſo the Batteries of the Mortar-pieces to be ordered with ſo much Care, that the Bombs, which fell without Diſcontinuation into the Baſtions, tormented the Beſieged. At the ſame Time, the Troops, which were to be employed upon this Attack, marched to the Rendezvous, aſſigned them by the Marſhal *de Crequi*; who, notwithſtanding his Indiſpoſition, and an Inciſion, which had been made in his Leg the Day before, cauſed himſelf to be carried to the Head of the Trenches, that he might there be nearer at Hand to give his Orders, and might put more Life into what was to be executed. The Grenadiers of *Vaubecourt* were deſtined to attack the right Side of the Counterguard of the Baſtion of *Barlemont*, after the Mine ſhould have had its Effect, being ſeconded by the two Companies of Grenadiers of *Piedmont*, and by an hundred Men of the Regiment of *Vaubecourt*, which had, at their Head, the Company of Grenadiers of the Regiment of *Auvergne*. The Grenadiers of *Conti* were commanded to attack a Redan, ruined by our Cannon, on the Left-ſide of the Counterguard, being backed by two Companies of Grenadiers of *Normandy*, one of the Royal, and an hundred Men of the Regiment of *Conti*. The two Companies of the Grenadiers of *Navarre* were appointed their Poſt on the Left-hand of the Attack of *Conti*, over-againſt the Buttreſs of the Baſtion of *Barlemont*, being ſeconded by the Companies of Grenadiers of the Marine of *Bourbonnois*, and of *Rovergue*, with an hundred Men of that Regiment. Each Regiment, in a Body, was to ſupport its Attack, except that of the Grenadiers of *Navarre*, which was maintained by the Battalion of *Rovergue*.

The Labourers were ranked in three Troops, with the Engineers, to be ready to march when the detached Troops ſhould have ſeized on the Breaches; and it was in fine reſolved,

that, as ſoon as the ſecond Mine was ſprung, they ſhould march by the Ways, which were ſhewn them. All Things being thus diſpoſed, about Four in the Morning, all the Troops, that were at the foremoſt Poſts, were cauſed to withdraw from the Trenches, to the End they might be out of the Fall of the Ruins, which the Mine might make. The Miners were alſo made go out of their Hole; and there were left only the Pikes, planted with the Colours, and ſome Soldiers, to hinder the Enemy from knowing the Deſign of the Beſiegers.

28th. About Seven in the Morning, the Mine was ſprung, and its Effect was very conſiderable. Nevertheleſs, the Aſcent of the Counterguard, and the other Works, was ſo rough and difficult, that the detached Men, who attacked at the ſame Time, that the Enemies might not have Leiſure to retrench themſelves, were obliged to ſcramble, and thruſt one another, to get to the Top of the Breach.

The Troops being advanced to ſeize on the Breaches, and make Lodgments there, according as it had been propoſed, thoſe, which marched firſt, extended themſelves under the Baſtion on the Left, where were thrown at them a great Number of Grenadoes. The others, which followed them, extended themſelves along the Curtain, and the Baſtion on the Right, at the Foot of the Breach; after which they aſcended together with much Order, to the Top of the Breach, to ſettle themſelves there. But thoſe, who advanced to the End of the Curtain, which joins the Baſtion on the Left, met with a vigorous Oppoſition.

At the ſame Time the Enemy ſprang two Mines in this Place, which obliged the commanded Men to retire to preſerve themſelves; but, having preſently recovered the Right-hand of theſe Mines with the other Troops, they chaced thence the Beſieged, and began on all Sides to ſettle the Lodgments, by Means of Abundance of Faggots, which were inceſſantly brought thither. The Troops, which were in the Baſtion on the Left, to reſettle themſelves there, were diſquieted by the Grenadoes, which the Beſieged caſt alſo from the Side of the Ditch. But we cauſed them to be driven by ſome Officers and Soldiers, as far as the Wall, which is on the Left, that goes down from the Place to the Ditch, and flanks the Baſtion of *Barlemont*, where they laboured to retrench themſelves.

The Beſieged, in their Retreat, ſet on Fire a little Magazine filled with Bombs, Grenadoes, and Powder, whereby many of the Beſiegers were killed or wounded. Four Companies of *Spaniſh* Foot defended the Counterguard, and the other Works, which are joined thereunto, were defended by Detachments. They made ſo obſtinate a D[illegible] Troops, though uſing their utmoſt Endeavours, had, for Half an Hour, much Difficulty to get Poſſeſſion of the Top of the Breach; the Place of itſelf being very high, and the Ruins of the Mine not being ſolid enough to make it firm. But, after a fierce Charge of Muſquets and Grenadoes, our Men ſo vigorouſly diſputed the Matter with the Sword's Point, that the Enemy was, with much Loſs, driven from this Poſt; and many *Spaniards*, who would not aſk Quarter, were cut in Pieces. Some carried on, with an extreme Deſire of ſignaliſing themſelves, went as far as the Ditch of the Place. The Lieutenant of the Grenadiers of *Revergne*, followed by ten or twelve, bore up with great Conſtancy, againſt the Charge of forty Maſters; and the greateſt Part of the Horſe was killed, and the reſt put to Flight by Help of the Firing of the Grenadiers, which were in the Counterguard. The Commandant was alſo killed by the Count *de Mailly*, who went to meet him, having ſeen him advance his Sword on high. Our Men would have made a Lodgment near the Ditch, over-againſt the Right-hand Front of the Baſtion; but the extraordinary Firing of the Beſieged, which killed us ſome Men, obliged them to take the Reſolution, to retire along the Battlements of the Wall. The Beſieged had placed three little Pieces on the Terraces, covered with Trees, on the Side of *Grondt*, having judged, that they ſhould be attacked thereabouts; and the Troops, which they played upon in the Flank, were very much incommoded by them; as alſo, by the Ordnance, which they had on the Flank of the Baſtion, oppoſite to that of *Barlemont*. There was not for five or ſix Hours any Intermiſſion of Firing. We loſt twenty or five and twenty Officers, with about threeſcore and ten Soldiers; and there were many wounded, amongſt whom, was the Chevalier *de Megrigny*, and the Sieur *de Marny*, Engineer. The Captains of the Grenadiers of *Bourbonnois* and *Conti* were killed. The Sieur *de Sainte Marthe*, Captain of the Grenadiers of *Auvergne*, and the Sieur *de Caſtillon*, Captain of *Navarre*,

Navarre, were wounded. The Marquis *Bourlemont*, Brother to the Duke of *d'Atri*, was ſlain. The Duke *de Choiſeut* was wounded with the Shiver of a Bomb, above the Left Eye, whereof he died ſome Days after; and the Vidame *de Laon*, Son to the Count *du Roy*, was wounded with a Muſquet-ſhot through the Body, both of them giving Teſtimonies of a ſingular Courage.

The Prince *de Conti*, and the Prince *de la Roche ſur Yon* expoſed themſelves to the greateſt Danger, with a Valour worthy their Birth, and the laſt received on the Stomach a Blow with a Stone. All the Volunteers ſignaliſed themſelves there, particularly, the Prince *de Tingry*, the Marquis *de Crequi*, the Count *de Luz*, the Count *d'Eſtrees*, the Marquis *de Thiange*, the Marquis *de Nogent*, and the Marquis *de la Batie*. The Duke of *Grafton*, and the Duke of *Northumberland*, his Brother, and many other *Engliſh* Lords, who came to the Siege in Quality of Volunteers, ſignaliſed themſelves on this Occaſion.

The Sieur *de Vauban*, Marſhal de Camp, was one of the firſt in the Counterguard, and gave there with his ordinary Sufficiency Orders, very beneficial for the Security and Continuation of the Lodgments, which were made there.

All the Foot, which were at this Action, acquitted themſelves very well of their Devoirs; and many Soldiers made themſelves be taken Notice of.

It was neceſſary, after the Effect of the Mine, and the Lodgment built upon the Counterguard, to make a Deſcent into the Ditch. The Count *du Pleſſis*, Lieutenant-General for the Day, undertook this Care with all the Succeſs, that could be expected.

He made the Ditch be viewed; he killed, or put to Flight, all the Enemies that were found before him; and afterwards cauſed the Lodgments to be made, notwithſtanding all the Effects of the Beſieged, who caſt, from above the Baſtions, a prodigious Quantity of Grenadoes, Bombs, and Fire-works upon the Workmen and Soldiers. He received, under the Elbow, a Blow with the Glancing of a Grenado, which made him for ſome Time unable to ſtir it. He ceaſed not to continue preſent, at the Work of the Lodgment, till ſuch Time as it was extended from the Gate of the Gallery of the Counterguard, which leads to the Ditch, as far as the Baſtion of *Barlemont*, which made fifteen Toiſes. Two Hours after, he put the Miners to work in two Places, one upon the Right, towards the Point of the Baſtion, and the other on the Left, drawing towards the Flank, the Enemy not being able to incommode them.

The Works were continued the 30th, and the 31ſt, with much Succeſs; and we will give you the Particulars thereof, in the following Relations.

May the 29th. In the Evening, the Count *du Pleſſis*, Lieutenant-General, mounted the fifth Time the Trenches; and made the Deſcent of the Ditch, with very good Succeſs.

30th. In the Morning, we attacked the third Diviſion of the Caſtle of *Old Munſter*; and made ourſelves Maſters of it, after ſome Reſiſtance of the Enemies. They ſoon quitted this Work to retire upon the Rampart, hoping, by their fierce Firing, to hinder our Men from lodging there. About Two in the Afternoon, a Company of the Grenadiers of *Revergue*, one of *Languedoc*, and two of Fuzeliers, ſupported by a Battalion of that Regiment, wholly carried this Caſtle. The Beſieged had raiſed behind the Diviſion a Battery of three Pieces. We could not go to them, above ſeven or eight abreaſt; and we were expoſed to the Shot of the Place. Nevertheleſs, they abandoned this Poſt, near Half an Hour before the Beſiegers came againſt it, and left there their Cannon all charged. Our Men made afterwards many winding Traverſes, to lodge themſelves ſafely upon the Brink of the Ditch; where they extended themſelves, as much as the Groundwork could permit. An Engineer, and fourteen or fifteen Soldiers, were killed upon this Occaſion, and there were about forty wounded. About Five, in the Evening, the Enemies quitted the Half-Moon of the Counterguard, which they ſtill held at the great Attack. The General Officers of the Guard, having been advertiſed thereof, thought fit, before they ſeized this Work, to ſend ſome Men by the Breach, which was at the Point of the Counterguard, to ſee whether there were no Mines, and to open thoſe, they ſhould find there. There were happily diſcovered under the Counterguard the Trains of thirteen or fourteen Toiſes of Mines, which were all charged. We took thence the Powder, and we detached Workmen to make a Lodgment, which exte-

riorly embraced all the Parapets. We delayed to put People into the Half-Moon, till we had had Time to ſearch the Mines, which was done the following Night. We found there two Pieces of Cannon, which the Enemies had left, and we judged thereby, that Fear had made them retire from this Half Moon. The Sieur *Pariſee*, Major of *Cambray*, Engineer, was wounded with a Piece of a Grenado, on the Stomach, as he was ſetting the Miner to the Baſtion of the Place,

30th. In the Evening, the Sieur *de Toyeuſe*, Lieutenant-General, the Sieur *d'Erlec*, and the Marquis *de Neſle*, relieved the Trenches, with two Battalions of the Marine, and two of the Queen's. We finiſhed, during the Night, a Battery of two Pieces of Cannon, which had been begun upon the Counterguard on the Left; and we carried on by the Mine-work about twenty Toiſes of a Trench, drawing from the Counterguard to the Curtain, which is on the Reverſe of *Paffendal*.

31ſt. We continued to work to make the Deſcent of the Ditch; and to erect a Battery of three Pieces of Cannon on the ſame Ditch, which were to play with another Battery of ſeven Pieces, which had begun, in the Morning, to fire briskly againſt a Baſtion, which remained before the Beſiegers, to hinder them, from entering the Place. We wrought alſo, upon all that was neceſſary for the Springing ſeveral Mines, to the End, to give afterwards the Aſſault, in Caſe the Enemies ſhewed no Deſign to yield.

But the Prince *de Chimay*, knowing that the Town was no longer defenſible, and ſeeing himſelf preſſed by the principal Officers of the Gariſon, and by the Townſmen, to prevent the Misfortunes, which befal a Place, taken by Aſſault, cauſed, *June* the 1ſt, a Parley to be beaten, and demanded to capitulate. Hoſtages were ſoon ſent on both Sides, and all Acts of Hoſtility ceaſed. The Prince *de Chimay* deſired a Truce for ſome Days, that he might ſend to *Bruxelles*, to repreſent to the Marquis *de Grana* the Extremity wherein he was: He added thereunto ſome other Requeſts; but the Marſhal *de Crequi* thought not fit to grant him any of them. The Truce was thus broken, and, the ſame Evening, the Beſieged and the Beſiegers began to fire upon one another.

2d. We perceived a white Cloth, whereby, the Townſmen would declare, that they would no longer defend themſelves, nor ſhoot any more. But the Gariſon ceaſed not to fire at us with their Muſquets, all the Night; and our Men fired alſo briſkly both their Muſquet and Cannon, to anſwer them.

3d. The Firing of the Beſieged diminiſhed by Degrees till Ten o' Clock, when they intirely left off to ſhoot and appear. They were above Half an Hour in this Condition; and, in fine, ſeeing that the Beſiegers erected in the Ditch a Battery of four great Pieces, they made appear at the Attack, where the Prince of *Conti* was, ſome Men who made a Shew of deſiring to ſpeak. We could ſcarce make them leave Firing on our Side, that we might hear them. They ſaid, that the Beſieged had beaten a Parley on the Side of the Caſtle; and deſired, that we would not level our Cannon. They were anſwered, that the Beſieged ſhould beat the Parley on the Side where they cauſed the Battery to be erected, and that they ſhould ceaſe Working. They ſaid, they expected a Drum; in the mean Time the Work was diſcontinued, and, in fine, the Drum arrived. He cried out, after he had beaten, that they had made this Call to capitulate. Some Time after the Hoſtages were brought to the Guard of the Trenches, where the Prince *de Conti* was; and he ſent them to the Marſhal *de Crequi*, who ſent alſo his into the Town. The Deputies arrived afterwards at the Camp with the Articles of Capitulation, which the Prince *de Chimay* demanded. There was one in Favour of the Deſerters of our Troops, for whom the Beſieged demanded an Amneſty; and another to obtain four Pieces of Cannon, which were not granted.

After many Difficulties, the Capitulation was, in fine, regulated and ſigned; the Extract whereof follows.

The Articles and Capitulation of the Town of Luxembourg.

I. THE Prince *de Chimay*, Governor, the Intendant, the Commiſſaries of the Armies and Proviſions, the Officers of the Ordnance and of the Troops, and all the Gariſon, their Families, Domeſticks, and Servants, ſhall go forth of the Town in full Liberty,

body, with their Moveables and Effects, and, without having their Baggage viſited, they ſhall be conducted by the Paſſage of the *Moule* to *Stoken*, or the Places thereabouts; and they ſhall not, in any Sort, be moleſted by our Troops for the Space of four Days; during which, they may take the Way of *Louvain*, or of *Malines*, without being any Way oppoſed.

II. The Foot ſhall go out by the Breach of the Caſtle, taking their Way by the Gate of *Paffendal*; and the Horſe, Artillery, and Baggage by the ſame Gate, or ſuch other as the Governor ſhall think fit, with Arms and Baggage, Drums beating, Trumpets ſounding, Colours flying, Match lighted at both Ends, Ball in Mouth, with two Pieces of Ordnance of Braſs, to wit, two Demi-cannons; beſides which, the Marſhal *de Crequi* gave them two others, which make in all four Cannons, and one Mortar-piece, in Reſpect to the Prince *de Chimay*, with their Carriages, Furniture, and Ammunition, neceſſary for ſix Charges for each Piece; and, to this Purpoſe, the Beſiegers ſhall furniſh them with Carts, Horſes, Harneſs, and other Things neceſſary for their Carriage and Remove.

III. There are granted three-hundred Carts, and more, if Need be, for the Carriage of the Baggage, Mails, and Effects, which can be removed.

IV. The Gariſon ſhall not march above two Leagues the Day of their going forth, and three the Day following. The Commiſſaries, which ſhall be at the Conduct, provide for their Subſiſtence; and they may, at Parting, take Bread and Meat for five Days.

V. Concerning Deſerters.

VI. The Priſoners ſhall be rendered on both Sides without Ranſom; but thoſe, which have been rendered before this Capitulation, ſhall not be freed from paying their Ranſoms.

VII. There ſhall be Care taken of the Sick and Wounded which cannot be removed.

VIII. The Spoils, already taken, ſhall be enjoyed by thoſe that have them.

IX. The Wives and Widows of the Officers and Soldiers ſhall have Liberty, if they will, to remain in the Town.

X. The Inhabitants ſhall enjoy all their Franchiſes, as they were before the Siege.

XI. There ſhall be granted ſix Months to the Officers and Soldiers for to diſpoſe of their Eſtates.

XII. The Military Officers ſhall not be arreſted for Debt on the Day of their going forth; but they ſhall give Sureties and Promiſes to pay.

XIII. The Receiver, and Commiſſaries of the Proviſions, ſhall not be ſearched.

XIV. The Officers and Soldiers of the Beſiegers ſhall approach no nearer the Place than their Works, till the Day of the Gariſon's going forth.

Articles concerning the States of the Town.

XV. There ſhall remain no other Inhabitants, but thoſe that ſhall make Profeſſion of the Catholick, Apoſtolick, and *Roman* Religion.

XVI. Concerns the Pretenſions of the Prelates, Nobles, and Deputies of the Towns, repreſenting the three Eſtates.

XVII. The Officers of the Council, and others, ſhall continue in their Offices.

XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, and XXVI Articles, which concern the particular Privileges of the Country and Territories depending on the Duchy of *Luxembourg*.

XXII. There ſhall be an Agreement made with the Marquis *de la Freſiliere* for the Bells and Metals which belong to the Artillery.

XXVII. The Officers and Soldiers, which continue in the Service of his Majeſty's Enemies, ſhall be ſubject to the Pains appointed by the Ordinances.

XXVIII. Orders the Regiſtering of the Capitulation.

XXIX. The Gariſon ſhall be obliged to go forth of the Place on *Wedneſday* the Seventh of this preſent Month of *June*, at fartheſt, by Noon; and ſhall, at Eight in the Morning, put into the Hands of the Beſiegers a Gate, which ſhall be taken into Poſſeſſion by an hundred Men of the ancienteſt Regiments, near which the Beſieged may, for their Security, put a Guard; that, for the Security of the Gariſon, ſhall be given three Hoſtages of equal Condition, and the Articles ſigned double by the Marſhal *de Crequi* and the Prince *de Chimay*; and that the Inventories of Pieces of Ordnance, Proviſions for War, and Victuals, which are in the Town, ſhall be faithfully delivered up.

According

According to this Capitulation, the Garison went out of the Town, the Seventh of this Month in the Morning, to the Number of about twelve-thousand Men, the Prince *de Chimay* marching at their Head.

A List of the Officers which have been killed, or wounded, during the Siege of Luxembourg.

THE Marquis *de Humieres*, Colonel of Foot, killed.

The Count *de Tonneree*, Colonel of the Regiment of *Orleans*, wounded.

The Marquis *de la Valette*, Brigadier of Horse, wounded.

Volunteers killed.

The Marquis *de Montpesat.*
——— *de Bourlemont d' Anglure.*

Volunteers wounded.

The Duke *de Choiseul.*
The Vidame *de Laon.*
My Lord *Howard*, Son to the Earl of *Carliste.*

These Three dead of their Wounds.
The Chevalier *de Megrigny.*
The Sieur *de la Caillemotte.*

Of the Regiment of Champagne.

Captains wounded.

The Chevalier *de Mablanc.*
The Sieur *de St. Clement.*
——— *Mablanc*, the elder.
——— *Gasquet.*
——— *Bousquetardon.*
——— *du Plessis*, Aid-Major.

Lieutenants killed.

The Sieur *de Laval.*
——— *Desmoulins.*

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *de la Villette.*
——— *Dandron.*
——— *Tillieu.*
——— *la Bastide.*
——— *Bellies.*
——— *St. Hippolite.*

The Sieur *Pradel.*
——— *Beauregard.*
——— *Dagare.*

Of the Regiment of Vaubecourt.

The Sieur *de Lispinay*, Captain, killed.

Captains wounded.

The Sieur *de Constaty.*
——— *d' Arman.*
——— *de Chaulnes.*
——— *la Combe.*

The Sieur *de Beaulieu*, Lieutenant, killed.

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *de St. Franc.*
——— *la Boissiere.*
——— *Vendal.*
——— *la Combe.*

The Sieur *de Bonvouloir*, Sub-Lieutenant, killed.

Of the Regiment of Anjou.

Captains wounded.

The Sieur *Durant.*
——— *Extremos.*
——— *Battinguant.*
——— *de Maure.*
——— *de Mont.*

The Sieur *Loumagne*, Lieutenant, wounded.

Of the Regiment of [illegible]

Captains killed.

The Sieur [illegible]
——— [illegible]

Captains wounded.

The Sieur *de la Rodie.*
——— *Lanty.*
——— *Noſce.*
——— *St. Bonnet.*
——— *d' Aubarede.*
——— *Picquet.*

The Sieur *de Renoncourt*, Lieutenant, killed.

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *de Montefaux.*
——— *la Vignerie.*
——— *Choiſé.*
——— *Fumé*

Of the Regiment of Navarre.

Captains wounded.

The Sieur *Darignac*, Major.
——— *du Pont.*
——— *la Harliere.*
——— *Carbonnieux.*
——— *Rieutor.*
——— *Sormel.*
——— *du Ribal.*
——— *la Foreſt.*
——— *Moſſan.*
——— *la Salle.*
——— *Maſſiliac.*
——— *Caſtillon.*
——— *Macaye.*
——— *Deſus.*
——— *du Pre.*

Lieutenants killed.

The Sieur *de la Tournelle.*
——— *Puget.*
——— *du Ham.*

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *d' Orgeval.*
——— *des Eſſarts.*
——— *Carignan.*
——— *Bevilliers.*

Of the Royal Regiment.

Captains wounded.

The Sieur *de Montmelian.*
The Sieur *Dorigny.*
——— *Corbé.*
——— *la Fuitte.*

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *de la Croix.*
——— *Boulanger.*
——— *du Beuil.*
——— *Sainte-Maiſon.*

The Sieur *Paco*, Sub-Lieutenant, wounded.

Of the Regiment of Enguien.

The Sieur *de Toury*, Captain, wounded.

The Sieur *de Bichot*, Lieutenant, killed.

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *du Bouy.*
——— *Ferrant.*

Of the Regiment of Piedmont.

Captains wounded.

The Sieur *d'Ormois.*
——— *Tavagny*, Aid-Major.
——— *Chadigny*,
——— *Chaſtré.*
——— *Siccard.*
——— *Merie.*
——— *Sainte Marie.*
——— *Dezers.*
——— *Lamanon.*
——— *la Fleur.*
——— *Robert.*

Of the Regiment of Auvergne.

Captains wounded.

The Sieur *de Sainte Marthe.*
——— *Rigal.*
——— *Dargon.*

The Sieur *du Gloſt*, Lieutenant, killed.

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *Loger.*
——— *Breyne.*

The

The Sieur *Fournier.*
The Father Almoner of the Regiment.

Of the Regiment of Lyonnois.

The Sieur *de Valorge*, Captain, killed.

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *de Lavore.*
The Chevalier *de Raouſſet.*
The Sieur *Broccard.*
——— *Saligny.*
——— *le Normand.*
——— *St. Jean.*
——— *Pelou.*
——— *la Tour.*
——— *Chaudel*, Aid-major.

Of the Regiment of Conti.

The Sieur *de Gour*, Major, killed.
——— *de Moreuil*, Captain, killed.

Captains wounded.

The Sieur *de St. Ange.*
——— *St. Seve.*
——— *Coulange.*
——— *Marege.*
——— *Romieu.*

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *de Fenneton.*
——— *Faruze.*
——— *de Vaux.*
——— *la Tour.*
——— *la Semmerie.*
——— *Buſſi du Mine.*
——— *du Peroux.*

Of the Regiment of Normandy.

Captains wounded.

The Sieur *de Liſle.*
——— *Polignant.*

The Sieur *de la Roque-Inpugeade*, Lieutenant, killed.

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *de Givreſac.*
——— *Langon*, dead of his Wounds.
The Chevalier *Dus.*
The Sieur *la Martine.*

Of the Regiment of the Crown.

Captains wounded.

The Sieur *de la Forcade.*
——— *de Pille.*

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *de Novion.*
——— *Malvoiſin.*
——— *Fluſi.*
——— *Charlet.*

Of the Regiment of Conde.

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *de la Guezeric.*
——— *Baumi.*
——— *Canac.*
——— *de Jean.*

Of the Regiment of la Chaſtre.

Captains wounded.

The Sieur *Milon.*
——— *Boiſlandry.*

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *Durant.*
——— *la Salle.*
——— *Perré.*
——— *Brucaval.*

Of the Regiment of Turenne.

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur [illegible]
——— [illegible]

Of the Regiment of Soiſſons.

Captains wounded.

The Sieur *de Farnanville.*
——— *Mignare, de la Colonelle,* Lieutenant, wounded.
——— *de la Borde.*

Of the Regiment of Bourbonnois.

The Sieur *Piblard,* Captain, killed.
——— *Dhiery,* Captain, wounded.

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *de Camperſan.*
——— *Baudouin.*
——— *Salure.*
——— *la Bruyere.*

Of the Regiment of Rovergue.

Captains wounded.

The Sieur *Daffeſq.*
——— *Fregere.*
——— *Deſcombies.*

The Sieur *de Luzam,* Lieutenant, killed.

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *de Monblane.*
——— *Bienfait.*
——— *Valonne.*
——— *Meuſnier.*

Of the Regiment of Burgundy.

Captains wounded.

The Sieur *de Belcaſtel.*
——— *la Sibliere.*
——— *Saint Vincent.*

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *de Bourdeſoulle.*
——— *la Pauze.*
——— *Maiſon-Neuve.*
The Sieur *la Fuye.*
——— *Chircourt.*
——— *du Coutroye.*
——— *Ferrandiere.*

Of the Regiment of Vermandois.

Captains wounded.

The Sieur *de la Touche.*
——— *Savigny.*
——— *la Factiere.*

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *Arnault.*
——— *de Daix.*
——— *Amiere.*
——— *Vergeuſe.*

Of the Regiment of Languedoc.

The Sieur *de St. Leger,* Captain, wounded.

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *Olivier.*
——— *St. Martin.*
——— *Goviabat.*
——— *Rouville.*
——— *Langlois.*
——— *Marelau.*
——— *Mareſtan.*
——— *Bonafaux.*

Of the Regiment of Hamilton.

The Sieur *de St. Geniés,* Captain, wounded.
——— *de la Moline,* Lieutenant, wounded.

Of the Regiment of Fuſiliers.

The Sieur *Darquet,* Captain, killed.

Captains wounded.

The Sieur *Paſchal.*
——— *d' Mouene.*
——— *Rabar.*

Lieutenants wounded.

The Sieur *de la Vigne.*
——— *de la Garde*, dead of his Wounds.

Of the Marine Regiment.

The Sieur *St. Franc*, Captain, killed.

Officers of the Artillery.

The Sieur *de Chevrigny*, Provincial Commiſſary, wounded.
——— *de Cavées*, Commiſſary of the Artillery, ſlain.

Commiſſaries of the Artillery wounded.

The Sieur *de Fleury.*
——— *de Cret.*
——— *Villedot.*
——— *de la Loutardiere*, Aid de Camp.

Captains of the Veſſels wounded.

The Sieur *du Fort.*
The Sieur *Roquefeuville.*
——— *Gruillon.*

Engineers killed.

The Sieur *de Chaſtillon.*
——— *Perrault.*

Engineers wounded.

The Sieur *Pariſot.*
——— *Rouſelot.*
——— *d'Harmant.*
——— *le Pautre.*
——— *Racine.*
——— *Grand Combe.*
——— *Deſpagne*, the Younger.
——— *Mace.*
——— *Morin.*
——— *Pauhome.*

Father *Maximilian*, a Recollect, wounded in the Trenches.

There were between four or five-hundred Soldiers killed, and about Seven-hundred wounded.

The Beſieged loſt above eight-hundred Men.

A Juſtifi-

A Juſtification of the preſent War againſt the United *Netherlands*. Wherein the Declaration of his Majeſty is vindicated, and the War proved to be juſt, honourable, and neceſſary; the Dominion of the Sea explained, and his Majeſty's Rights thereunto aſſerted; the Obligations of the *Dutch* to *England*, and their continual Ingratitude: In Anſwer to a *Dutch* Treatiſe, intitled, *Conſiderations upon the preſent State of the United* Netherlands. By an *Engliſhman*.

Pompeii *omne Conſilium Themiſtocleum eſt: Exiſtimat enim, qui Mare teneat, eum neceſſe rerum potiri.*
Cicero ad *Atticum*, Lib. x. Ep. 7.

Pudebat nobilem *populum*, *ablato* mari, *raptis* inſulis, *dare* tributa *quæ jubere conſueverat.* Lucius Florus.

London, printed for *Henry Hills* and *John Starkey*, and are to be Sold at the *Bell* in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, and the *Mitre* within *Temple-Bar*, 1672. *Quarto*, containing eighty-eight Pages.

The Author to the Reader.

SINCE *the Author of the* Conſiderations *is pleaſed to conceal his Name, and ſuffer his Book to paſs as, the Work of a private Perſon; it ſeems requiſite, that I do declare this enſuing Treatiſe to proceed from an Hand, not leſs private, if not more; and this I am the more obliged to own, leſt by any Miſtake of mine, through Haſte, Ignorance, or Miſinformation, ſome Prejudice might be created againſt the juſt and unqueſtionable Rights of his Majeſty. The Intereſts of Princes are not proper Subjects for ordinary Pens; yet in this Juncture of our Affairs, in theſe Times of univerſal Danger, I hope my Attempt ſhall not be liable to Miſconſtruction, ſince it hath no other Source and Original, than the Service of my King and native Country; and I do profeſs, that I have not, to my Knowledge, made Uſe of any officious Untruths, nor in any Allegation, or Aſſeveration, impoſed upon the credulous Reader; nor have I aſſerted the leſs probable Opinions at any Time, out of Compliance with the preſent Exigencies of State, in Oppoſition to thoſe which*

 are

are ſtrengthened with greater Authority and Reaſon. I have thoroughly convinced myſelf in the firſt Place, and therefore hope the Diſcourſe may prove more ſatisfactory unto all others. The infant Republick of the United Netherlands, *after that it had got ſome conſiderable Strength by the Aſſiſtance of* England, *began to be ſenſible of the Advantages they drew from Navigation, and how neceſſary it was for them, not only to open the Commerce unto both* Indies, *but to ſecure themſelves of the Fiſhing in the* Britiſh *Seas: The Death of Queen* Eliſabeth *(who would otherwiſe have been jealous of their growing Power, and tender of her own Rights) together with the peaceable Diſpoſition of King* James, *ſeemed to make Way for their ambitious Deſigns; and the Cabal of* Holland, *whereof* Grotius *was one, did publiſh an anonymous Treatiſe, called,* Mare Liberum, *wherein the Freedom of the Sea, to navigate, or fiſh in, was maintained as a due Right of Mankind, according to the Law of Nature, and Nations; which Foundation they eſteemed more ſuitable to their Ends, than if they ſhould depend upon a revocable Privilege, or tacit Permiſſion. The Book was the leſs reſented at that Time, becauſe it was in Appearance levelled againſt the* Spaniſh Indies, *and the Prohibition of Commerce there; and then all* Europe *was willing to ſee the Pride and Power of* Spain *abated by any Means. Howſoever, King* James *was angry at the pretended Liberty of Fiſhing, and his Ambaſſador* Charleton *complained thereof to the States; but they never avowed the Principles, but owned the Rights of King* James, *though indeed ſlighted them, and uſurped upon the Fiſhing, in ſuch Manner, as I have ſhewed in this Treatiſe. That ſingle Book hath occaſioned a Multitude of Diſcourſes upon that Subject; Mr.* Selden *defended the* Engliſh *Dominion over the* Britiſh *Seas: Others that of* Venice, *and* Genoa: *The* Dutch *Advocates undermining by their Writings all the Regalities of Princes, as their Maſters have done by their Actions. After that the Troubles of* Scotland *and* England *had diſabled King* Charles the Firſt, *from attending unto the Dominion of the Sea, according as he moſt generouſly purpoſed, the* Dutch *thought that the* Engliſh, *being weakened with the Civil Wars, and diſtracted with inteſtine Factions, by Reaſon of the Alteration of the Government, could not reſiſt their Ambition, ſhould they uſurp the Univerſal Dominion of the Seas; and to ſecure themſelves therein, they ſent* Van Tromp *to deſtroy the* Engliſh *Navy, without declaring any War; but neither did that Attempt, nor the War enſuing thereupon, proſper, as they hoped they would. But ever ſince that fierce War, they have determined upon the ruining the* Engliſh *Navigation, and not only to exclude the* Engliſh *from the* Eaſt-India *Trade, but to expel them from, and deprive them of the Dominion of the* Britiſh *Seas. It is a received Aphoriſm amongſt the* Hollanders, *that the flouriſhing Condition of* England *is a Diminution of their Glory; alſo, that Trade, and the Repute of Strength, are inſeparably linked together, and hereupon they have ſo many Ways contributed to the Embroiling of our Kingdoms, and omitted nothing that might repreſent us as ridiculous and contemptible unto foreign Princes. After they had uſurped the Fiſhery, they began to aſſume a Freedom to act all Manner of Hoſtilities upon our Allies (if at Enmity with them) not only upon our Seas, but in our Ports; and hereof there are many Inſtances, beſides the Deſtruction of the* Spaniſh *Fleet, in* 1639. *After this, their Pride increaſing with their Power, they refuſed to ſtrike Sail to our Ships of War; now they will allow it to be but a Ceremony and Civility, and diſpute the Paying thereof, unleſs we come up to ſuch Terms as are inſupportable. Thus by Degrees they have reduced the Nation to the preſent Weakneſs and Contempt; nor can any Conceſſions, any Indulgence, ſatisfy their Ambition and Covetouſneſs: They who covet all will not acquieſce in any Grants that are not anſwerable to their Deſires, how unjuſt or vaſt ſoever they be. And their Friendſhips is better purchaſed*

purchaſed by a briſk Oppoſition, than Complaiſance. If we look upon the Number and Quality of the Injuries which we have received from the Dutch, *the* Turks *of* Algiers, *and* Tunis, *are leſs offenſive, and leſs perfidious. If we conſider the Courſes, by which the* Dutch *attack us, the* Algerines *are more ſupportable to an* Engliſh *Spirit, ſince they act by Force, and open Piracy, what the* Hollanders *do by Fineneſs and Deceit: And ſince it is our Unhappineſs to have ſo ill Neighbours, that we muſt either fall by a lingering and inglorious Death, or hazard, by War, a more precipitate End; I think his Majeſty hath made that Choice which is moſt conformable to the Genius and Temperament of his Subjects; and inſtigated by his Honour, Juſtice, and Neceſſity, put into the Hands of the* Engliſh *an Opportunity at leaſt of periſhing bravely. But, as we ought not in a righteous Cauſe to diſtruſt the Mercy of God, ſo upon ſo auſpicious a Beginning as the Lord of Hoſts hath favoured us with, under the Conduct of our undaunted Admiral, we may hope for a proſperous Succeſs, over our treacherous and ungrateful Enemies. It becomes the Nation now to expreſs their generous Reſolution and Courage, whereby the firſt Advantages may be timely and vigorouſly purſued. It is true, War is expenſive; yet it is not to be eſteemed ſo, when the Effects of Peace will be more fatal, and coſt us more: It is expenſive, yet in the Beginnings of War, even Prodigality is Wiſdom; and he that lays out moſt lays out leaſt. Small Supplies may foment and continue a War, but great ones put a ſpeedy End thereunto. Let us then ſhew ourſelves unanimous and reſolute: Let us add to our uſual Boldneſs all that Fury which Deſpair infuſeth: Our Circumſtances are ſuch as admit of no After-game; either we muſt be the diſtreſſed Kingdom of* England, *or they once more the diſtreſſed States of* Holland; *and it will be more inſupportable for us to fall into a Condition, we never yet underſtood, than for them, who return only to their primitive Eſtate. The* Dutch *preſume not ſo much upon their own Strength, as upon our Diviſions, Animoſities, and Poverty. Let us undeceive them in theſe Surmiſes; let us convince them, that the* Engliſh *have yet much to give, as well as all to loſe; and that they can abandon all private Emulations and Jealouſies, where the Publick is ſo highly endangered; and either totally extinguiſh them, or lay them aſide till they have a more fitting Time to reſume them. If we can form our Minds to ſuch Sentiments as theſe, we may have in a ſhort Space, what Peace we deſire; if we act by other Principles, we can have no Peace, but what pleaſeth the inſolent and enraged* Hollander.

WHEN I peruſed the Treatiſe, intitled, *Conſiderations upon the preſent State of the United Netherlands*, I could not but recal to Mind that Raillery of *Charles the Fifth*, who, when he adjuſted the Uſefulneſs of ſeveral *European* Languages, ſaid, That the *Dutch* was fitteſt to be uſed unto an Horſe. Certainly, the Expreſſions they uſe againſt his ſacred Majeſty, the preſent King of *Great-Britain*, are ſo rude and barbarous, the Suggeſtions ſo palpably falſe, that, in a Controverſy betwixt private Perſons, ſuch a Procedure were intolerable in any Part of the civil World? How much more then ought we to reſent it, where the Dignity and Honour of our Prince (upon whoſe Reputation Abroad and at Home), not only the national Renown, and general Commerce, but the Welfare and Being of each particular Man is ſuſpended, is concerned? I do not endeavour to ſerve the preſent Juncture by this high Inſinuation of what Importance it is, that the Majeſty of our Sovereign be upheld; I do not act any Thing of the Courtier herein; it is a Document of the beſt Politicians, and the Experience of all Ages doth confirm it for a Truth: It is no vain, or empty Deſign, for a Prince to preſerve that Credit and Renown which appertains unto his Quality; it is hereby, that he ſhall inſure himſelf of thoſe that waver in their Friendſhip or Allegiance; it is hereby, that he ſhall retain his Armies in Diſcipline and Courage; it is hereby, that he ſhall continue in his other Subjects their due Reverence and Reſpect: In fine, the Reputation of a Prince is all in all; and,

that

that being once loſt, the moſt powerful and prudent Remedies become ineffectual to the Support of his Crown, and Tranquillity of his Dominions. Neither do I upbraid the *Dutch* with the Violation of thoſe Edicts, whereby Chriſtianity regulates Men ſo in their Deportments, as, Not to ſpeak Evil of Dignities; not to blaſpheme the Gods, or Magiſtrates; being reviled, not ſo much as to revile again; whatſoever Things are juſt, whatſoever Things are honeſt, whatſoever Things are of good Report, if there be any Praiſe, if there be any Glory, to think thereof: No, no, I ſhould injure *Chriſtendom* to reckon the United *Netherlands* a Part thereof; ſuch are their Practices, that it is a Crime in them to profeſs that Religion, and a great Miſtake in thoſe that intitle them thereunto: I know not, whether I do not ſpeak too mildly concerning thoſe deluded Perſons, ſince it is a wilful Error in them that imagine ſo; the *Dutch* themſelves have avowed it, and thoſe that managed their Trade in *Japan*, when the Chriſtians there, at the Inſtigation of the *Dutch*, were all, by horrible Tortures, put to Death, and every Houſekeeper enjoined to declare in Writing, That he was neither a Chriſtian, nor retained any Chriſtians in his Family; *Melchoir Santvoort*, and *Vincentius Romeyn*, ſubſcribed themſelves, That they were *Hollanders*; moſt impiouſly, for Lucre's Sake, declining that Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, to which Chriſt and his Apoſtles oblige them. If they were aſhamed or afraid to acknowledge Chriſt then, I know what our Saviour will do to them hereafter; and, if we be aſhamed to own them now, or poſitive in Denying them to be Chriſtians now, we are juſtified by an infallible Authority. I would willingly palliate the Matter, by caſting the Scandal upon a few particular Perſons, who might be ſurpriſed with the imminent Danger at that Time: But their Reputation is not to be ſalved ſo; for the Conditions (upon which the Trade continues to be managed there, with the Knowledge and Approbation of the States-General) and the Provincials of *Holland*, are theſe:

They are, at their firſt Arrival, faithfully to deliver up all the Books, which they bring along with them to *Japan* (not a Bible, or Prayer-book, is reſerved) which are not be reſtored till their Departure again. They are to refrain from all Manner of outward Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, in Word or Deed, amongſt the *Japanners*; inſomuch that it is Death and Confiſcation of their Ships and Goods, if they do ſo much as verbally give God Thanks for the Meat they eat, or, by any Motion of their Hands or Eyes, teſtify any Inclination thereunto. Upon theſe Terms, the Emperor permitted them to trade thither; the Conditions were ſent into *Holland* to be approved of there, it being added in the Cloſe of the Letter, That, if they did make any of the leaſt Shew that they were Chriſtians, they ſhould not obtain any Favour at the Hands of the Emperor. And the *Dutch* have ſo exactly ſubmitted to theſe Conditions, and do ſo abſolutely, in Words and Deeds, diſſemble their Chriſtianity, that, not only the common People, but the Rulers and Magiſtrates of *Japan*, do really believe, That they are as perfect Heathens as themſelves. What would thoſe ancient Chriſtians do to theſe irreligious *Hollanders*? What Sentiments would they entertain againſt theſe Practices, who proceeded ſo ſeverely againſt ſuch of their Number heretofore, as did, amidſt a fierce Perſecution, deliver up the ſacred Scriptures into the Hands of the *Paynims*? * With what Zeal would they exterminate theſe *Traditores*, theſe *Gnoſticks* out of the Church, and ſacred Society of Chriſtians? I cannot parallel theſe Actions with any Exorbitancies of the primitive Hereticks, how deteſtable ſoever they were. But it is moſt manifeſt, that, by their Rigour againſt thoſe *Traditores*, &c. they would have ejected the *Hollanders* out of the Number of Chriſtians, and anathematiſed them above any upon Record, ſince the *Dutch* act that for Gain, which no Terrors could excuſe under a *Dioclefian*, or *Maximianus*. Whatſoever may be alledged in Behalf of *Vincentius Romeyn* and his Aſſociates, if any Thing can be ſaid, extends not to the ſubſequent Traders; and, even before the Perſecution in *Japan*, the *Hollanders* demeaned themſelves no otherwiſe than afterwards; for, amongſt the Motives which induced the Emperor of *Japan* to allow them to trade, it is expreſly ſaid, That he permitted them this Liberty, becauſe that, during the

* The *Portugueſe* refuſed to trade there upon thoſe Terms. Which are the beſt Chriſtians, thoſe *Papiſts* or theſe *Proteſtants*? Is it not manifeſt, that the *Dutch* are hereby obliged to deny themſelves abſolutely to be Chriſtians, in Caſe any *Japanner* doth put ſuch a Queſtion unto them?

precedent

precedent Years in which they traded thither, he never obſerved that they intended the Propagation of their Religion, or ſeemed at all concerned for it. One would think, that any profeſſing Chriſtianity would not demean themſelves thus unworthily; but theſe Men proclaim and publiſh to the World their Impiety, without Remorſe, or Shame. The Director of their Factory there, *Francis Caron*, printed this in his Deſcription of *Japan*, and *Varenius*, upon ſtrict Inquiry, found it to be really true. Their Books were printed at *Amſterdam*. And let who can ſtyle them *Chriſtians*, *Reformed Churches*, or *Proteſtants*, I am ſure none can communicate with ſuch Publicans and Heathens; and, had an *Hollander* been Biſhop of *Carthage*, then *Donatiſm* had been no Schiſm. An *Hollander!* this is the Name of a People that eſteem Nothing ſacred but their own Profit, and live under no Obligations of Honour, Morality, or Religion, but Intereſt. I muſt ravage over *Africa*, ſo famed for monſtrous Productions, and, in the moſt inhuman Parts thereof, ſeek a Parallel for theſe *European* Monſters; they are not to be ranked amongſt the tolerable *Paynims*: Old *Rome* would have taught them that there are certain Laws of War, as well as Peace, and thoſe ſuch as cannot be ſilenced by the Noiſe of Cannons: And I will, from *Athens*, borrow an Expoſtulation againſt them. We do not complain, that, being Enemies, they act as Enemies; there are ſome Conditions and Laws of War, which may be equitably practiſed on both Sides; to harraſs the Fields, plunder Towns, kill, ſlay, and take Captives, how miſerable ſoever theſe Things be to thoſe that ſuffer them, yet they are not unjuſt Actions: We do complain that theſe *Netherlanders*, who, even in the Treatiſe which I now animadvert upon, do ſo highly pretend to Piety and Proteſtancy, ſhould violate all divine and human Rules of Civility, that they rail inſtead of Fighting, that they attack us with contumelious Language, and aggravate their unjuſt Enmity with an Inſolence that is not to be endured. I am as much perplexed to find out the Rules of their Politicks herein, as I am elſewhere to ſeek for thoſe of their Religion, ſeeing that this Deportment muſt needs exaſperate all Mankind againſt them, and common Humanity obligeth every one to endeavour their Extirpation: Provocations of this Kind, Injuries of this Nature, admit of no Compoſition, and render the moſt bloody Wars to be moſt juſt. The Indignities done to our King do extend unto all Princes, and become Examples of what they univerſally muſt expect, in Time, to ſuffer from the Continuance of their High and Mighties; but theſe Affronts particularly, and moſt ſenſibly, touch the Subjects of the King of *Great-Britain*, and turn their juſt Anger into implacable Fury. As the *Dutch* are to the *Engliſh*, ſuch were the *Vejentes* to the *Romans*; they were a vexatious, rather than terrible Enemy, and irritated them more by their Contumelies, than their Armies: But it is obſervable, that there never was a fiercer or more cruel War, and the *Romans* did never teſtify ſo high Reſentments as for thoſe Indignities; and, from ſuch like Conſiderations, aroſe that cautious Advice of *Scipio Ammiratus* and *Machiavel* (no *Dutchmen*) That Men ought to be cautious how they irritate an Enemy by contumelious Language, and other Indignities, ſince the Impreſſions thereof are more violent and durable in the Minds of Men, than what are occaſioned by common, and even grievous Injuries.

I ſmiled when I read the high Commendations which they beſtow upon their Country and Government. O! the rare Situation of it! It is a *Canaan*, but ſeated in a Bog, and overflows with Water, inſtead of Honey. It is a *Canaan*, in which there are many *Jews*, but ſcarce one *Iſraelite* without Guile. No Eſpials yet have informed me of thoſe prodigious Grapes, ſuch as the *Iſraelitiſh* Diſcoverers met with in *Canaan*; and theſe cheating *Hollanders* obtrude upon us Turneps for Pomegranates. Yet do they aſſure us, their Land is a true *Canaan*: But it is more true, which they add, That it is a Land of Promiſe; for all *Europe* and the *Eaſt-Indies* do complain there is nothing of Performances there. They magnify their excellent Government; which is an Anarchy: They ſubſiſt not by any wiſe Reiglement, but Combination of Intereſt, and Senſe of common Danger. They have been an * hundred Times in Danger of a total Rupture; each Province is ſovereign, and independent of the reſt, and can ſend Ambaſſies, contract Leagues, and otherwiſe negotiate with foreign Princes, without the Privity of the others: Never was there

* The Provincial States of *Holland* and *Weſtfrieſland* demonſtrate this, in their *Declaration* printed at *Leyden* in 1654.

Sheaf

Sheaf of Arrows ſo ill made up into a Bundle. Their Liberty, whereof they boaſt, conſiſts of paying more Taxes than any Prince in the World exacts, and in being ſubjected to the moſt arbitrary Proceedings, as to Life, Exile, and Impriſonment, that ever I read of: And, if I am deceived, *Grotius*, in his *Apologetic*, who ſuffered thereby, with many others, deluded me into that Sentiment. But though theſe *Canaanites* do live under an ill Government, in a bad Country, upon pickled Herrings, Groot, Butter, and Cheeſe; yet they enjoy, for their Souls, that immortal Part, as much as from God they can deſire, namely, the Food of his Word, which nouriſheth them to Life eternal. And this is the Celeſtial Diet of all the *Jews*, *Socinians*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Papiſts*, &c. that abound there. The States-General have nothing to do with Religion; the ſeveral Provinces and Towns can only intermeddle therewith; and that they ſo do, that the Eccleſiaſticks can neither preach otherwiſe than what the Magiſtrates pleaſe, nor exerciſe any Church Diſcipline as they ought. Upon theſe Terms, the Miniſters are Paſtors, and feed them with heavenly Food, being Servants rather of the Burgomaſters, and of Mammon, than God. Were our Nonconformiſts there employed, they would find it unlawful to aſſert the *Jus Divinum Miniſterii Evangelici*, and they would be * baniſhed, ſhould they diſcourſe there about the Duty of Magiſtrates, and Power of Miniſters, as they do in *England*. Theſe zealous Proteſtants have declared, That it was indifferent to them what Religion any Province or City were of, ſo they would but unite with them. The League at *Utrecht*, which is the Foundation of their Union, doth run thus, and *Grotius* ſhall juſtify all I ſay: They ſay, They have always highly intereſted themſelves in the Friendſhip of his Majeſty: And to preſerve his Friendſhip, they have made all thoſe ignominious Pictures, Medals, and Monuments; they refuſed him the Honour of the Flag, and informed his Majeſty, That the Dominion of the Sea is an Uſurpation, and that upon God Almighty; to whom alone this State attributes it. They ſay, Their great Intereſt conſiſts in the Peace and Tranquillity of *Chriſtendom*. Oh! happy Intereſt of a Chriſtian State.——I believe their Intereſt now conſiſts in the Peace of *Chriſtendom*; becauſe that War menaceth them, which they would have turned upon *England*; and, I believe, they did not ſwerve from their Intereſt, when they formerly ſowed Diviſions betwixt the *Swedes* and *Danes*, and other *German* Princes; and of late endeavoured to embroil all *Europe* in Wars, thereby to counterpoiſe *France*. I might reflect upon their Confining their Intereſt to the Peace of *Chriſtendom*; whereas they place it otherwiſe in the *Eaſt-Indies*, embroiling thoſe Parts as much as they can in Wars, and deſtroying our Merchants upon all Occaſions: But it is very obſervable, that the real Intereſt of theſe moſt amicable *Dutch* conſiſts in *Europe*, in doing all thoſe Things which may juſtly incenſe Princes to make War upon them, and yet in cajoling them into a tame and diſhonourable Acquieſcence.

Such Paſſages as theſe, I confeſs, did add to my Divertiſement upon the Reading; but a different Paſſion ſeized me, when I met with thoſe inſolent Expreſſions with which they affront our Sovereign, who, not only by Reaſon of his perſonal Excellencies, but by the Right of his *Engliſh* Crown, is ranked amongſt the *Reges ſuperilluſtres*. Had his Majeſty been of a leſſer Quality, yet, ſince his Anceſtors have, by their Favour, Protection, and vaſt Expence of Men and Money, raiſed the *Dutch* into a Republick, ordinary Gratitude might have engaged them to civiler Language. To give the Lye to any Man, is reputed a juſt Cauſe of Quarrel; and if we allow Princes but equal Concerns for their Honour, this alone authenticates the War. They charge him with Injuſtice, Diſſimulation, and Piracy: They call his Courtiers a Company of ſtupid Fellows, and ſay, His Majeſty can as little adhere to Reaſon, as with reaſonable Offers he will be ſatisfied. They ſay, That the War hath no other Proſpect, than the Limits of an unlimited Ambition, endleſs Covetouſneſs, and a Spirit of Revenge not to be glutted. That, His Mind is miſled and obnubilated with a Deſire of War, the moſt accurſed and unruly of all Deſires. That, His Declaration contains plain Untruths, malicious Interpretations, and groſs Impertinencies. That, No Preſ[illegible] of violated Faith, out of any Chronicles, [illegible] produced, which, in this Caſe, [illegible] Example of the ſaid King.

* See the Apology of *Oldenbarnevelt*, printed in *Engliſh* in 1618.

Theſe

Theſe, and many other ſuch like Paſſages, occur frequently in this Treatiſe: I ſhould not have preſumed to repeat them, but that I am confident they will be efficacious to animate all the Subjects of his Majeſty, to vindicate the Honour of their injured Prince, eſpecially when they ſhall underſtand how undeſervedly he is aſperſed by theſe ignoble, ungrateful, arrogant, and perfidious *Netherlanders*. Behold, how unfortunate his Majeſty is, to contend with a mean and ungenerous Adverſary! How civil and Prince-like was the King of *Great-Britain* in his Declaration! What was there that could exaſperate, beſides the Truth of his Allegations? Let any Man impartially conſider the Motives whereupon his Majeſty proceeds; let him forget himſelf a little While that he is a Subject, thereby to judge the better of the Actions of his Sovereign, and I am aſſured he will concur with me in Opinion, That the preſent War with the *Dutch* is honourable, juſt, and neceſſary: And, conſequently, if his Majeſty's loving Subjects do value, either their Allegiance to their King (which is not to be doubted) or the Honour and Proſperity of the Nation, and of each particular Member thereof (all being involved in this Conteſt, and depending upon the Iſſue of it) they will unanimouſly aſſiſt his Majeſty in the preſent Juncture, as far as their Prayers, Lives, and Fortunes can advantage him.

I acknowledge myſelf to have been of the Number of thoſe, who, by Reaſon of their Ignorance of private Negotiations, and the real Tranſactions of State, together with that Epidemical Jealouſy of Court Deſigns, did believe that this War was needleſs and unſeaſonable: That it was projected by ſome Courtiers, and others, who ſought to advantage themſelves by the publick Calamities, or by Penſions from the Crown of *France*; that the *Dutch* were ſo humble and ſubmiſſive, that it was our Obſtinacy to refuſe all Satisfaction, not any Perverſeneſs and Pride in them ſo as to deny us any: I was jealous of the Growth of Popery, and thought it to be the Intereſt of this Kingdom, not to weaken or deſtroy a Republick pretending to Proteſtancy, and for the Erection whereof, ſo many of our Progenitors had hazarded and loſt their Lives. I brought with me all thoſe Surmiſes and Miſapprehenſions which any *Netherlander* or *Engliſh* Male-content could wiſh infuſed into me: But when I came to a better Intelligence concerning Affairs; when I had ſeriouſly inquired into the Tranſactions betwixt the *Dutch* and us, how condeſcending his Majeſty had been, and with what Inſolence the *Netherlanders* had deported themſelves; when I found the Reality of his Majeſty's Pretenſions, and that the Declaration was ſo penned, that the Contents were capable of much higher Aggravations, but no Way to be extenuated or invalidated: Then did I begin to deteſt the petulant Humour of this Age, whereby every one is prone to examine the Actions, and cenſure the Prudence of his Governors, without underſtanding the Proſpect thoſe elevated Spirits have concerning ſuch Affairs, or the Grounds and Circumſtances by which they regulate their Councils; and moſt commonly we, not being able to determine of Matters, were every Punctilio and Intrigue repreſented unto us. I thought the Times happy, when Men employed themſelves in other Diſcourſes, and practiſed Obedience, rather than Diſputes: When they believed that prudent and ſolid Doctrine of the Caſuiſtical Divines: That it was only for the Counſellors of Kings to debate and examine the Utility and Prejudices, the Juſtice and Injuſtice of Wars; the other Subjects not being to expect an ample Account of all the Motives and Inducements by which their King is ſwayed, nor to be ſo infatuated, as to think they can debate or decide ſuch Matters, without any better Cogniſance, than what ariſeth from a vulgar Brain, a narrow Proſpect of Things, and popular Reports and Suggeſtions: But to preſume ſo well of their Superiors, as to imagine they underſtand what is right or wrong, honourable and diſhonourable, advantageous and inutile; and that they have ſo much of common Senſe as to underſtand, that the Welfare of the People is the grand Intereſt of the Prince, and that the King is the greateſt Sufferer in the Ruinating of his Kingdoms.

To the End that others may be undeceived, as well as myſelf, and fortified againſt all Miſapprehenſions, which either their own Ignorance, or the clandeſtine Artifices of theſe ungrateful and moſt malicious *Netherlanders* may ſubject them unto, I ſhall repreſent unto the World the moſt important Paſſages, whereby they endeavour to elude or refute the moſt juſt and ſincere Declaration of his Majeſty, and evince unto the moſt ſuſpicious or prejudiced Perſons, that it is incumbent upon the Subjects of his Majeſty, and there is an una-

voidable Neceſſity of reducing theſe inſolent and treacherous *Dutchmen* into ſuch a Poſture, that they may not only pay their due Submiſſions, with Reparations of Honour, unto our King, but be obliged to continue them for the Future. They are a Nation, with whom no League can take Effect, any longer than their Advantage leads them thereunto, or Want of Strength and Opportunity doth reſtrain them. It is impoſſible for any Civilian to fetter them by a Treaty: If they cannot evade it by Equivocation, mental Reſervations, common Eluſions, and ſuch Artifices as become not Sovereigns, theſe *Hollanders* will impudently deny all ſuch Matters as interfere with their Deſigns, and ſupply the Injuſtice of their Actions by Violence and Fraud. They have no Honour to loſe, no Conſcience to ſtain, no certain Principles to recede from. The *Tartars* and *Moors* prove the ſincerer Confederates; and Humanity itſelf is concerned, that there ſhould not be any longer upon Earth ſo fatal an Inſtance; that there are not in Men, naturally, ſuch Seeds of Morality, ſuch Inclinations to civil Society, ſuch Laws of Nature and of Nations, as thoſe Authors teach us, who never thoroughly underſtood an *Hollander*. I might give evident Proofs of this ſo heinous a Charge ſeveral Ways, but I ſhall confine my Diſcourſe to what theſe *Dutch Conſiderations* lead me unto; and it is from thence that I will manifeſt to the moſt ordinary Capacities, and the moſt prepoſſeſſed Judgments, That theſe Adverſaries are not injured by this Character; and, to make the Caſe more plain, I will write their Words:

Conſiderations upon the preſent State of the Affairs of the United Netherlands. *Publiſhed by a Lover of his Country, for the Encouragement of his Countrymen in theſe troubleſome Times.*

WHoſoever looks upon the firſt Beginning of the State of the United *Netherlands* with a curious Eye, and ſerious Conſideration of the Hiſtories, and diſcreetly obſerves by what Means the Fabrick of the ſaid State, out of the Lowneſs of its Original, is raiſed to this preſent Height, muſt needs be induced to confeſs, That Divine Providence (which not always appears viſible to the Eyes of the World) hath ſo clearly been manifeſted in the Framing and Exalting of this State, that with juſt Reaſons it muſt be acknowledged, that God Almighty was the external and viſible Erector of this famous Republick.

An Age is now expired (when before the Country, through an unhappy Diſorder of Government of thoſe Times, was fallen into a lamentable Confuſion) ſince *William* Earl of *March*, Lord of *Lume*, Admiral of the Prince of *Orange*'s Navy, by a ſtrict Command from the Queen of *England* (who not only denied him Liberty to ſtay in her Country, but alſo refuſed to ſupply his Seamen with Neceſſaries) was conſtrained to leave *England*, arrived beſond his Intentions, forced by croſs Winds, but indeed the Winds of God's Directions, before the *Brill*, of which he eaſily poſſeſſed himſelf, not with a Deſign to keep, but only to ranſack the ſame, and ſo to leave it again: But, being informed by others of the Convenience and Importance of the Place, brought the ſame into a Poſture of Defence, keeping it for his Principals and ſuperior Commanders. And in this Manner was the firſt Foundation of this precious Structure laid, or or rather, in Regard of the external Inſtrument, caſt up by Chance, but, in Verity, by the Direction of the Supreme Builder, whoſe omnipotent Hands oftentimes make Uſe of Mortals, as the blind Inſtruments of his wonderful Deſtinies.

It is not my Deſign, here, to make a Relation of the Progreſs of our Affairs, and by what Means our Anceſtors have, through Troubles and Adverſities, ſtruggled and aſcended to the Heighth of that Felicity, which by God's Goodneſs we enjoy at preſent: But my Intentions only aim, by this ſhort Diſcourſe, to move my worthy Countrymen, to fix their aſſured Confidence, That the ſame God, which hath exalted us from Lowneſs to a State, whoſe high and flouriſhing Condition now, for a long Continuance of Time, hath ſtood up as much [illegible]

dence; and, an unalterable Mind, and vigorous Courage in theſe troubleſome Times, to act as much for our Preſervation, as our Forefathers have done for their firſt Deliverance: Deſiring my Countrymen, that, in comparing our preſent Anxieties, with the Perplexities of our Anceſtors, and the Neceſſities under which we ourſelves have laboured, they will look back in the Hiſtories, for the primitive Times of our Predeceſſors, and for that Time, within Compaſs of their own Remembrance, whereof ſtill we preſerve the Memory.

We ſhall find in the Hiſtories, that the Affairs of our Predeceſſors, in their firſt Progreſs, and growing Infancy, were reduced to that Inconvenience, that the Conſideration thereof moved the ſupreme Perſon, at that Time, who, with an indiſſoluble Bond, had linked his own Proſperity to the Fate and Deſtiny of theſe Countries, to urge this hopeleſs Advice, *viz.* To cauſe by cutting of the Banks, and pulling up the Sluices, theſe Lands to be ſwallowed down in an irrecoverable Condition, and with God's Mercy, with that ſmall Remainder of their ruinated Fortunes, to ſeek other Countries beyond Seas, there, either to live more happily, or to find a Period of their Lives with leſs Miſery.

I ſhall not blame the Conſiderer, for reflecting upon the Mercies of God, extended towards his Countrymen. I commend the leaſt Senſe of Religion in him, but I have moſt ſuſpicious Thoughts, concerning Piety in an *Hollander*: And I believe, every *Engliſhman* will approve this Jealouſy to be juſt, ſeeing all this ſpecious Preamble is made Uſe of, to no other End, than to evade all Acknowledgments to Queen *Eliſabeth*, and the *Engliſh* Monarchy. It is not the Pleaſure of the Almighty, that ſubordinate Means and Inſtruments ſhould be deprived of their proper Elogies: He, by his Providence, appointed Means: He, by his ſovereign Will, doth proſper or fruſtrate them; yet, ſo that the divine Interpoſition doth not uſually derogate from the Efficacy of ſecond Cauſes, or exclude us from confeſſing their Concurrence. Whoſoever ſhall reflect upon the ambitious Deſigns, joined with the extraordinary Power of *Spain*, in theſe Days: The Intentions of that Monarchy, to reduce the *Belgick* Provinces, under a more abſolute Obedience, than the *Brabantine* Conſtitutions conſiſted with; the obſtinate Humour of the *Dutch* in Adhering to their Privileges, how irrational ſoever: Alſo the Apprehenſions, which *France*, *Germany*, and *England* had, concerning the exceſſive Growth of the *Spaniſh* and *Auſtrian* Power; ſuch a Conſiderer will not admire ſo very much, that the Rebellion of the United *Netherlands* did continue ſo long, and ſucceed ſo well; nor diſcover ſuch an extraordinary Series of Providence, in the Erection of their Republick: And the moſt partial Men muſt grant, that it is a moſt fallacious Way of Reaſoning, to argue from the Happineſs of the Event unto the Juſtice of the Cauſe, or peculiar Favour of the divine Author: There is not any Thing in this *Dutch* Suggeſtion, which might not have been more rationally alledged by a *Goth*, or *Mahometan*, ſince the Juncture, wherein thoſe Monarchies advanced themſelves, was attended with leſs favourable Circumſtances than I can obſerve, in the Revolutions of the *Netherlands*: But I am confident, no *Goth*, or *Saracen*, would have ſo intitled to God the Original of their Succeſſes, as to exclude the intermediate Aſſiſtances, which they received from others, at any Time. Such Ingratitude is ſingular in the *Netherlanders*; and all this impudent Harangue hath no other Tendency, than to elude the Obligations, which that unworthy People have to Queen *Eliſabeth*, and the Royal Progenitors of his Majeſty. Here is no Mention made of any Protection or Aid, given them by the *Engliſh* Queen; but one Action related, which, as it ſeemingly carries with it ſomewhat of Unkindneſs, ſo it is inſinuated merely to this End, that they may alienate the People from a Reverence and Regard for our Nation. It is not to be denied, that Queen *Eliſabeth* did contribute much to the firſt Support of theſe *Dutch*, giving them Reception here in *England*, when the Fury of the Duke of *Alva* forced them, as Exiles, to ſeek an Habitation in Foreign Countries; this moſt gracious Queen compaſſionated their Miſeries, and gave Multitudes of them Leave, to fix at *Norwich*, *Colcheſter*, *Sandwich*, *Maidſtone*, and *Southampton*, *A. D.* 1568. Here the Exiles had the Advantage of a quiet Life, and the Opportunity of purſuing their Deſigns, in Order to the Regaining of their Country. Nor was it a ſmall Favour to the Prince of *Orange*, and his Partiſans, that, when they were ready to ſink under their Loſſes in *Frieſland* and elſe-

where, this Queen ſeized upon two hundred Thouſand Piſtoles of Gold, which were tranſporting from *Spain* to the Duke of *Alva*; the Detaining whereof, as it was a great Diſappointment to the Duke, who ſtood in great Need of it, for the Reinforcing of his Deſigns, ſo it begat great Animoſities betwixt the Queen and him; the Merchants Ships on each Side were ſeized upon, Letters of Repriſal granted, and the *Engliſh* eſtranged from the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, by the Tranſlation of our Staple, from *Antwerp* to *Hambourg*. It is manifeſt, that our Queen did, by that Action, and by the Hoſtilities and Contrivances of a new Trade which enſued thereupon, contribute effectually to the Fomenting of the *Netherlandiſh* Diſcontents; the Duke of *Alva* was diverted from proſecuting the *Gheuſians*, with his former Violence; his Subjects were exaſperated by the Damage of the *Engliſh* Trade; the *Engliſh* were, by the Removal of our Staple, diſengaged from all Dependence on the *Spaniards* there, by Way of Commerce, and inclined to abet and aſſiſt the diſtreſſed Followers of the Prince of *Orange*. And if the *Dutch* will not acknowledge theſe Actions, for a great Aſſiſtance and Courteſy to them, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, *de Speci*, in his Remonſtrance ſaid, they proceeded from ſome that bore no Good-will to the *Spaniards*, and favoured the Rebels of the *Netherlands*. After this, the diſtreſſed *Netherlanders* betook themſelves to practiſe Piracy at Sea, upon the *Spaniards*, under the Command of the Prince of *Orange*, but were immediately under the Conduct of *William*, Earl *Vander-Marck*, and others; and the Queen, notwithſtanding that ſhe was reſettled in a good Correſpondence and League with the *Spaniards*, did permit them, by Connivance, the free Uſe of her Ports, every where throughout *England*, ſo that they provided themſelves here with Victuals and Ammunition upon all Occaſions, and here they uſually vended their Prizes, which they took upon the *Ufly*, *Texel*, and the *Ems*. By which Means, theſe Exiles ſuſtained themſelves well (the Prince of *Orange* receiving the Tenths or Fifths of their Prizes) gave much Trouble to the Duke of *Alva*, continued thoſe Diſcontents in their Partiſans, which otherwiſe would, in all Probability, have been extinguiſhed, by Reaſon of the Power and Terror of the *Spaniards*, and the weak and declined Condition of the exiled Prince of *Orange*. I would willingly underſtand from any ingenuous Perſons, Whether theſe Actions did not highly contribute to the Erection of this Republick? And might not as well have been thankfully acknowledged, as the ſubſequent Decree of Queen *Eliſabeth* is moſt ungratefully mentioned, *viz.* 'That *William* Earl of *Marck*, Lord of *Lume*, Admiral of the Prince of *Orange*'s Navy, was, by a ſtrict Command from the Queen of *England*, denied Liberty to ſtay in her Country, and alſo refuſed to ſupply his Seamen with Neceſſaries; whereupon enſued the Taking of *Brill*, as is ſpecified.'—— The Inſinuation of this Edict is maliciouſly urged here, thereby to extenuate the Favours of the *Engliſh* Nation: The Queen was engaged by Articles, not to entertain openly any Rebels unto the Crown of *Spain*; ſhe could not harbour them any longer, without a Rupture with that potent Monarch, and ſhe was unwilling to involve herſelf in ſo great a War, for ſo weak Confederates. Whereupon ſhe, by a ſtrict Proclamation, did forbid them the Uſe of her Ports, and that her Subjects ſhould ſell them any Proviſions, after a certain Time, which was *March*. Whereupon, they were neceſſitated to depart, and ſeek ſome other Receptacle, and Providence caſt them upon *Brill*. But had not the Queen harboured them, How had they ever imbodied themſelves, or increaſed to the Strength of forty Sail of Ships, moſt of them Fly-boats, wherewith they poſſeſſed themſelves of *Brill*, and took two rich Ships by the Way? No ſooner was *Brill* taken, but *Fluſhing* in *Zealand*, and ſome other Towns revolted to the Prince of *Orange*; yet were his Forces ſo ſmall, though joined with thoſe of *Vander Marck*, as not to be able to ſubſiſt againſt the *Spaniards*, but that the Queen permitted Multitudes of *Engliſh* to repair thither: The firſt that went was Sir *Thomas Morgan*, who carried over three-hundred Men to *Fluſhing*; the Report of whoſe Coming is ſaid to have ſtayed the Duke of *Alva*, when he was in a Readineſs to recover the Town. Afterwards, through the Procurement of *Morgan*, arrived there nine Companies of *Engliſh*, under Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*. With theſe Aids, and other Auxiliaries from *France*, though the Prince of *Orange* atchieved great Things, and reduced many Towns in *Holland* and *Zealand* unto his Party, yet, ſuch was their Diſtreſs, that, *An. Dom.* 1575, they entered into a Debate of putting themſelves under the Protection of ſome Foreign Prince; leſt, through Want of Money, and of Soldiers,

diers, and alſo the fickle Inclinations of a diſcontented Populace, they ſhould ſuddenly fall under the Power of the Enemy.

And, in the Name of the States of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and Prince of *Orange*, was an Ambaſſy ſent into *England*, to offer unto the Queen, not only what was agreeable to Equity, Reaſon, and Religion, but to the Exigency of their Condition, and what Self-preſervation and extreme Neceſſity prompted them unto. The Commiſſion of the Ambaſſadors was, either to make a League with the Queen, or to ſubmit themſelves under her Protection; or (if Neceſſity required it) to acknowledge her, for their Princeſs and Sovereign Lady, iſſued from the Earls of *Holland* and *Zealand*, by the Lady *Philip*, Daughter to *William*, the Third of that Name, Earl of *Hainault* and *Holland*, &c. The Queen thanked them for their Good-will towards her, but fearing the Enmity of *Spain*, the Envy of *France*, and the Charge of the War; as alſo not being ſatisfied, how ſhe might with her Honour, and a ſafe Conſcience, receive thoſe offered Provinces into her Protection, much leſs Poſſeſſion, ſhe declined the Overture; yet promiſed to intercede for them with *Spain*, and in the mean Space gave them Leave to raiſe what Soldiers they could in *England*, either from out of the *Engliſh*, *Scots*, or exiled *Netherlanders*; and to furniſh themſelves, with what Proviſions and Ammunition they wanted, and to tranſport them. Notwithſtanding all this tranſcendent Favour of the Queen's, the ungrateful *Zealanders*, the next Year, affronted her Majeſty, and ſeized upon ſundry of her Merchants Ships, upon various Pretences; whereupon, ſhe was ſo incenſed, that there had been an abſolute Difference betwixt them, had not the Prince of *Orange* prudently compoſed all. After this, when Don *John* became Governor of the *Netherlands*, and withal aſpired to marry the Queen of *Scots*, and render himſelf King of *England*, the Queen enters into a more ſtrict League and Confederacy with them, to aid them with Men and Money; and it was at her Charge principally, that Prince *Caſimire* came to their Aid with a *German* Army: And, out of *England*, there went over the Seas to them the Lord *North*'s eldeſt Son, *John North*; the Lord *Norris*'s ſecond Son, *John Norris*; *Henry Cavendiſh*, and *Thomas Morgan*, Colonels, with very many Volunteers; and, after that the *Germans* mutinouſly deſerted the States, the Queen furniſhed them readily with a great Sum of Money, the ancient Jewels and rich Plate of the Houſe of *Burgundy* being mortgaged unto her for it. After this, for ſeveral Years, the United *Netherlands* caſt themſelves under Archduke *Matthias*, and the Duke of *Anjou*; but, with ſo ill Succeſs, that they found themſelves not able to continue long; *Antwerp* and ſundry other Places being taken, and *William* Prince of *Orange* murdered; the *French* King not being able or willing to receive the Sovereignty of thoſe Provinces, ſo that they determined, by a ſolemn Ambaſſy, to render her Majeſty the intire Dominion and Principality of the *Netherlands*: They had treated with her before, by *J. Ortelius* about Protection, but the Queen refuſed to eſpouſe their Quarrel, except ſhe might have Cautionary Towns, that her Expences might be repaid at the End of the War. But now, that the deſperate Condition of their Affairs made any Terms to be prudential, they reſolved to ſubject themſelves unto her, or contract any League for Protection, which ſhe would enjoin them.

Upon the Sixth of *July*, 1585, their Deputies came to *London*, which were theſe: For *Brabant* (although, by Reaſon of the Siege of *Antwerp*, not fully authoriſed) was ſent *Jacques de Griſe*, chief Bailiff of *Bruges*; for *Guelderland*, was *Rutgert van Harſolt*, Burgomaſter of *Harderwick*; for *Flanders* (although likewiſe not fully authoriſed) *Noel Caron*, Seignior of *Schoonwall*, Burgomaſter of *Franc*; for *Holland* and *Frieſland*, was *John Vander Does*, Lord of *Noortwick*; and *Joos van Menin*, Counſellor of the Town of *Dort*, and *John van Oldenbarnevelt*, Counſellor of the Town of *Rotterdam*; Dr. *Francis Maelſon*, Counſellor of the Town of *Enekhuyſen*; for *Zealand*, was *Jacob Valck*, a Civil Lawyer, and one of the Council of State; for *Utrecht*, was *Paul Buys*, Doctor; for *Frieſland*, was *Jelgher van Seytzma*, Counſellor of State, *Heſſel Ayſma*, Preſident, and *Laeſt Joughema*. They were kindly received by the Queen, and nobly feaſted at her Coſt. Upon the Ninth of *July*, they were brought to their Audience at *Greenwich*; the Audience was moſt ſolemn and publick, the Queen being ſeated on her royal Throne, and all the Privy-council attending on each Hand of her Majeſty. The Deputies, being introduced, fell upon their Knees,

Knees, before the Throne of the Queen, and *Joos van Menin*, with great Reverence and Submiſſion, made an Oration to her, in the Name of the Diſtreſſed States of the United *Netherlands*, unto this Purpoſe:

* That the States of the United *Netherlands* Provinces humbly thanked her Majeſty for the honourable and many Favours, which it had pleaſed her to ſhew unto them, amidſt their extreme Neceſſities; having, not long ſince, received the Teſtimonies of her princely Clemency, when, after the cruel Murder of the Prince of *Orange*, it pleaſed her Majeſty, by her Ambaſſador, Mr. *Davidſon*, to ſignify unto them the great Care ſhe had for their Defence and Preſervation, and, after that, again by the Lord of *Griſe*; by whom ſhe let them underſtand, how much ſhe was diſcontented to ſee them fruſtrated of their Expectations, repoſed upon the Hope they had in the Treaty with *France*; adding, That, nevertheleſs, her Majeſty's Care, for the Support of the *Netherlands*, was rather augmented than diminiſhed, by Reaſon of the Difficulties which multiplied upon them: For the which, not only the Provinces in general, but every particular Perſon therein, ſhould reſt bound unto her Majeſty for ever, and labour to repay ſo tranſcendent Obligations, by all poſſible Fidelity and Obedience. And, therefore, the States aforeſaid, obſerving that, ſince the Death of the Prince of *Orange*, they had loſt many of their Forts and good Towns, and that, for the Defence of the ſaid United *Netherlands*, they had great Need of a ſovereign Prince, who might protect and defend them from the Inſolencies and Oppreſſions of the *Spaniards*, and their Adherents, who fought daily, more and more, all the Means they could, with their Forces, and other ſiniſter Practices, to ſpoil, and utterly root up, the Foundation of the aforeſaid *Netherlands*, and, thereby, to bring the poor afflicted People of the ſame into perpetual Bondage, and worſe than *Indian* Slavery, under the inſupportable Yoke of the moſt execrable Inquiſition. Finding likewiſe, that the Inhabitants of the ſaid *Netherlands* were perſuaded, and had aſſured Confidence, that her Majeſty, out of her princely Inclination, would not endure to ſee them utterly overthrown, as their Enemies expected, by moleſting them with long, unjuſt, and bloody Wars; the which the States (according to their Duties, and in Reſpect of their Places, in the Behalf of their Fellows and Brethren) were forced to withſtand, and, as much as in them lay, oppoſe themſelves againſt the manifeſt Slavery, which they thought to impoſe upon the poor common People, and, by their beſt Endeavours, to maintain their ancient Freedoms, Laws, and Privileges, with the Exerciſe of the true Chriſtian Religion (whereof her Majeſty truly, and by good Right, did bear the Title of *Defendreſs*) againſt the which, the Enemy, and all his Adherents, had formed ſo many Leagues, attempted ſo many fearful and deceitful Enterpriſes and Treaſons, and yet ceaſe not daily to invent, practiſe, and deviſe, the Deſtruction of her Majeſty's royal Perſon, together with her State and Kingdoms; which the Almighty God, under the Protection of his everlaſting Goodneſs, hitherto hath preſerved from all Dangers, for the Good and Upholding of the Church of Chriſt here upon Earth. For theſe Reaſons, and many other good Conſiderations, the States aforeſaid, with one full and free Conſent, had altogether determined, and fully reſolved to fly unto her Majeſty, in Regard it is an uſual Thing, for all oppreſſed and diſtreſſed People and Nations, in their great Diſtreſs and Neceſſity, to ſeek juſt Aid and Aſſiſtance, againſt their Enemies, from Kings and Princes, their Neighbours, and eſpecially from thoſe that were endued with Courage, Fear of God, Uprightneſs of Heart, and other princely Ornaments; and, to that End, the States aforeſaid had enjoined and commanded them, to beſeech her Majeſty to accept of the Sovereignty, and ſupreme Dominion over the ſaid United Provinces, upon certain and reaſonable Conditions, eſpecially tending to the Upholding, Maintaining, and Furtherance of God's true Religion, and the ancient Freedoms and Privileges to them due and belonging; together with the Government, and Managing of the Wars, Policy, and Juſtice, of the ſaid United Provinces of the *Netherlands*. And although the ſaid *Netherlands* had endured divers Loſſes, and that many of their Towns,

* The *Dutch*, at their Return, did coin Medals of Copper, in Memory of this Audience, and the Protection which Queen *Eliſabeth* afforded unto them. I received two of theſe from *Elias Aſhmole*, Eſq; *Windſor* Herald.

and

and Forts, had been won from them by the Enemy, during theſe Wars; nevertheleſs, in *Brabant*, *Guelderland*, *Flanders*, *Mechlin*, and *Overyſſel*, there were yet many good Towns and Places that held out againſt the Enemy; and the Provinces of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, and *Frieſland*, were, by God's Grace, and wonderful Providence, ſtill kept and preſerved, in their whole and intire Poſſeſſions, wherein they had many great and ſtrong Towns and Places, fair Rivers, Deeps, and Havens, whereof her Majeſty, and her Succeſſors, might have good Commodities, Services, and Profit, whereof it were needleſs to make any longer Diſcourſe; but one in ſpecial, That, by uniting the Countries of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, and *Frieſland*, the Towns of *Oſtend* and *Sluyce*, unto her Majeſty's Kingdoms and Dominions, ſhe might have the full and abſolute Dominion over the great Ocean, and procure unto the Subjects of her Majeſty perpetual and moſt aſſured Safety, together with their Proſperity.

They did, therefore, moſt humbly beſeech her royal Majeſty to vouchſafe, out of her royal Favour and princely Bounty, to yield to the aforeſaid Points of their Requeſt, and ſo to accept for her, and her lawful Heirs, or Succeſſors in the Crown of *England*, Defenders of the true Chriſtian Religion, the ſovereign Rights, Principality, and Dominion of the ſaid *Netherlands*; and, in Regard thereof, to receive the Inhabitants thereof, as her Majeſty's moſt humble and obedient Subjects and Vaſſals, into her perpetual Safeguard and Protection; a People as true, faithful, and loving, to their Princes and Governors (without vain Boaſting be it ſpoken) as any other in *Chriſtendom*. And, ſo doing, ſhe ſhould preſerve and protect many fair Churches, which it had pleaſed Almighty God, in theſe latter Days, to gather together in ſeveral of the ſaid Provinces, being now, in many Places, in great Fear, Peril, and Danger, and to deliver the *Netherlands*, and the Inhabitants thereof, from miſerable Thraldom; who (not long before the wicked and hoſtile Invaſions of the *Spaniards*) were ſo rich and flouriſhing, in all Sorts of Wealth, by Reaſon of the great Commodities of the Sea, Havens, Rivers, Traffick, manual Trades and Occupations, whereunto they are much given, and naturally inclined. She ſhould likewiſe preſerve them from utter Deſtruction, and perpetual Slavery, both of Body and Soul, and ſo effect a right princely and moſt royal Work, pleaſing to God, profitable for all *Chriſtendom*, worthy of eternal Praiſe and Glory, and fitting well with the Magnanimity, and other royal Virtues of her Majeſty, as alſo moſt advantageous to the Security and Welfare of her particular Subjects.

This being ſaid, they preſented their Articles unto her Majeſty, with the greateſt Humility imaginable, beſeeching God, who is the King of Kings, to defend, protect, and preſerve her from all her Enemies, to the Increaſe of her Honour and Greatneſs, and perpetually to keep her in his holy Protection and Safeguard.

The Queen heard them graciouſly, and received their Overtures with very obliging Acknowledgments; the Deputies, kiſſing her royal Hands, retired with much Satisfaction, and her Majeſty was no leſs pleaſed with the Honour of that Day's Audience; for, although the King of *France* had the firſt Tender of their Sovereignty, yet, neither was it made with ſuch Submiſſion and Deference, as to her Majeſty, neither was the Tender ſo abſolute then as now: The Deputies, to *France*, were ſent indeed with a general Pretence, and Declaration, of ſurrendering up the Dominion of the *Netherlands* to that Crown, but they had ſeparate Inſtructions from their ſeveral Principals (the which they never imparted one to the other, but kept ſecret) with different Procurations. The Deputies of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Zealand*, and *Mechlin*, were enjoined to finiſh the Negotiation upon any Terms they could get, ſo as that Religion, and general Privileges, were confirmed unto them; whereas *Holland* and *Utrecht* had ſo limited their Deputies, that they were to inſiſt upon better Terms, and rather not to come up to the general Inſtructions of the States, than to exceed them. I do not read of any ſuch Difference in the Procurations ſent over hither, neither do I find any Reaſon to believe there were any ſuch. The Queen, for ſeveral weighty Reaſons, declined to take upon her the Sovereignty, or perpetual Protection of the *Netherlands*; yet did ſhe conſent to enter into a League with them, to aid them with five-

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thouſand Foot, and one-thouſand Horſe, and to pay them, during the War, which the States were to repay, when a Peace ſhould be concluded. In the mean Time *Vlyſſing*, and the Caſtle of *Ramekins*, in *Walcheren*, and the Iſle of *Brill*, with the City and two Forts, were to be delivered into the Queen's Hands, to be kept by her Gariſons for Caution; the Governor-general, and two *Engliſhmen*, whom the Queen ſhould name, ſhould be admitted into the Council of State, &c.

The Confederacy was finiſhed upon the Tenth of *Auguſt*, and, accordingly, Sir *John Norris* was ſent over with ſome Soldiers; the Earl of *Leiceſter* followed, as General of her Majeſty's Forces: The *Netherlands* received him with more Honour, and conferred on him more Power, than the Queen approved of. They made him General of all their Forces, Stadtholder and Governor of all their Provinces; inveſted him with all that Power, which *Charles the Fifth* uſed to commiſſion his Governors with. The Queen reproved the Earl of *Leiceſter*, for accepting of ſuch Power, and the States for giving it to him. But the Earl ſoon found himſelf deceived by theſe *Netherlanders*; for, notwithſtanding that they had choſen him to be their Governor, in ſo ſolemn a Manner, and ſworn, themſelves, and the Soldiers, Obedience to him, yet they pretend to rule him, model ſometimes, ſometimes oppoſe his Orders and Conſtitutions; inſomuch that the Earl found that he ſhould have but a titular Government, being ſubject to the Commands and Authority of thoſe pitiful States, and ordinary Burgomaſters; whereupon he relinquiſhed the Government, proclaiming, even in Medals, the Ingratitude of thoſe Fellows. Let them make what Complaints they pleaſe againſt his Deportment there, it is certain, that all the Clergy adhered unto him, and regretted his Departure; the Soldiers did mutiny in his Behalf; *Utrecht* and *Frieſland*, beſides other Provinces and Towns, did ſollicit for his Return; and I find, that all the Clamour againſt that Earl did ariſe from the Province of *Holland*, and ſome *Zealanders* only; as they themſelves boaſt, in a Remonſtrance againſt the other Provinces. To invalidate that Power, which they had ſo publickly given him, *Holland*, a Province always branded for Faction and Ingratitude, having advantaged themſelves much by the Credit of the Aſſiſtance, more by the Auxiliaries of the *Engliſh*, began to think it unfitting, that, according to the Articles, the *Engliſh* ſhould be privy to the ſecret Tranſactions of the Council of State; and, by the Advice of *Oldenbarnevelt*, they found out an Evaſion, not daring openly to violate the Treaty, nor to infuſe Jealouſy into the Queen, by holding clandeſtine Cabals; and it was this, That only ordinary Matters, and ſuch as the *Engliſh* might know, ſhould be diſpatched in the Council of State; but that another Aſſembly ſhould be formed, termed the *Convention of the States General*, unto which they ſhould draw all Matters of Importance, and which required Secrecy, under the Pretence, that the Council of State had ſo much Buſineſs already, as not to be able to diſpatch the other.

Thus early did they abuſe the Favours of Queen *Eliſabeth*, and, by this Illuſion, did they lay the Foundation of their High and Mighties. It is evident, that, during the whole Reign of Queen *Eliſabeth*, they were never faithful to the League; they treated with *France*, and aided that King, without the Queen's Knowledge, which was a Breach of the League. And whereas by the expreſs Words of the Articles, The Queen was to conduct them to, and ſettle them in a firm Peace; and this being done by her Means, the Money was to be repaid: She never could prevail with them to come to a Treaty, much leſs any Accord; but they had the Impudence to ſollicit her to continue her Aids to a War which they never purpoſed to end, it proving ſo beneficial to them. When the Queen urged, that, by the Treaty, ſhe was to be Arbitreſs of War and Peace; they evaded it, by ſaying, Thoſe Expreſſions were but complimental, and argued their Reſpects to her, not their Dependence on her Judgment. I find them upon their Knees again, and beſeeching her moſt humbly, that ſhe would not conclude a Peace with *Spain*, *A. D.* 1598. And this *Grotius* ſaith was done, becauſe it is the Cuſtom of the *Engliſh* Court to petition the King in that ſuppliant Poſture; but certainly this Uſage extends not to the Ambaſſadors of their High and Mighties. But, in the ſame Year, when they thought that Queen *Eliſabeth* might ſtand in ſome need of their Friendſhip, whether they bended their Knees unto her Majeſty, I cannot find, but I read that they dealt with her, not as formerly, but with more arrogant Language. The *Engliſh* Court did

did then look upon the *Hollanders* as notorious Cheats, who pretended Poverty, and had Collections here, when the Splendor and growing Opulency of their Towns (beſides the vaſt Bribes which their Treaſury could ſpare occaſionally) were Demonſtrations of their Riches: That they declined to repay the Queen her Monies, not becauſe they could not do it, but that they might tie her unto their Fortune and Aſſiſtance, by the Hopes of a Re-imburſement of thoſe vaſt Sums which ſhe had expended for them, her conſtant Charge being above One-hundred and Twenty-thouſand Pounds each Year: And it is not to be doubted, but that ſhe would have reduced them by Force to a better Obſervance of Articles, and puniſhed them for their fraudulent Dealings with her, but that ſhe prudently foreſaw, that *France* to depreſs her, and *Spain* to ruin her and diſable *France*, were ready to aſſiſt and protect them.

In fine, the Hiſtories I have read do ſeem to demonſtrate this, that the *Dutch* were a moſt ungrateful People towards Queen *Eliſabeth*; that they never rendered her any Service, but when it was to their proper Advantage: All their Pretenſions to Religion contained little of Reality, and their Acknowledgments were but verbal, and conſiſted principally in extraordinary Submiſſion and Deference, which prevailed much upon the Spirit of her, who was a Woman, and had much of Haughtineſs. When ſhe firſt undertook publickly to aid them, the chief Inducement thereunto was not the Neceſſity of her Affairs, not the Concern for the Proteſtant Religion, for ſhe adviſed them to be very cautious how they changed their Religion, but a Feminine Humour, carried away by their Flatteries and humble Applications, and delighting to ſee greater Submiſſions paid to her than to the King of *France*, by the King of *Spain*'s Subjects. No ſooner had ſhe concluded upon an open Amity with them, but the *Zealanders* triumphing with Joy, and to honour her, did ſtamp Money with the Arms of *Zealand*, *viz.* a Lion ariſing out of the Waves, and this Inſcription, *Luctor & emergo*, that is, I ſtruggle and get above Water; and on the other Side, with the Arms of the Cities of *Zealand*, and this, *Authore Deo*, *favente Regina*, that is, God being the Author, and the Queen Favourer: And I find it to have been an uſual Form of Speech amongſt the *Dutch* in that Age, which they applied to all Diſcourſes where it might be ſuitable, By the Mercy of God, and the Goodneſs of Queen *Eliſabeth*. And by ſuch Wheedles did they inveigle the Queen to take (as the King of *Sweden* then ſaid) the Diadem from her Head, and ſet it upon the doubtful Chance of War. And it is an Action not to be paralleled out of the Annals of impudent and ungrateful Perſons, that, the *Dutch* having been ſo effectually obliged by that Queen, and having by ſuch a continued Series of Proteſtations averred, that they did owe their Welfare and Being to the Mercy of God and Favour of Queen *Eliſabeth*, they ſhould now take no Notice, that the *Engliſh* contributed any Thing to their Support: So deteſtable Baſeneſs doth make me judge, that, if it were not their Intereſt, their Religion is ſuch, that they would proceed to aſcribe nothing unto God himſelf: And all they write, to that Purpoſe, is no more than a Compliment from their High and Mighties to the Almighty.

'We ſhall omit to relate, how often the Republick, after that by the Hand of God ſhe was raiſed from that deſperate Condition, hath trembled and quaked, both for Fear of foreign Enemies, and inteſtine Combuſtions.

Hiſtories will declare unto us, That not only the State of the United Provinces, but all the *Netherlands*, which together (but not with a ſtrict Obligation) were tied, were ſufficiently plunged into the extremeſt Inconveniencies, by the Perfidiouſneſs of the Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to the King of *France*; and that, afterwards, the United Provinces were brought into a deplorable Diſorder, and beyond all Poſture of Defence, by the Craft and ambitious Deſigns of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, ſent hither by Queen *Eliſabeth* for our Protection.'

I have already ſpoken concerning the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and their Ingratitude towards him. The *French* do form the like Charge againſt them, in Behalf of the Duke of *Anjou*, That they violated their Agreements with him, gave him only an empty Title, but referring and drawing all the Power into their own Hands: The Senſe of which Indignity, conſidering that he was a Brother of *France*, and had brought them powerful Succours in their Diſtreſs, made him take the Courſes ſpecified. And it is obſervable, That, in all theſe and other Emergencies, where the *Dutch* are brand-

ed for their Ingratitude, Perfidiouſneſs, and unworthy Dealings, the particular Province of *Holland* is always the ſole Author, or principal Occaſion; whereof they themſelves boaſtingly give a Relation, in their Manifeſto publiſhed at *Leyden*, 1654. It is thence that I derive my Intelligence, That the Infant States, being jealous of the Power and Popularity of *William* Prince of *Orange*, did, without ever Acquainting him therewith, invite the Archduke *Matthias* to be their Governor. And it is there that I read of a great Peril, that *Holland*, &c. was in, and how they were delivered from it; the which our *Conſiderer* might have ſeaſonably inſerted here, as well as the reſt; *viz.* 'The States of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht* were determined to make Prince *William* Earl of *Holland* with all the Prerogatives heretofore enjoyed by ſuch Earls; and, though *Amſterdam*, *Gouda*, and ſome other Towns diſſented, yet were they reſolved to purſue their Intentions: But the Prince was aſſaſſinated a Month before the Inſtallment could be effected; and God moſt providentially did, thereby, free the Subjects of *Holland* from that Subjection, into which they were running precipitately.' There cannot be a greater Teſtimony of the Degeneracy of this Age, in which ſuch Ingratitude is publickly avowed and authenticated by a ſolemn Declaration of the States of *Holland* and *Weſt-Frieſland*, and the moſt infamous Actions in the World (and ſuch as would create a Bluſh in the Countenances of any Men but *Hollanders*) are recited as the moſt glorious. It is there that I read, how the States of *Groningen* and *Ommeland*, immediately upon the Murder of Prince *William*, did deprive his Son, Grave *Maurice*, of all his Dignities, Honours, and Emoluments in their Provinces, and never admitted any of their Line to be their Governor, unto this Day. It is there that I read a Defence of their Secluding the Prince of *Orange* from being a Stadtholder, or Admiral, or General of the Forces of the United Provinces (a ſeparate Article, which *Holland* concluded with *Cromwell*) wherein they extenuate and deny any Obligations they have to the whole Houſe of *Orange*; and therefore they might, without Breach of Morality and Civility, proceed as they did, I confeſs, I was amazed to read ſuch Things, and wondered not that Queen *Eliſabeth*, and our *Engliſh* Kings, meet with ſo much immoral Uſage amongſt theſe *Hollanders*, ſince Prince *William* and his Heirs are thus treated; and, whilſt others behold the *Dutch* as Proteſtants and Chriſtians, I cannot but rank them amongſt the worſt of Mankind, not to be paralleled by any known Race of Pagans and Savages.

'We will likewiſe paſs by in Silence the Relating of thoſe Paſſages, of which many of us have been living Witneſſes; as, when the whole Country, by a ſudden Invaſion on the *Veluwe*, and the Taking of *Amerford*, was in the like Manner alarmed, as *Rome*, when *Hannibal* appeared before her Gates.'

This Invaſion happened *Anno Domini* 1629. The * *Spaniards*, joining their Forces with thoſe of the Emperor under *Montecuculi*, did make the ſaid Irruption, and ſurpriſed *Amerford*, being already Maſters of *Weſel*. All *Holland* was affrighted, and their High and Mighties forſook the *Hague* to ſit at *Utrecht*. The recent Memory hereof might ſuggeſt unto the *Hollanders* more of Moderation in their Deportment, ſince they are no more aſſured of their good Fortune, than the World is of their good Manners. I could not but compaſſionate the Diſtreſs of old *Rome*, the Memory whereof this Paſſage renewed; and I wiſhed that victorious *Montecuculi* had prevented our Prince and the King of *France* in the Reducing of *Holland*, whoſe Baſeneſs repreſents them to have a greater Affinity with *Carthage* than *Rome*; and the *Belgick* Faith imports as much of Treachery, as ever did the *Punick*.

'And, for as much as comes within the Reach of our own Memories, we have yet freſh Remembrances of the War with the Lord Protector *Cromwell*, into which, by a certain Deſtiny, and an Intereſt beyond Intereſt, we were drawn, at a Time when the Nation, for Want of Ships and Guns, was reduced to a Perplexity, the Thought whereof we cannot entertain without Grief and Alteration in our Hearts.'

All, that are acquainted with the Tranſactions of that War, do well know, that the *Dutch* began their Preparations for that War long

* This is largely deſcribed by *D. Heinſius*, in his *Siege of* Bois le Duc.

long before the *Engliſh* apprehended it: They ordered an hundred and fifty Ships to be equipped out, and beat up their Drums for Volunteers to man them, amuſing the *Engliſh* with a Declaration, That this was done to ſecure the Commerce; ſo that no Preparations extraordinary were then ſet on Foot in *England*: And, whilſt they were in League with this Nation, and in the Midſt of a Treaty for a ſtricter Alliance, their Admiral moſt perfidiouſly comes into *Dover* Road, with an Intent to deſtroy the *Engliſh* Navy, and aſcertain thereby to his Maſters the Dominion of the Sea. I more willingly mention theſe Things, becauſe they are an Inſtance, to ſome People, not only of the Perfidiouſneſs of the *Dutch*, but of the Equity of his Majeſty's preſent Quarrel; for that War was grounded upon the Striking of the * Flag, and the Dominion of the Seas; and it is apparent Faction, not any colourable Reaſon, which can ſway any Man, that approved of that War, to condemn this. It is alſo an Inſtance, that the preſent Quarrel of the *Dutch* is not with his Majeſty, his Royal Highneſs, and the Court, but with the Nation. In other Caſes, it is irrational and imprudent to diſtinguiſh betwixt the political and private Capacity of our King; but, in this, they are ſo inſeparable, that the Intereſts of the People, King, and Court are all one, and equally concerned in the evil Succeſs of our Fleet: And, were we, by a deteſtable Faction, deprived of the King and Court, the Controverſy would ſtill remain betwixt the *Dutch* and the unhappy Survivors in *England*. It was not the Want of Force, at that Time, which occaſioned the Misfortunes of the *Hollanders*, but the Courage and Valour of the *Engliſh*: And what may we not, under God, promiſe ourſelves from the ſame Perſons now, who, beſides the Senſe of their paſt Victories, have this further Incitement, That they fight under their lawful Prince (a Prince ſo juſt and generous) and the auſpicious Conduct of his Royal Highneſs?

'Through all theſe Difficulties, and innumerable others, we have, by the Mercies of God, waded, and would have wiſhed with all our Souls, by a long continued Unity (the true and innocent Intereſt of our Peace-coveting Republick) to have taſted the Fruits of our ſharp Labours and Dangers; but it hath pleaſed God to order and diſpoſe it otherwiſe, who, by his juſt and adorable Judgments, forceth us to acknowledge, that we now, as much as ever, ſtand in Need of his powerful Protection, ſince we find ourſelves, at this preſent Time, encompaſſed with a Neceſſity to oppoſe the extremeſt Aſſault † of the greateſt Forces of *Europe*, with a Power, which, indeed, is inconſiderable, in Compariſon of that of our Enemies, by which yet, how weak ſoever, we do not deſpair to defend and ſecure ourſelves; ſtrengthened with Hopes, that God ſhall pleaſe to look upon the Equity of our innocent Caſe, with the Eyes of his Juſtice, and our Sins and Defects with the Eyes of his Mercy.'

'And, in Truth, if ever the Sword is drawn in Time of Neceſſity, and for innocent Defence of our dear Country, it is at this preſent, in which it ſeems the Grandees of this World have, in the Counſel of the Power of Darkneſs, concluded the Ruin and Deſtruction of the United *Netherlands*, aſſuming, to their Aſſociates, all ſuch as value Chriſtian Blood, no more than that of Sheep and Goats, delighting their Eyes with the Devaſtation of Countries and Cities, even as if they beheld Comedies.'

Wiſe People do frequently look back upon Things paſſed; and, by comparing thoſe with the preſent Tranſactions, they from thence form unto themſelves Documents and Rules whereby to regulate their Deportment: If our Enemies, the *Hollanders*, had, amongſt the Difficulties thro' which they have waded, called to Mind the Meanneſs of their own Condition when they ſought Refuge here, and when Queen *Eliſabeth* ſupported them; the

* This is expreſſed in the *Declaration* of the pretended Commonwealth; and they determined to aſſert the Right of the Flag, not only as an honourable Salute, but as a Teſtimony of their undoubted Right and Dominion upon the neighbouring Seas.

† Theſe Expreſſions argue Fear in the Authors: And it ought to add to the Courage of the *Engliſh*, that beſides the Terrors of an evil Conſcience, and the Apprehenſions of divine Vengeance for their preſent Perfidy, and former Barbarities to the murdered and ruinated *Engliſh*; they are alſo ſenſible of the Puiſſance of their Enemies, now in Conjunction againſt them.

Vicinity, Strength, and Generoſity of the *Engliſh* Nation, the Candor and Sincerity which hath been conſtantly expreſſed unto them by the Royal Anceſtors of his Majeſty, whilſt they favoured theſe infamous *Netherlanders*. Had they conſidered the Viciſſitudes of Fortune, how great and unexpected they are; the Dangers of growing too puiſſant, though the Foundation of Grandeur be not laid in the Wronging and Depreſſing of others; that it is requiſite for them who advance themſelves by fraudulent Means, and the Injuries of others, to retain ſome firm Allies, and by the Repute of their Sincerity, to ſome, efface the Ignominy, and allay the Odium which their Perfidiouſneſs to others would create them. Had they aſſumed ſuch Thoughts as theſe, they had never contracted ſo univerſal an Enmity as they are now in Danger to ſink under. Their Condition is altogether like that of the Earl of *St. Paul*, who having inriched and advantaged himſelf, by a conſtant Practice of Treachery to the Kings of *England* and *France*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, none of them being ſafe from his Machinations, nor being able to rely upon any Promiſes of his, how ſolemn and ſacred ſoever, they altogether reſolved to eſtabliſh the common Tranquillity, by the Ruin of that perfidious Man. And when the City of *Venice* had by ſeveral Artifices aggrandiſed herſelf, and incroached upon the Dominions of ſundry Princes, the Emperor, *French* King, Pope, and others, did all join againſt that Republick (for their ſo many Practices in Raiſing and Fomenting of Diviſions and Wars of *Italy*, Breaking of former, and Entering into new Leagues, as Advantage, not Right, did excite them) and deprived the *Venetians* of all they held in the *Terra firma*. It is in vain for the *Conſiderer* to juſtify the preſent War unto his Countrymen, by urging Neceſſity and innocent Defence of themſelves: How ſpecious ſoever thoſe Pleas are, they avail not in this Caſe, becauſe they, by the manifold Injuries and Contumelies done to the King of *England*, have provoked him to attack them, and created to themſelves this Neceſſity of Warring; nor is their Defence innocent, becauſe it includes a Defence of the moſt barbarous Criminals, againſt all Laws, divine and human: And, certainly, if ever any War was juſtified by the Laws of Nature and Nations; if Self-preſervation, the Protection of injured Subjects, Vindication of Rights, Revenge of great Injuries and Indignities, be juſt Motives to commence a Quarrel (as each one of them is) never was any Prince more wronged than his Majeſty is, when the Glory of his preſent Actings is extenuated or ſoiled by any Charge of Injuſtice; nor do I find amongſt his Aſſociates any ſuch as value Chriſtian Blood, no more than that of Sheep and Goats; but I find he hath, for Enemies, thoſe that ſo exquiſitely tormented, and ſo barbarouſly put to Death the * *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, and, by a thouſand Actions no leſs cruel, have teſtified their little Regard to Chriſtian Blood.

The *Conſiderer*, that he might evince the Equity of their Cauſe, pretends to deduce its Original: The Sum of his prolix Diſcourſe is this: That,

'The King of *France* urging his Pretenſions on a conſiderable Part of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, in Right of his Queen to whom they were devolved: The United *Netherlands*, moved by a Peace-loving Inclination, and Apprehenſion of a terrible Neighbour, did endeavour to extinguiſh the Fury of that War, whoſe Flames, they feared, would not only conſume the adjacent Countries, but alſo ſcorch the more remote Places: And, to that End, they aſſociated Counſels with the Kings of *England* and *Sweden*, and jointly concluded a Triple Alliance betwixt themſelves, by which they have mutually obliged each other to promote the Peace betwixt *France* and *Spain*, on the Terms and Proffers of the Alternative, and, by the ſame Peace, to ſecure the Quiet and Tranquillity of *Chriſtendom*: Promiſing each to other, for further Confirmation of the ſaid Triple League, That betwixt them always ſhould be, and continue a ſincere Unity, and ſerious Correſpondence from their Hearts; and, in good Faith, to advance each other's Profits, Utility, and Dignity, and whatſoever ſhould oppoſe itſelf thereunto with their beſt Endeavours to remove: And if at any Time it ſhould happen, that this their amicable Intention ſhould meet with a wrong Interpretation, and, by Chance, an untimely Revenge of

* The Depoſitions of their Cruelties againſt his Majeſty's Subjects in the *Eaſt-Indies*, *Guiney*, and other Places, are to be ſeen in the *Regiſter*'s *Office* of the *High Court of Admiralty*, kept at *Doctors Commons*.

War

War by any of the ſaid Parties, or any others on their Behalf, ſhould be offered to any of them confederated, that in ſuch Caſe they ſhould faithfully aſſiſt one another.'

This is the Subſtance of the Triple Alliance: After which, he adds, That

'The King, the King of *England*, is ſenſible in his own Conſcience (though with Words he diſſembles, and diſowns the Knowledge thereof) that, by Reaſon of the Triple Alliance, the *Dutch* are menaced with a War from *France*, and that, whatſoever the moſt Chriſtian King pretends, this is the true Reaſon of his Deſigns, and which he hath plainly diſcovered in all Courts, and is no more than he threatened them with at firſt, in Caſe they ratified the Triple League. And, therefore, by Virtue of this Triple League, the King of *England* owes the *Dutch* an unconfined Aid; as alſo limited Succours of forty Ships of War, ſix-thouſand Foot, and four-hundred Horſe, by Virtue of the Defenſive Articles concluded in 1668. To which his Majeſty is obliged, if their High and Mighties be attacked by any Prince, or State, on what Pretext ſoever. The King of *England* being under theſe Obligations, and being extimulated by Ambition, Avarice, and an *inſatiable Thirſt after Blood*, determined to take the Opportunity of this Juncture (wherein the moſt potent King of *France* did threaten the *Dutch* with a terrible War) to purſue his unchriſtian Deſigns, and to diſengage himſelf the better from all Obligations of Aid to the *Dutch*, doth of himſelf previouſly begin a War, and, with a ſpecious Declaration, palliates and diſſembles his foul and malicious Deſigns.'

This is the intire Subſtance of what the *Conſiderer* tediouſly doth inſiſt upon, and is the ſole Foundation whereupon he proceeds to juſtify the *Dutch*, and with all poſſible Aggravations of Language beſpatters the King of *England*, as if no Chronicles ever produced ſuch a Precedent of violated Faith, as his Majeſty doth now give an Example of. I do confeſs, that nothing ought to be more ſacred, than the Word and Faith of Princes: That War is the laſt of Remedies whereunto they ought to have Recourſe, and which ought not to be commenced, but upon juſt, honourable, and neceſſary Grounds: I do acknowledge the Tenor of the Triple League, and the Defenſive Alliance. But I do avow that his Majeſty is no Way concerned in the Violation of them; nor is the Allegation of them pertinent to the preſent Quarrel: And of all the futile Pretexts, which I have read of in Hiſtory, this is the worſt whereon the *Dutch* do bottom themſelves. The Triple League doth no Way intereſt his Majeſty in their Defence; for it doth not appear that the moſt Chriſtian King doth invade them for Entering into it: There is no authentick Declaration or Teſtimony, that this is the Motive which prevails with him to undertake this Enterpriſe: The Secrets of his Mind are known only to himſelf, and to the Searcher of all Hearts: It is not for Men to proceed upon Conjectures and Surmiſes (which oftentimes prove vain and falſe) as if they were certain Truths; nor can any Prince be obliged indeterminately (and ſuch is the preſent unreaſonable Plea of theſe *Hollanders*) where the Condition of the Aid to be given is particularly ſpecified, *viz.* If it ſhould happen that this their amicable Intention ſhould meet with a wrong Interpretation, and by Chance, an untimely Revenge of War by any of the ſaid Parties, or any others on their Behalf, ſhould be offered to any of them confederated, that in ſuch Caſe they ſhould faithfully aſſiſt one another. Can there be any Thing more clear, than that the Aid to be given is ſuſpended upon this one Circumſtance, that the Triple Alliance ſhould fall under a wrong Interpretation, and that thereupon the Party demanding the Aid ſhould be attacked by a revengeful War? How doth it appear that the Entering into the Triple Alliance is miſinterpreted, ſince it doth not appear that his Chriſtian Majeſty did ever debate it, much leſs declare himſelf therein? How doth it appear, that he plainly diſcovered this Sentiment by his Miniſters in all Courts, ſince it doth not appear that he gave them private or publick Inſtructions to ſay ſo? Muſt a Prince anſwer for every Expreſſion, or every particular Action of his Ambaſſador? Can there be no other Cauſe but this found out, Why the King of *France* ſhould attack the *Dutch*? Cannot we imagine, that the *French* retain a ſecret and inveterate Deſire of Revenge, for the notorious Perfidy of the States-General, when they concluded a Peace with *Spain*, without mentioning the Crown of *France*, or having any Regard to the *French* Intereſt?

Intereſt? Or, is it not poſſible for the Chriſtian King to make War upon them without a Cauſe? Or merely for Enlargement of Empire? Or for other concealed Reaſons, or unknown Indignities? What pregnant Proof, or legal Preſumptions, do the Dutch alledge then, that This is the Cauſe of the preſent War? And with what Impudence do they upbraid our King, as if the Thing were ſo, and he knew it in his Conſcience to be ſo, when, as the *Conſiderer* himſelf, in the Concluſion of this Treatiſe, ſays, It is not ſo? *Viz.* I ſhall hint at nothing elſe in the King of *France*'s Declaration, but that it appears viſible therein, that the War of that high renowned King proceeds from nothing elſe but a formed Deſign to enlarge the Limits of his Territories, as far as his Ambition is extended; yet that we hope that God Almighty ſhall, by the ſame Hand by which he hath hitherto preſerved us, confound the Deſigns of the King. — I doubt not, but hereby it is manifeſt, that his Majeſty is no Way concerned by the Triple League to aſſiſt the United *Netherlands* in this Juncture: And even ſo the *Swedes*, by their Indifference, ſhew how much they approve of the Judgment of his Majeſty: And no Man can ſay otherwiſe, but ſuch as either regard not what they ſpeak, or elſe take the Freedom to ſurmiſe, and aver, whatſoever is for their Intereſt.

I come now to the Defenſive Alliance, whereby his Majeſty, *A. D.* 1668, did oblige himſelf unto that State, to give them an Aſſiſtance (if attacked by any Prince or State on what Pretence ſoever) of forty Ships of War, ſix thouſand Foot, and four hundred Horſe, upon Promiſe, three Years after the Expiration of the War, to be re-imburſed of the Charges of the ſaid Succour. But neither is this Alliance of any more Validity, at preſent, than the other: It is the common Opinion of the Civil Lawyers, and Reaſon itſelf dictates it, that, In all Articles and Treaties for Peace, there is this Exception to be ſuppoſed in the Contractors, Unleſs ſome new Cauſe intervene; unleſs it be by the Default of him with whom the League and Compact is made; or, Affairs continuing in the ſame Poſture and State, in which they were at the Time of the Contract. And that Saying of *Ulpianus* and *Pomponius* concerning private Compacts, *viz.* That an Agreement is not violated, from which a Man recedes upon a juſt Reaſon and Motive; this, by Interpreters, is extended to National Leagues betwixt Princes and States. This being ſuppoſed, it remains that we inquire, Whether the King of *England* had any new Cauſe or Provocation given him? For, if ſuch a Matter do appear to have happened, though it be ſlight, nay, diſputable, yet is his Majeſty abſolved from Breach of Faith, though not altogether from the Imputation of Injuſtice: But, if the Provocation be weighty, and of high Importance, Nothing can be more legitimate than the preſent Rupture which his Majeſty hath made with the *Dutch*. I would willingly know, if any *Engliſhman* can think that his Majeſty could be obliged to this Defenſive Alliance, without any Regard to the Peace concluded upon at *Breda*, that is, without any Suppoſition, that he was, in 1668, in any Terms of Amity with theſe *Netherlanders*: If this be unimaginable, then it is apparent, that the Obſervation of theſe Articles, on his Majeſty's Part, depends upon the Obſervation of the precedent Peace, on the Part of the *Dutch*. His Majeſty never contracted this League with them, ſo as to derogate from that, and to tie himſelf up to the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*, againſt the King of *France*, or any other Invader, notwithſtanding that they ſhould violate their Articles, and multiply Injuries, Indignities, and Acts of Hoſtility againſt him, and his Subjects. No Prince ever fettered himſelf thus; no Laws of Nations, no common Reaſon admits of ſuch a Fancy; and, therefore, the notorious Violation of that Peace doth plenarily abſolve his Majeſty from the Bonds of this ſubſequent Alliance.

The *Conſiderer*, no Doubt, foreſaw this Defence, but would not take Notice of it, leſt he ſhould have been obliged to refrain from the Aſperſions of unparalleled Perfidiouſneſs and violated Faith, the Name and Noiſe whereof might advantage him amongſt the *Dutch* Populace, and the more ignorant Sort of Men. And, to give a further Colour to his Calumnies, he ſays, That the Reaſons which his Majeſty alledgeth are not the Reaſons which he proceeds upon; they are but forged Pretenſions, whilſt the true Inducements to this Rupture are Ambition, Avarice, and inſatiable Revenge. Since the Man ſo little underſtands his Majeſty's Inclinations and Deportment, which have been, hitherto, ſuch as yield no Ground for a Charge of this Nature, I will not ſtand to refute his inſolent and barbarous Conjectures, nor believe ſo ill of the moſt generous, mild, and peaceable Prince

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in the World, as that he diligently ſought Occaſions for a War, when the injurious *Dutch* rendered all Peace unſafe, and diſhonourable unto him.

I ſhall therefore examine what my Author doth urge againſt the Declaration of his Majeſty, wherein, when my Countrymen ſhall be ſatisfied, I doubt not, but they will approve of the Juſtice of his Majeſty's Cauſe, and be inflamed with a Zeal to vindicate the Honour of their King, and the neceſſary Rights of the Kingdom.

Concerning the Buſineſs of *Surinam* (my Author doth not conſider every Thing) all that is ſaid amounts to this:

'That the Place, being taken in *March*, 1667, by *Abraham Crynſen*, of *Zealand*, with the Forces of their State, and ſo, under certain Covenants, reduced to their Obedience and Subjection, was indeed, in the Month of *May* next following, retaken by the *Engliſh*; but that the ſame, in Purſuance of the ſixth Article, providing, That all Lands, Cities, Fortifications, and Colonies, taken, during the War, by any of the Parties then in Arms, from the other, and, after the $\frac{10}{20}$ of *May*, retaken, ſhould be reſtored to the firſt Taker, was delivered up again into the Poſſeſſion of the States. He wonders that the King of *England* ſhould offer to ſtile any of the Inhabitants of *Surinam* to be his Subjects, ſince, by the Rights of War, and the Articles of Peace, the plenary Dominion, and Right of Sovereignty, is transferred to the *Dutch*; and they, being now Subjects to that State, ought to complain to their States-General, if the ſaid Capitulations be not obſerved duly; but that the King of *England* is no more intereſted in them, than is the King of *Spain*.'

To this I anſwer, That, by the third Article inſtanced in, though the plenary Right of Sovereignty over *Surinam* were transferred, yet it is expreſly ſaid, They are to have it altogether, after the ſame Manner, as they had gotten, and did poſſeſs them, the $\frac{10}{20}$ Day of *May* laſt paſt. It remains then, that we inquire, What Manner of Sovereignty the *Dutch* had in *Surinam*, by their Conqueſt thereof, by the Capitulations of *Abraham Crynſen*? And this appears to be no other, than what the *Dutch* had over *Bois le Duc*, when *Grobbendonck* capitulated to ſurrender it to the Prince of *Orange* upon Terms, to march away with flying Colours, and ſuch Inhabitants, as pleaſed, might remove their Eſtates and Goods into the King of *Spain*'s Dominions, within a certain Time, *&c. A. D.* 1629; ſo were the Inhabitants of *Surinam* to have convenient Liberty to tranſport themſelves, and their Eſtates, into the King of *England*'s Dominions. And as *Grobbendonck*, by his Capitulation, together with thoſe comprehended therein, did not become the Subjects of the United *Netherlands*, no, though he, or his Followers, had ſtayed ſeveral Months in the ſurrendered Town, but retained to the King of *Spain*; ſo neither did theſe of *Surinam* become, by their Capitulation, Subjects to the *Dutch*. It is true, they gained thereby the Sovereignty of the Territory, but not of their Perſons; and, to deny this, is to act by the *Punick* or *Belgick* Faith; to deny that *Abraham Crynſen*, at that Diſtance, had Power to grant Articles, and to act as *Hannibal* did, when he refuſed to ratify the Conditions granted by *Maharbal*, becauſe he, though abſent, was the Superior, and had not ſigned them; which Deed is cenſured by *Livy*, thus: *Quæ Punicâ religione ſervata fides ab Annibale eſt, atque in vincula omnes conjecti.* This being premiſed, I cannot underſtand why the King of *England* might not call them his Subjects, and ſend for them; and, as an high Injury, reſent their Detaining, ſince thereby he is deprived of ſo many ſerviceable Planters in his other Colonies thereabouts.

'The King proceeds, from the Grievances of the Buſineſs at *Surinam*, to a Complaint of pretended Affronts, which he alledgeth to have ſuffered from the States, as well in making, as ſhewing of Pictures, Medals, and Pillars, as in refuſing to ſtrike the Flag; declaring, that the Firſt alone, *viz.* the Making and Shewing of Pictures and Medals, hath been a ſufficient Motive of his Diſpleaſure, and the Reſentment of all his Subjects, that is, in one Word, of the War. God preſerve the World from ſuch Chriſtian Princes, as, for a Picture or Medal, make no Scruple to ſtir up Commotions in *Chriſtendom*, and to cauſe the Effuſion of ſo much innocent Blood.'

I never yet apprehended, that Chriſtianity obliged its Profeſſors to abandon their Concerns for a good Repute and Honour. They have, indeed,

indeed, ſome ſuch Aphoriſms in *Holland*, where the Regards of Virtue, Piety, Juſtice, and Honour do yield to thoſe of Gain; but, in other Places, the Caſe differs, and the moſt honourable Conſiderations prevail above the Infamous, though profitable. St. *Auguſtine*, and all Caſuiſts, do agree, That thoſe Wars are juſt, wherein ſuch Injuries are avenged upon a Nation or Kingdom, which that Kingdom, or Nation, hath either neglected to puniſh in their own Subjects, or refuſed to yield Satisfaction for unto the Party injured. And, if the Conſiderer had employed his Time in any diligent Reſearch into the juſt Cauſes of War, he would have found the moſt knowing, prudent, and learned Chriſtians to teach, That ſometimes private Indignities, always the Indignities put upon Princes, are a juſt Cauſe of War. Thus did *David*, though a Man after God's own Heart, who, we are aſcertained, did not ill, in making War upon the *Ammonites*, becauſe they cut off Half the Beards of his Ambaſſadors. It is moſt certain, that, beſides the Defence of his People, there are other Titles, and other Conſiderations, which put Arms lawfully into the Hands of a Prince; there are other Wounds to heal, and other Breaches to make up, than the Ruin of his Subjects; the Outrages, acted againſt his Honour, are to be revenged, and the Spots wiped off, which are imprinted upon the Reputation of his Crown, as one of the Pillars which bear up his Greatneſs, and therefore to be carefully preſerved from Blows, that it fall not into Contempt. The Reputation of a Prince is, by ſome, compared to the Credit of Merchants, which maintains them in Honour and Luſtre, though they be, in Effect, poor, and gives them, oftentimes, Means to fill up the concealed Emptineſs of their Coffers, and to repair the weak inviſible Condition of their Fortunes. But, when a Prince is wounded in his Reputation, and his Forces are cried down; when his Proſperities are leſſened, and his Diſgraces increaſed; when Endeavours are uſed to obſcure the Luſtre of his Greatneſs and Puiſſance, wherewith the Eyes of Strangers ought to be dazzled, and to draw a Curtain before the exterior Face of his Affairs: This is the Subject of a juſt War, and whatſoever private Chriſtians may do, in ſome Caſes; Princes do not diſcharge their Duty, nor take requiſite Care for their Subjects, if they do not avenge notorious Contumelies and Indignities: Nay, I dare add, That ſuch of them, as are negligent in this Caſe, do not only run into great Perils from foreign Kings, but their Domeſticks and Subjects, who will be prone to deſpiſe, trample upon, and ruin them, whom they ſee univerſally contemned and affronted. The Caſuiſtical Divines, and Civilians, are herein agreed; and they do not allow a Prince the Liberty to pardon Indignities and Contumelies done to his Perſon, becauſe his Reputation is not properly his own, his Subjects ſhare therein, and whatſoever Indulgence he grants, in ſuch Caſes, they are null and invalid.

It is further adjudged, that whoſoever doth act or ſpeak any Thing, to the Defamation of another, is obliged, in Conſcience, to make the injured Party Reparation; not only as to the Indignity itſelf, but as to all the Damages which he received, by Reaſon of the Diſparagement done unto him. And ſhould the *Engliſh* purſue, herein, what in Juſtice they may, the greateſt Part of the *Dutch* Trade in *Guiney* and the *Eaſt-Indies*, as alſo *Ruſſia* ſhould be put into their Poſſeſſion; for theſe inſolent *Hollanders* have advanced themſelves to the preſent Grandeur and Height, as well as Vaſtneſs of Trade, by affronting the *Engliſh* Merchants, defaming and belying, moſt contumelioufly, the Perſon, Conduct, and Strength of their Prince, and by expoſing him to Scorn and Deriſion, by ridiculous Pictures, and odious Medals. And, becauſe that this laſt Inſtance is a Part of the preſent Conteſt, and would indeed alone authenticate it, I will relate the evil Effects of theſe Medals and Pictures, which they occaſioned unto the *Engliſh* in *Muſcovy*, as the deceaſed Dr. *Collins*, who was Phyſician to the *Czar*, hath left it upon Record:

'The *Hollanders* have another Advantage, 'by rendering the *Engliſh* cheap and ridicu- 'lous, by their lying Pictures, and libelling 'Pamphlets; this makes the *Ruſſian* think us 'a ruined Nation. They repreſent us by a 'Lion painted, with three Crowns reverſed, 'and without a Tail; and by many Maſtive- 'dogs, whoſe Ears are cropped, and Tails cut 'off; with many ſuch ſcandalous Prints, be- 'ing more ingenious in the Uſe of their Pen- 'cils than Pens. Theſe Stories take much

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with the barbarous People, when no Body is preſent to contradict them.'

It is no Juſtification, for the States-General, to ſay, That theſe are, for the moſt Part, the Actions of particular Perſons, for which the Publick is not accountable. It is enough for the *Engliſh*, that the States themſelves publiſhed ſome, and that no Sollicitations and Complaints could make them recall, ſuppreſs, and prohibit the others. This Deportment of theirs doth amount to an Authoriſing of them, and it is a Rule, that a Ratihabition, in Deeds, is more powerful, than a Ratihabition in Words; and the Republick involveth itſelf in thoſe Crimes, which it refuſeth to puniſh. So *Agapetus*, in *Juſtinian*, declares, It is the ſame Thing to offend one's ſelf, and not to prohibit the Offences of others.

This Controverſy, about Indignities and Contumelies done to Princes, doth recall into my Mind the Violence wherewith former Kings have reſented them. *David*, without any Formalities of denouncing War (that I read of) attacked the *Ammonites*, and, with horrible Torments, revenged the Indignities done to his Majeſty upon the Inhabitants of *Rabbah*. And *Guſtavus Adolphus* invaded the *German* Empire, without ever declaring War, to revenge the contumelious Uſage of his Ambaſſadors at *Lubeck*. Had either of thoſe potent Kings received any ſuch Injuries and Affronts, as his Majeſty of *Great-Britain* hath had multiplied upon him, How fierce a Vengeance would they have taken upon their barbarous and inſolent Enemies, whoſe outrageous Doings do give unto any Rigours the Face of Juſtice, and abſolve from the uſual Solemnities of War.

I ſuppoſe it now manifeſt, that our King might, with a great Deal of Juſtice, make War upon the *Dutch*, merely in Vindication of his own Honour, and that without the uſual Form of declaring War. But, becauſe this laſt Circumſtance is repreſented ſo tragically, as if thereby the *Engliſh* Ships, though acting by a royal Commiſſion, were Pirates, and as bad as thoſe of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, I ſhall demonſtrate, that the ſolemn Declaration of War, before it begin, is not always neceſſary.

It is not any Part of the Law of Nature, that a Prince denounce War before he begin Hoſtilities: All that Nature directs us unto in this Caſe, is, that we repel Force with Force, and avenge ourſelves, or take Reparations for Injuries committed againſt us. All that can be alledged for it out of *Grotius*, is, that it is a fair and laudable Courſe, and not always practiſed by the *Romans* themſelves: For, when the *Carthaginians* in two Wars had ſhewed themſelves an ungenerous and perfidious Enemy, ſuch as the *Dutch* are to all the World, they did not denounce the third War againſt them, but proceeded by Surpriſe againſt that vexatious, treacherous, irreconcileable People, and uſed them not as other Nations, becauſe that others were not like unto them. And *Xenophon*, in his Romance of *Cyrus*, thought it no ill Character of his Hero, that he ſhould without Denunciation make War upon the King of *Armenia*. So did *Pyrrhus*; ſo did *Guſtavus Adolphus*. As in the Civil Courts of Judicature a formal Citation is not always neceſſary; in like Manner, a Prince may ſometimes omit the Proclaiming of War before he practiſe Hoſtilities. But, to evince the intire Juſtice of that Encounter of ours with the *Smyrna* Fleet, it may be convenient for us to conſider, that thoſe Ships, meeting with our Fleet, did refuſe to ſtrike their Flags and lower their Topſails unto the Ships of War of his Majeſty, contrary to the nineteenth Article of *Breda*: And, that being refuſed, it was not only lawful for our Ships to deſtroy or ſeize them, and for his Majeſty to confiſcate them: But it was the expreſs Commiſſion of the Ship-Captains (and hath been ſo to all Men of War for above four-hundred Years) and an inſeparable Regality of the King of *England*, which authoriſe and authenticate that Action in full. It is no new Doctrine in *England*, to ſay no Ship can be protected in Point of Amity, which ſhould in any wiſe preſume not to ſtrike Sail: Queen *Eliſabeth* gave the ſame Form of Commiſſions and Inſtructions to her Admirals; and, if there never happened any Rencounters in her Times like unto this, it was becauſe no Prince diſputed the Thing with her, and the *Dutch* were then the Diſtreſſed States. This Regality of having the Flag ſtruck to the Navy Royal, or any Part of it, is paramount to all Treaties, ſo far is it from being limited and reſtrained by the Treaty at *Breda*; and whatſoever contravenes it, is not to be conſtrued ſo as the Breach of inferior Articles. The Right of the Flag is not demanded by Vertue of the Treaty from the *Dutch*, though they cannot refuſe it without annulling that Treaty, but

recogniſed there as a Fundamental of the Crown and Dignity of the King of *England*. Such Points are not the Subject of Treaties, and no Conceſſions were valid againſt them. In ſuch Caſes we ſay, *Plus in talibus valere quod in receſſu mentis occultatur, quam quod verborum formula concipitur.* It is therefore evident, that nothing was acted on our Side contrary to the ſaid League, in Reference to the *Smyrna* Ships: And the enſuing War, notwithſtanding the twenty-third Article, is to be imputed to the Perfidiouſneſs of the States-General: Not that the private Act and Obſtinacy of the *Smyrna* Ships did make it to be ſo, but the States-General had juſtified *Van Ghent* in the like Caſe; and, by that ſolemn and notorious Violation of the nineteenth Article of *Breda*, in Effect declared War againſt us; and we needed not to declare any Thing on our Side; it not being judged neceſſary, but a ſuperfluous Ceremony, for both Parties to denounce War: And if the one Party, as here the *Dutch*, do reſcind a Treaty (Leagues are individual Acts, and the Violation of one Article doth annul the Obligation of the Whole) then are we, *ipſo facto*, in a Condition of War, nor is it requiſite the King declare himſelf: They, that violate their Faith, render themſelves incapable of Wrong; and it is a Vanity to multiply Demonſtrations of what the *Dutch* had already made publick. In fine, the Laws of War inform us, that the War is ſufficiently declared, when all Applications and Ambaſſies become fruitleſs. And Divines tell us, that there are ſome Caſes when a Man is abſolved from the Obligation of fraternal Correption and Admonition, *viz.* when the Perſon offending is notoriouſly known to be ſo perverſe and obſtinate, that all Reproofs and Warnings would be fruitleſs, for, ſay they, *He that ploweth ought to plow in Hope*, 1 *Cor.* ix. 10. And where there is no Hope of any good Succeſs by friendly Applications, there no Man is bound in Conſcience or Prudence to purſue them. Though this relate to private Perſons, yet the Condition is the ſame in Reference to Princes, ſeeing that the chief Ground of Ambaſſies, and ſuch like Remonſtrances amongſt Chriſtian Potentates, is fraternal Dilection; and therefore, if the Inutility and Fruitleſneſs of a Negotiation abſolve us juſtly from it there, it will alſo do the ſame here: Wherefore, ſince his Majeſty was convinced by the ill Event of all his amicable Applications to the *Dutch*, and underſtood ſo well the Reſolutions of the *Hague*, that they would not ſtrike Sail, he might juſtly omit all ſuch Formalities, and immediately proceed to carve out his own Satisfaction by an advanced War.

'Concerning the Right of the Flag, it is in the firſt Place to be remarked, That it is clearly intimated in the ſaid Declaration, that, That King by the ſaid Right underſtands the Sovereignty of the Seas; ſince ſpeaking of the Antiquity of the ſaid Right, he adds thereunto, that it is an ungrateful Inſolence, that we ſhould offer to contend with him about the ſaid Sovereignty: Whereby it plainly appears, that the Flag, and Sovereignty of the Seas, are Words of different Sounds, but according to the King's Meaning of the ſame Signification; ſo that we may eaſily conjecture, that the Difference betwixt the King of *England*, and this State, about the ſaid pretended Right of the Flag (which is inſinuated to that Nation, as the moſt important Grievance, wherein the People's Honour is concerned) is not at preſent a Controverſy, about Saluting and Striking of the Flag, and conſequently no Diſpute in Relation to the Senſe of the Nineteenth Article of the Treaty at *Breda*, but only a Conteſt about the Sovereignty of the Sea, which this State attributes to God Almighty alone; and the King of *England* uſurps to himſelf, although perhaps, *per gratiam Dei*, by which the moſt abſolute Princes govern their Lands and Territories. And the Ambaſſador *Downing* alſo, concerning the aforeſaid Senſe of the Nineteenth Article, in his Memorial, delivered in the Name of the King, demanded of the States a plain and clear Acknowledgment of the aforeſaid pretended Sovereignty of the Seas.

Every one then can tell of our Countrymen, and the impartial World may ſee, that not the Refuſing to ſtrike the Flag, in Purſuance of the ſaid Article, which was fully performed, as ſhall hereafter be made evident, but only a Refuſal of the ſaid Acknowledgment, hath been the Subject of the King of *England*'s Complaint. And it is likewiſe eaſily to be apprehended, that at preſent the ſaid Acknowment is demanded from the States, not by Reaſon of the Juſtice of Right to the pretended Affair, but only out of a plotted Deſign to war againſt us, which Deſign could not be put in Execution, but by a Demand of impoſſible Satisfaction; for which Intent, the Ambaſſador *Downing* propounded nothing elſe to the States than

than the Acknowledgment aforeſaid, leſt having made Propoſitions of other Things, he might receive Satisfaction for his King, who (he knew) would not be ſatisfied.

Of what Importance the ſaid Acknowledgment ſo demanded is, is not unknown to any of the Subjects of this State, whoſe only Subſiſtence is Commerce, and conſequently the Liberty of the Seas. I do believe, that not one ſingle Fiſherman in our Country can be found (be he never ſo ſimple) that apprehends not his chiefeſt Intereſt to conſiſt herein, and that to force the ſaid Acknowledgment out of his Throat, and thereupon to cauſe the Effects of the ſaid pretended Sovereignty to follow, is one and the ſame Thing, as to tie up his Throat; or, at leaſt, there is no other Diſtinction than betwixt a ſpeedy and a tedious, yet aſſured, Death; ſince after the ſaid Acknowledgment there can, at the beſt, nothing elſe be expected from the King of *England*'s Grace and Favour, than an Option and Choice of a ſudden Period, or a lingering Diſeaſe, which is worſe than a precipitated Death.

And although the King of *England* extends not his pretended Dominion, further than the *Britiſh* Seas, yet it is evidently known, that the Limits of the ſaid Seas are by the King ſtretched out ſo far, that not the leaſt Part for a Paſſage out of our Country is left, which is not in Reſpect of his pretended Sovereignty ſubjected to the King, according to his Senſe; conſidering that not only the Channel, but alſo the North Sea, and a great Part of the Ocean, is by the King of *England* accounted the *Britiſh* Sea; ſo that we ſhould not be able, out of our own Country, to ſet out to Sea, but only by the Grace and Favour of the King of *England*, of which we ſhould be aſſured far leſs than now we are of his Faith and Promiſe.

We ſhall not enter at preſent to confute the aforeſaid Pretences to the Sovereignty of the Sea, not only becauſe the ſame would prove too prolix, but alſo (and that principally) by Reaſon it cannot be judged neceſſary to contradict what all the World holds to be impertinent, except the King of *England*, who as little can adhere to Reaſon, as with reaſonable Offers he will be ſatisfied. We ſhall only ſay, that it is falſe, and never can be proved, that we ever fiſhed in the Sea, with Licenſe and Permiſſion of the King of *England*'s Father, and that for Paying Tribute, as the aforeſaid Declaration expreſſeth.

We confeſs, that in the Year 1636, ſome of the King of *England*'s Ships of War ſeized upon our defenceleſs Herring buſſes, and that, by mere Violence, they forced a Sum of Money from them, which they called, *Tonnage money*; but we deny that from thence any Right or Title can be derived, not only becauſe Violence can create no Right (no not by Continuance) but alſo becauſe the aforeſaid violent Exaction was not continued; Complaints being made in *England*, of the aforeſaid Exorbitance, the ſame afterwards was no more demanded.

We ſhall, with Favour of the courteous Reader, paſſing to the Buſineſs of the Flag, ſo as the ſame, in the Nineteenth Article of the Treaty at *Breda*, is regulated (which Article muſt decide this Controverſy) briefly demonſtrate, that nothing was committed by the Lord of *Ghent*, in the late Encounter, contrary to the ſaid Article; and moreover, that what hath been offered to the King of *England*, by this State, over and above the Obligations of the ſaid Article, is ſo convincing a Conceſſion, that we need not fear to refer it to the Judgment of the *Engliſh* themſelves, as promiſing to ourſelves, from the ſaid People's Diſcretion, that (in Reſpect this State hath given abundant Satisfaction to them in Point of Honour) they will ſcorn and deteſt to demand that we ſhould acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Sea (proceeding only from a Deſire of War) to belong to them.

It is evident, and amongſt all diſcreet Perſons, without Controverſy, that Saluting at Sea, either by firing of Guns, or ſtriking the Flag, or lowering of ſome Sail, muſt not be interpreted as ſome Sign of Subjection, but merely for an outward Teſtimony of Reſpect and Civility, which then with a reſolute and the like Civility is required; and foraſmuch as concerns the firſt Saluting, whereof we only here ſhall make Mention, it is conceived, ſince thoſe commonly firſt ſalute, that own themſelves Inferiors, in Rank and Worth, to thoſe they meet, although they are not under Subjection to them, that Ships of Republicks, meeting at Sea with Ships of War belonging to crowned Heads (to which Republicks yield Superiority in the World) muſt give the firſt Salute, either with one or other Sign of Reſpect; which Reſpect notwithſtanding, as all other Acts of Civility, muſt proceed from a free Willingneſs, and an unconſtrained Mind, in thoſe that ſhew the ſame;

yet it hath often been ſeen, that the Strongeſt at Sea hath forced the Weakeſt to this Submiſſion; and that likewiſe the Neceſſity and Manner thereof hath been expreſſed in Articles.

Such is likewiſe concerning the ſame agreed on betwixt the King of *England* and this State, in the ſaid nineteenth Article, in Conformity to former Articles, as well concluded with the preſent King, as the Protector *Cromwell*, that the Ships and Veſſels of the United Provinces, ſet out to Sea, as well for War, and Defence againſt Enemies, as others, which at any Time ſhould meet, in the *Britiſh* Seas, with any of the Ships of War of the King of *Great-Britain*, ſhall ſtrike their Flag, and lower their Top-ſail, in the like Manner, as formerly hath been cuſtomary.

To apprehend the true Senſe of that Article, as it ought to be, let the Reader be pleaſed to take Notice, that the ſame proceeded originally from the Articles, betwixt this State and the Protector *Cromwell*, concluded in the Year, 1654; and that, at that Time, the ſame was not expreſſed in ſuch Terms, as after a long Debate of ſome Words, which the Protector *Cromwell* would have added thereunto, thereby not only to oblige ſingle Ships, but intire Fleets of the States to the ſaid Salute, in Caſe of meeting with any of the Ships of War belonging to *England*; which Words afterwards, upon the earneſt Inſtance of the Miniſters of this State, were left out of the ſaid Article; ſo that the aforeſaid nineteenth Article, drawn out of the tenth Article of the Peace, in the Year 1662, which tenth Article, on the King's Side, was delivered in out of the thirteenth Article of the Year 1654, muſt not be ſo underſtood, that an intire Fleet of the States, by Vertue of the ſaid Article, ſhall be obliged to give the ſaid Salute to one ſingle Ship of the *Engliſh*; but the ſaid Article muſt be taken for a Regulation, according to which ſingle Ships and Veſſels of this State, in Point of ſaluting the Ships of *England*, are to govern themſelves.

Now to apply the ſaid Article, according to the true Senſe, to the late Accident of the Lord of *Ghent*; it is, in the *firſt* Place, to be obſerved, that the King of *England*'s Pleaſure-boat (ſuppoſe, in Reſpect of her Equipage, it muſt paſs for a Ship of War, which we will not diſpute) not having met with any ſingle Ships or Veſſels of the States, but coming in amongſt a Fleet, then riding at Anchor (undoubtedly, with a wicked Deſign, to ſeek Matter of Complaint) it, with no fundamental Reaſons, can be maintained, that the Lord of *Ghent*, by Vertue of the ſaid Article, was obliged to ſtrike.

Secondly, It is likewiſe conſiderable, that the aforeſaid Article, ſpeaking of Meeting, cannot be applied to a formed Deſign, to cauſe a Quarrel, by requiring, in the uncivileſt Manner in the World, an Act of Civility and Reſpect.'

And *Laſtly*, It is notorious, that the ſaid Accident happened in the North Sea, not far from our own Coaſt; as likewiſe, it is well known, that the North Sea is not the *Britiſh* Sea, not only becauſe in all Sea-plats (yea in the *Engliſh* Map itſelf) it is diſtinguiſhed from all others, but alſo and eſpecially (which in this Caſe is an invincible Argument) by Reaſon the ſame, in the ſeventh Article of the Treaty of *Breda*, are diſtinctly mentioned one from the other; where it is expreſly ſaid, that all Ships and Merchandiſes, which, within twelve Days after the Peace, are taken in the *Britiſh* Sea, and the North Sea, ſhall continue in Propriety to the Seizer; out of which it plainly appears, that, even according to the King of *England*'s Senſe, the North Sea differs in Reality from the *Britiſh* Sea; but *(vice versâ)* that the North Sea is made the *Britiſh* Sea, and conſequently, that diſtinct Things are confounded together, where there is a Deſign to raiſe Commotions and Diſturbances in the World.

And, though their High and Mightiness might have kept to the nineteenth Article of the ſaid Treaty, according to the true original Interpretation; yet they declared to the King of *Great-Britain*, that upon the Foundation and Condition of a firm Friendſhip, and Aſſurance of a real and ſincere Performance thereof (upon the fifth Article of the Triple Alliance, in Caſe *France* ſhould fall upon this State) they would willingly cauſe the intire Fleet, when they ſhould, at any Time, meet with any Ship or Ships of War, carrying his Majeſty's Standard, to ſtrike the Flag, and lower the Top-ſail, in Teſtimony of their Reſpect and Honour, which they, upon all Occaſions, will publickly ſhew to ſo faithful a Friend, and ſo great a Monarch: Provided, that from thence no Occaſion, either now or hereafter, ſhould be taken, or the leaſt Inducements given, to hinder or moleſt the Inhabitants and Subjects of the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, in their free Uſe of the

the Seas: Which Declaration the King of *England* wrongly interprets, becauſe that the ſame is joined with the true Performance of the Triple League, that is, with his Honour and Word; as alſo, with the Aſſurance, that no Prejudice ſhould be offered, in Regard of the free Uſe of the Seas; being an infallible Argument, that the King of *England* is as little inclined to leave us an undiſturbed Uſe of the Seas, as he is to keep and perform his Word.'

I have already demonſtrated the Juſtice and Honour of his Majeſty's Arms. This Diſcourſe gives me Occaſion to manifeſt the Neceſſity thereof: All that is recited, here, was alledged by the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors to our King; and if it appear hence, that his Majeſty would not continue his Alliance any longer with the *Dutch*, unleſs he would abandon the Sovereignty of the Sea, exchange his proper Rights into mere Civilities (and thoſe not to be forced) and put himſelf, and his Dominions, into the Power of the *Dutch*: There is none, then, can doubt, but that the King was unavoidably engaged into this War, by the Inſolence and Arrogance of the treacherous and uſurping *Hollanders*, and that he did not ſeek or feign Pretenſions, to quarrel with them.

The nineteenth Article of the Treaty at *Breda* doth run thus:

'That the Ships and Veſſels of the ſaid United Provinces, as well Men of War, as others, meeting any Men of War of the ſaid King of *Great-Britain*'s, in the *Britiſh* Seas, ſhall ſtrike the Flag, and lower the Top-ſail, in ſuch Manner, as the ſame hath been formerly obſerved in any Times whatſoever.'

This Article was tranſcribed out of a former Treaty, made betwixt *O. P.* and the States-General, and he was the firſt that ever inſerted any ſuch Article into any Treaty; our Right and Dominion over the *Britiſh* Seas having never been diſputed before, but by an immemorial Preſcription and Poſſeſſion tranſmitted unto us, and ſuppoſed as unqueſtionable by all Princes; theſe ungrateful *Dutch* are the firſt that controverted it, diſowning it in the Time of the late Wars, when our Civil Diſtractions rendered our Prince unable to attend unto the Maritime Dominion, and to curb their growing Pride; yet was the Long Parliament ſo concerned to preſerve the Rights of this Nation, that they made an Ordinance, *April* the Fifth, 1643, commanding their Admiral and Commanders at Sea, to force all Perſons to pay the uſual and due Submiſſions unto the Men of War, appertaining to this Kingdom. And the pretended Republick here, did vigorouſly, and by a dreadful War, aſſert the ſaid Sovereignty of the Seas. So that it ought to be deemed, the concurring Sentiment of all Parties in *England*, That theſe Submiſſions, by ſtriking the Flag, and lowering the Top-ſail, are not mere Civilities, and unneceſſary Punctilioes of Honour and Vain-glory, but a fundamental Point, whereon the Being of the King and Kingdom is in great Part ſuſpended; and it hath been ſo ſtudiouſly inſiſted on, by our Princes, that for above four-hundred Years, it hath been a Clauſe in the Inſtructions of the Admiral, and the Commanders under him, that, in Caſe they met any Ships whatſoever, upon the *Britiſh* Seas, that refuſed to ſtrike Sail, at the Command of the King's Admiral, or his Lieutenants, that then they ſhould repute them as Enemies (without expecting a declared War) and deſtroy them, and their Ships, or otherwiſe ſeize and confiſcate their Ships and Goods. And theſe Inſtructions have been retained in Uſe, as well ſince the Treaty of *Breda*, as before it. The like Inſtructions are given by the *Venetians*, to their Captains, in Reference to the *Adriatick* Sea, and by ſeveral other Princes.

It is manifeſt, and agreed upon by the *Conſiderer*, that this Article muſt decide the preſent Controverſy; and it is no leſs evident, that this Article doth decide it to their Prejudice, and that they are inexcuſable, as to the Breach thereof. I will not ſtretch the Words of the Article ſo far, as to infer, that they ought to ſtrike the Flag, in Acknowledgment of the Sovereignty of the Sea; ſince otherwiſe they do not ſtrike it, 'in ſuch Manner, as the ſame hath been formerly obſerved in any Times whatſoever;' though the Words oblige them not only to the Thing, but circumſtantiate the Manner of it. Let their Sentiments be free; but yet let us ſee, how they comply with the Article, as to Matter of Fact; they ſay, that *O. Cromwell* would needs, after a long Debate, have thoſe Words put in, whereas the Article was otherwiſe penned at firſt. But this Allegation is impertinent, ſince we now inquire not into what was at firſt debated, nor inſiſt upon the firſt Draught of the Treaty, but what

Was,

was, at laſt, ratified and confirmed on both Sides: For it is thence ariſeth the Obligation. Secondly, They ſay, that, by the earneſt Inſtance of their Miniſters, *O. Cromwell* was ſo far prevailed upon, as to relax that Article, and leave out the ſaid Words; and therefore the Article muſt not be ſo underſtood, as if an entire Fleet of the States, by Virtue thereof, ſhould be obliged to give the ſaid Salute to one ſingle Ship of the *Engliſh*; but the ſaid Article muſt be taken for a Regulation, according to which, the ſingle Ships and Veſſels of their State, in Point of Saluting this Ship of *England*, are to govern themſelves. To this I reply, That it is not credible, nor believed here by any, that were privy to the Tranſactions of *O. Cromwell*, that ever he conſented to any ſuch Alteration in the ſaid Article: There is no Proof of any ſuch Thing alledged, and it is notoriouſly known to all our Admiralty, that he never did vary his Inſtructions and Commiſſions in the Navy, but enjoined them, as before, to force all Ships to ſtrike, without regarding, whether they were intire Fleets, or ſingle Ships: And I think this to be a Demonſtration of the Falſhood of the *Dutch*, in this Suggeſtion. Laſtly, I find the *Articles of Peace*, publiſhed at *Amſterdam* in 1655, in *Latin*, where is not any ſuch Thing to be ſeen, as is here inſinuated.

Artic. 13.

'13. Item quod Naves & Navigia dictarum 'fœderatarum provinciarum, tam bellica & 'ad hoſtium vim propulſandam inſtructa, quam 'alia, quæ alicui è navibus bellicis hujus Rei-'publicæ in maribus Britannicis obviam dede-'rint, vexillum ſuum è mali vertice detrahent, '& ſupremum velum demittent, eo modo, 'quo ullis retrò temporibus, ſub quocunque 'anteriori regimine, unquam obſervatum fuit.'

This is ſufficient to diſprove this impudent Forgery of the *Conſiderer*; but had any ſuch Thing intervened betwixt the State and *O. P.* if it do not appear, that his Majeſty did make the like Accord, How comes it to paſs, that the Expreſſions of his Majeſty muſt be conſtrued by the Senſe of *Cromwell?* If this Notion of exempting Fleets from Saluting any ſingle Man of War were never thought upon, nor mentioned, much leſs debated and decided at the Treaty of *Breda*: Doth not common Equity and Reaſon oblige the *Dutch* to acquieſce in the plain Senſe of the Words, and not to diſtort or pervert them, by far-fetched Interpretations and Evaſions? It is uſual, in the laſt Articles of Treaties, or in the Ratifications, for Princes to expreſs, that they do ſign, conſent, and ratify the Agreement in its true, proper, and moſt genuine Senſe, or ſincerely, and *bonâ fide**; and where it is not ſo declared, yet it is underſtood in all Contracts, but more eſpecially, in the Contracts of Sovereign Princes; *Charles the Fifth*, and *Lewis* of *France*, are blamed for making Uſe of thoſe little Shifts and Eluſions of Treaties, which better become a Pettifogger, than a King. This is the common Tenet of the Civil Lawyers, and conſonant to the Law of Nations. It is true there lies a ready Evaſion; for all this is averred concerning Princes and their Contracts; but the *Dutchmen* have nothing that is royal amongſt them, their High and Mighties are not Princes, and they have different *jura Majeſtatis*, as they have different Ends, from the generous and ſincere Part of Mankind. After an impertinent Harangue concerning God, Piety, Proteſtancy, they are abſolved from giving Honour to them, unto whom Honour is due, Reverence to whom Reverence, or Right to whom Right; they can plauſibly recede from, and evert an Article, that is prejudicial to their Intereſt and inſatiable Ambition, and impudently exempt Fleets from amongſt the Number of Ships. Such Men preſume ſtrangely upon their Power, or the Stupidity of the World, that impoſe thereon ſuch Gloſſes as theſe. There was no ſuch Word mentioned, no ſuch Interpretation propoſed at *Breda*, much leſs aſſented unto. The common Uſage of that naval Term admits not thereof, and the immemorial Practice at Sea to the contrary doth ſufficiently refute this Sentiment. The Ambaſſadors had no Power delegated them to part with ſuch a Regality; and perhaps it may be ſaid, that the King himſelf hath no ſuch Authority, as can deveſt the Crown thereof. However, if any ſuch Thing had been done, had ſuch a Senſe been admitted of, or intended by the *Dutch*, Why did not they urge it ſooner, and demand, that the Inſtructions to our Admiral, and the Commanders

* In the 35th Article at *Breda*, it was agreed, that both Parties ſhould truly and firmly obſerve the League. And Article 36, that the Confederacy ſhould be duly and *bonâ fide* obſerved.

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at Sea, ſhould be changed from what they have been, during the Space of above four-hundred Years? Their High and Mighties have very much prejudiced themſelves, in the Opinion of all prudent Men, by ſo long a Silence; and in the Judgment of all honeſt Perſons, by remonſtrating thus now, ſince thereby they declare that to be the right Senſe of the Article, which is indeed Nonſenſe; and that to be Juſtice, which is as notorious an Uſurpation, as any Chronicles inform us of.

But, leſt this Senſe of the Article ſhould not be admitted of, they ſay further in Defence of themſelves, 'That ſince, in the Judgment of the King of *Great-Britain*, the Striking of the Flag and the Acknowledging the Sovereignty of the Sea, are equipollent Things, and that, by the one, his Majeſty underſtands the other; they cannot conſent to the Striking of the Flag, leſt it ſhould be conſtrued to a Yielding him a Sovereignty and Dominion over the Sea, which is too much for theſe high and mighty Zealots; and ſuch Proteſtants, that, abominating all Image-worſhip, cannot endure any Monarchs, becauſe they are (as I may ſay) viſible Deities, and mortal Repreſentations of that one God, who providentially rules the Univerſe; nor can they tolerate their Uſurpations upon the Rights of God Almighty, who is alone Sovereign of the Sea.'

If I were not in Haſte, I would animadvert upon that Paſſage of the *Conſiderer*, whereby, he intimates, that all abſolute Princes are Uſurpers, governing their Lands and Territories, *per Gratiam Dei*, by which, the King of *England* uſurps the Dominion of the Sea: In another Place, he intimates, as if all Princes were Tyrants, and all Monarchy Tyranny: In a Third, he detracts from Monarchy, alledging, that Monarchs are generally ſwayed by their Wills and Luſts, and that the moſt efficacious Reaſonings of Princes and Monarchs are their Arms. Such Inſinuations as theſe ought to exaſperate all Princes againſt them; and indeed, this other Controverſy, about the Dominion of the Sea, extends not only to the King of *England*, but to the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, &c. to the Republicks of *Venice*, *Genoa*, &c. All which are no leſs notorious Uſurpers, than his Majeſty of *Great-Britain*; and if the King of *England* be an Uſurper upon the Rights of God, by exerciſing a Sovereignty over the *Britiſh* Seas; the *Dutch* have contributed very much to ſuch Uſurpation, by permitting him to continue it ſo long: When they were the diſtreſſed States, and tendered the Sovereignty of their Provinces to Queen *Eliſabeth*, their Ambaſſadors urged this unto her, as one Inducement, that thereby ſhe might enſure herſelf of the Dominion of the great Ocean: From whence, any *Engliſhmen* may collect, how much it importeth us, that theſe *Hollanders* be rather diſtreſſed, than high and mighty.

Concerning the Dominion of the Sea, that we may the better underſtand the Controverſy, and the Juſtice of his Majeſty's Demands, it is requiſite, that we diſtinguiſh upon the Word *Dominion*, which is equivocal. *Dominion* imports one Thing in Reſpect to Juriſdiction and Protection, which the Doctors of the Civil Law call *Sovereignty*, or *Univerſal Dominion*; ſuch is that of a Prince over the Perſons and Eſtates of his Subjects; and another Thing in Reference to Propriety, which they term *particular Dominion*, whereby any private Perſon is inveſted in his Goods and Eſtate: Thus the King of *England* hath an univerſal Dominion over the *Britiſh* Seas, whilſt yet his Subjects retain their Proprieties in their ſeveral Fiſheries.

The Effects of this Dominion Univerſal, or Sovereignty, which accrue to a Prince, are theſe:

1. Not only the Regality of the Fiſhing for Pearl, Coral, Amber, &c. but the Direction and Diſpoſal of all other Fiſh, according as they ſhall ſeem to deſerve the Regards of the Publick, as in *Spain*, *Portugal*, &c. is uſed.

2. The Preſcribing of Laws and Rules for Navigation, not only to his own Subjects, but unto others, Strangers, whether they be Princes of equal Strength and Dignity with himſelf, or any way inferior. Thus the *Romans* did confine the *Carthaginians* to equip out no Fleets, and forbad *Antiochus* to build any more than twelve Ships of War. The *Athenians* prohibited all *Median* Ships of War to come within their Seas, and preſcribed to the *Lacedemonians*, with what Manner of Veſſels they ſhould ſail. All Hiſtories are full of ſuch Precedents, which Princes have enacted, either upon Agreements forced upon the Conquered, or Capitulations betwixt them and others (their Equals, or Inferiors) for mutual Conveniences.

3. The Power of impoſing Cuſtoms, Gabels, and Taxes upon thoſe that navigate in their

their Seas, or otherwiſe fiſh therein; which they do upon ſeveral rightful Claims; as protecting them from Pirates, and all other Hoſtilities, or aſſiſting them with Lights and Seamarks: For which Advantages, common Equity obligeth thoſe, that reap Benefit thereby, to repay it by ſome Acknowledgment, which ought to be proportioned to the Favour received, and the Expence which the Prince is at to continue it unto them.

4. As it is incumbent on a Prince duly to execute Juſtice in his Kingdoms by Land, ſo, the Sea being his Territory, it is requiſite, and a neceſſary Effect of his Dominion, That he cauſe Juſtice to be adminiſtered in Caſe of maritime Delinquencies.

5. That, in Caſe any Ships navigate in thoſe Seas, they ſhall ſalute his floating Caſtles, the Ships of War, by lowering the Top-ſail, and ſtriking the Flag (thoſe are the moſt uſual Courſes) in like Manner as they do his Forts upon Land: By which Sort of Submiſſions they are put in Remembrance, that they come into a Territory, wherein they are to own a Sovereign Power and Juriſdiction, and receive Protection from it.

Theſe are the proper Effects of a real and abſolute Sovereignty over the Seas; which, how they are poſſeſſed by the *Venetians*, this following Account will ſhew:

'The Gulf of *Venice* is nothing elſe but a large Bay, or Inlet of the Sea, which entering in betwixt two Lands, and ſevering them for many Miles Continuance, in the End receives a Stop, or Interruption of further Paſſage, by an oppoſite Shore, which joins both the ſaid oppoſite Shores together. It is called the Gulf of *Venice* from the City of *Venice*, ſituated upon certain broken Iſlands, near unto the Bottom thereof. It is alſo called the *Adriatick* Sea, from the ancient City *Adria*, lying not far diſtant from the former. From the Entrance thereof, unto the Bottom, it contains about ſix-hundred *Italian* Miles; where it is broadeſt, it is one-hundred and ſixty Miles over, in others but Eighty, in the moſt One-hundred. The South-weſt Shore is bounded with the Provinces of *Puglia* and *Abruzzo*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*; the Marquiſate of *Ancona* and *Romagnia*, in the Pope's State; and the Marquiſate of *Treviſana*, in the *Venetian* State. The North Part of it, or Bottom, hath *Friuli* for its Bounds. The North-eaſt is limited by *Iſtria*, *Dalmatia*, *Albania*, and *Epirus*, whereof *Iſtria* doth not ſo intirely belong to the *Venetians*, but that the Emperor, as Archduke of *Gratz*, doth poſſeſs divers maritime Towns therein. In *Dalmatia*, ſaving *Zara*, *Spalato*, and *Cattaro*, they have nothing of Importance, the reſt belonging to *Raguſa* and the *Turks*. In *Albania* and *Epirus*, they poſſeſs nothing at all, it being intirely the *Turks*. So that he, who ſhall examine the Circuit of this Sea, which muſt contain above twelve-hundred Miles, ſhall find the Shores of the *Venetian* Signory not to take up two-hundred of them, omitting ſome ſcattered Towns, and diſperſed Iſlands, lying on the *Turkiſh* Side of the *Adriatick* Shore. For the Securing hereof from the Depredations of Pirates, and the Pretences of divers potent Princes, as the Pope, Emperor, King of *Spain*, and the *Great Turk*, who have each of them large Territories lying thereupon; alſo to cauſe all Ships, which navigate the ſame, to go to *Venice*, and there to pay Cuſtom, and other Duties, the Republick maintains continually, in Action, a great Number of Ships, Gallies, and Galliots, whereto alſo they add more, as there may be Occaſion; whereof ſome lie about the Bottom of the Gulf in *Iſtria*, others about the Iſlands of *Dalmatia*, to clear thoſe Parts of Pirates, who have much infeſted thoſe Seas; others, and thoſe of moſt Force, have their Stations in the Iſland of *Corfu* and *Standia*; in the firſt of which commonly reſides the Captain of the Gulf, whoſe Office it is to ſecure the Navigation of the Gulf, not only from the *Corſairs*, but to provide, that neither the Gallies, nor Ships of the Pope, the King of *Spain*, nor *Great Turk*, do ſo much as enter the ſame, without Permiſſion of the Signory, and upon ſuch Conditions as beſt pleaſeth them; which they are ſo careful to effect, that, in the Year 1638, the *Turkiſh* Fleet, entering the Gulf without Licenſe, was aſſailed by the *Venetian* General, who ſunk divers of their Veſſels, and, compelling the reſt to fly unto *Valona*, he held them there beſieged, although the ſame City and Port, whereon it ſtands, be under the Juriſdiction of the Grand Signior. And, notwithſtanding that a great and dangerous War was likely to enſue thereupon, betwixt the Grand Signior and the Republick; becauſe the *Venetian* General, being not content

tent to have chaced them into their own Ports, did, moreover than that, ſink their Veſſels, and, landing his Men, ſlew divers of their Mariners, who had eſcaped his Fury at Sea; yet, after that, a very honourable Peace was concluded again betwixt them, wherein, amongſt other Things, it was agreed, That it ſhould be lawful for the *Venetians*, as often as any *Turkiſh* Veſſels did, without their Licenſe, enter the Gulf, to ſeize upon them by Force, if they would not otherwiſe obey: And that it ſhould likewiſe be lawful for them ſo to do, within any Haven, or under any Fort of the Grand Signior's, bordering on any Part of the *Venetian* Gulf.

In the Year 1630, *Mary*, Siſter to the King of *Spain*, being eſpouſed to the Emperor's Son, *Ferdinand*, King of *Hungary*, the *Spaniards* deſigned to tranſport her from *Naples*, in a Fleet of their own. The *Venetians* ſuſpected that they had an Intention, hereby, to intrench upon, and privily to undermine, by this ſpecious Precedent, that Dominion of the Sea, which the Signiory had continued inviolate Time out of Mind; and that they took this Opportunity, when *Venice* was involved with a War Abroad, and infeſted with the Plague at Home, and therefore not in a Condition to oppoſe their Progreſs. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador acquainted the State, That his Maſter's Fleet was to convoy the Queen of *Hungary*, being his Siſter, from *Naples* to *Trieſti*. The Duke replied, That her Majeſty ſhould not paſs, but in the Gallies of the Republick. The *Spaniard* repined thereat, pretending that they were infected with the Plague. The Senate, being conſulted, came to this Reſolution: That the Siſter of his Catholick Majeſty ſhould not be tranſported to *Trieſti*, any other Way, than by imbarquing on the *Venetian* Gallies, according to the uſual Manner of the Gulf; and that, if the Ambaſſador would acquieſce herein, her Majeſty ſhould be attended, and uſed with all that Reſpect and Deference, which became her Quality: But, if ſhe proceeded in any other Way, the Republick would, by Force, aſſert her proper Rights, and attack the *Spaniſh* Navy, as if they were declared Enemies, and, in hoſtile Manner, invaded them. Whereupon, the *Spaniard* was compelled to deſire of them the Favour to tranſport the Queen in their Gallies, which *Antonio Piſano* did perform with much State and Ceremony; and the Courteſy was acknowledged, by ſolemn Thanks, from the Court of the Emperor, and of *Spain*.

Joannes Palatius doth furniſh me with many more Caſes, wherein the *Venetians* have practiſed immemorially, and foreign Princes approved of their Sovereignty of the *Adriatick* Sea; and, had our Nation been hitherto as prudent, in the perpetual Vindication of their Rights, as that Republick, his Majeſty had not been put to this Trouble, nor his Subjects endangered, as they are, by this War with *Holland*. Howſoever, it is manifeſt that they did always, immemorially, challenge the Dominion of the *Britiſh* Seas, and have never abandoned that Regality; but, ſo as to preſerve their Right unto it, by the Exerciſing of ſeveral Acts, that reſult from the intire Dominion of the ſaid Seas.

1. As to that univerſal Dominion, which is inferred from the Protection of the Seas, it is evident that our Admirals, by their Commiſſions, have ever been charged with the Guardianſhip and Protection of the ſaid Seas; and they were ſtiled, of Old, *Guardians of the Seas*, the Denomination of *Admiral* is more modern. But, with the Name, their Power and Inſtructions were not varied, they being ſtill deſigned *Pro ſalvâ cuſtodiâ & defenſione Maris*. And there was a particular Tax raiſed on every Hide of Land in this Kingdom, called *Danegeld*; at firſt exacted by the *Danes*, in Lieu of their Protection of the ſaid Seas, and continued, after their Ejectment, by our *Engliſh* Kings, before and ſince the Conqueſt, unto the Reign of King *Stephen*, and *Henry the Second*, for the Guardianſhip of the Seas; and, after that the *Danegeld* was aboliſhed, ſeveral Lands were charged particularly for the Defence of the Seas, and Subſidies have been demanded of the People to the ſame Purpoſe.

2. As to that Dominion of the Sea, which is exemplified by Acts of Juriſdiction, it is manifeſt that the *Engliſh* have been, immemorially, poſſeſſed thereof. Thus *Edward the Firſt* made Laws, for the Retaining and Conſerving of the ancient Superiority of the Sea of *England*, and for the Maintaining of Peace and Juſtice amongſt all People, what Nation ſoever, paſſing thorough the Sea of *England*; and to take Cogniſance of all Attempts to the

Contrary in the ſame, and to puniſh Offenders, *&c.* In the like Manner did his royal Predeceſſors. And the ſo famed Laws of *Oleron* (an Iſland ſeated in *Aquitaine*, at the Mouth of the River *Charente*) were publiſhed in that Iſle, by King *Richard the Firſt*, as ſole Ruler and Moderator of Sea-affairs; which hold in Force to this Day, and are the Laws of our Admiralty. And this Dominion is further elucidated from hence, That our Kings, (as appears by the Parliamentary Records of King *Richard the Second*) impoſed a Tribute, or Cuſtom, upon every Ship that paſſed thorough the Northern Admiralty; which ſtretched itſelf from the *Thames* Mouth, along the Eaſtern Shore of *England*, towards the North-eaſt, for the Pay and Maintenance of the Guard, or Protection of the Sea. Nor was it impoſed only upon the Ships of ſuch Merchants and Fiſhermen, as were *Engliſh*, but upon any Foreigners whatſoever; no otherwiſe, than a Man, that is Owner of a Field, ſhould impoſe a Yearly Revenue, or Rent, for the Liberty of Thorough-fair, or Driving of Cattle, or Cart, thorough his Field; and if any were unwilling to pay the ſaid Tribute, it was lawful to compel them, there being certain Officers, that had Authority to exact it, having the Command of ſix Ships, Men of War. The original Record is penned in the *Norman* Language (as were almoſt all Records of Parliament in that Age) and is thus *Engliſhed*:

'This is the Ordinance and Grant, by the Advice of the Merchants of *London*, and other Merchants towards the North, by the Aſſent of all the Commons in Parliament, before the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Mayor of *London*, for the Guard and Tuition of the Sea, and the Coaſts of the Admiralty of the North, with two Ships, two Barges, and two Ballingers, armed and fitted for War, at theſe Rates following:

Firſt, To take of every Ship and Barque, of what Burden ſoever it be, which paſſeth thorough the Sea of the ſaid Admiralty, going and returning, for the Voyage, upon every Ton Six-pence. Except Ships laden with Wines, and Ships laden with Merchandiſes in *Flanders*, which are freighted for, and diſcharged at *London*; and Ships laden with Wools and Skins at *London*, or elſewhere, within the ſaid Admiralty, which ſhall be diſcharged at *Calais*; which Ships the Guardians of the ſaid Sea ſhall not be bound to convoy, without Allowance.

Item, To take of every Fiſher-boat, that fiſheth upon the Sea of the ſaid Admiralty for Herrings, of what Burden ſoever it be, for each Week, of every Ton Six-pence.

Item, To take of other Ships and Fiſher-boats, that fiſh for other Kinds of Fiſh upon the Sea, within the ſaid Admiralty, of what Burden ſoever they be, for three Weeks, of every Ton Six-pence.

Item, To take of all other Ships and Veſſels, paſſing by Sea, within the ſaid Admiralty, laden with Coals from *Newcaſtle upon Tine*, of what Burden ſoever they be, for a Quarter of a Year, of every Ton Six-pence.

Item, To take of all other Ships, Barques, and Veſſels, paſſing by Sea, within the ſaid Admiralty, laden with Goods, of any Merchants whatſoever, for *Pruſſia*, or for *Norway*, or for *Scone*, or for any other Place in thoſe Parts beyond the Sea, or for the Voyage, going and returning, every Laſt Six-pence.'

The Impoſition here laid upon all Fiſhers that took Herrings, or other Fiſh, upon the Sea, within the Northern Admiralty, ſheweth the Antiquity of the Right his Majeſty hath unto that Regality, within the *Britiſh* Seas; but the Benefits, accruing to the Crown from this Specialty of the maritime Dominion, were not always raiſed in one and the ſame Manner. In the Ordinance aforeſaid, the Fiſhermen purchaſe their Liberty of Fiſhing, by a Sum of Money to be paid Weekly. At other Times I read, that the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, every Year, did repair to *Scarborough* Caſtle, and there, by ancient Cuſtom, obtained Leave to Fiſh, which the *Engliſh* have ever granted them, reſerving always the Honour and Privilege to themſelves. Amongſt the Records of the Time of *Edward the Firſt*, there is an Inſcription, *Pro hominibus Hollandiæ*, &c. For the Men of *Holland*, and *Zealand*, and *Frieſland*, to have Leave to fiſh near *Jernemuth*; and that King's Letter for their Protection is extant. And if we do not continually read of ſpecial Licenſes granted to Foreigners, in Reference to the Fiſhery; the Reaſon is, becauſe, by the Leagues that were made with the Neighbouring Princes, a Licenſe or Freedom of that Kind,

Kind, as alſo of Ports, Shores, Paſſages, and other Things, was ſo often allowed by both Parties, that as long as the League was in Force, the Sea ſerved as if it were a common Field, as well for the Foreigner that was in Amity, as for the King of *England* himſelf, who was Lord and Owner. But yet in this Kind of Leagues ſometimes the Fiſhing was reſtrained to certain Limits; and the Limits related both as to Place and Time; ſo that, according to Agreement, the Foreigner in Amity might not fiſh beyond theſe Limits; the King of *England* retaining abſolute Dominion over the whole adjoining Sea. Thus, by an Agreement betwixt *France* and *England*, the *French* are excluded from that Part of the Sea, which lies towards the Weſt, and South-weſt, and alſo from that which lies North-eaſt of them; but permitted freely to fiſh throughout that Part of the Sea, which is bounded on this Side, by the Ports of *Scarborough* and *Southampton*, and on the other Side by the Coaſt of *Flanders*, and the Mouth of the River *Seine*; and the Time is limited, betwixt Autumn, and the Calends of *January* following. But in the League of mutual Commerce, betwixt *Henry the Seventh*, and *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, &c. Earl of *Holland* and *Zealand*, A. D. 1459. Chap. 14. it was agreed, that the Fiſhermen of each Part, of what Condition ſoever they be, ſhall ſail and paſs freely every where, and fiſh ſecurely, without any Impediment, Licenſe, or Safe-conduct. From the which Leagues, it is a genuine Inference, that his Majeſty hath the Dominion of the Seas, as to Fiſhing, and that the Liberty thereof is not to be obtained but by Licenſe, or Compact, wherein the general Emolument, ariſing from the League, ſupplieth the Advantage that would otherwiſe accrue from particular Licenſes. It being thus evinced, that the Sovereignty of the *Engliſh* Seas, as to the Fiſhing, doth appertain unto his Majeſty: I proceed to *Scotland*, where I find the ſame Power inveſted in the Crown thereof; ſo that the Right of his Majeſty, unto the Fiſhing there, is as unqueſtionable as his Succeſſion to the Kingdom. I have not read in the *Scotch* Laws, that ever there were Licenſes given to any for Fiſhing; but every Fiſher, as well Foreigner, as Native, was to pay an Aſſize-herring unto the King, and this Aſſize-herring is an unalterable Regality of that King.

Jacobi 6, p. 15. c. 237.

'It is ſtatute and ordained, that all Infeſtments, and Alienations, in Few-firme, or otherwies, and all Rentalls, Aſſedationes, and Diſpoſitiones quhatſumever, in all Time by gane, and to cum, of the Aſſiſe-herring, is null, and of nane Availe: Becauſe the ſaid Aſſiſe-herring perteinis to our Sovereigne Lorde, as are Part of his Cuſtumes, and annexed Property.'

Concerning the Nature and Antiquity of the Aſſize-herring, I find this moſt authentick Account, given by Mr. *John Skene*, Clerk of the King's Regiſter, Council and Rolls, in a Treatiſe, *De Verborum Significatione*, annexed to the Laws of *Scotland*, and printed at *Edinburgh*, A. D. 1597. *Cum privilegio regali.*

'*Aſſiſa Halecum*, the Aſſize-herring, ſignifies ane certaine Meaſure and Quantity of Herring, quilk perteinis to the King, as ane Part of his Cuſtumes, and annexed Propriety. *Jac.* VI. p. 15. c. 237. For it is manifeſt, that hee ſhuld have of every Boat, that paſſis to the Drave, and ſlayis Herring, ane Thouſand Herring, of ilk Tak that halds, *viz.* of Lambmes Tak, of the Winter Tak, and the Lentrone Tak.'

What Dues and Cuſtoms the Kings of *Scotland* had upon other Fiſh, I know not; but that he did exact ſome, and exerciſed the Dominion of the Sea, in Reference to the Fiſhing there, is apparent by theſe Laws, ordaining,

'That all Manner of Fiſcheres, that occupies the Sea, and utheres Perſons quhatſumever, that happenies to ſlay Hering, or Quihte-fiſh, upon the Coaſt, or within the Iles, or out with the Samen within the *Frithes*, bring them to free Ports, &c. where they may bee ſold to the Inhabitants of the ſame Kingdome, quhuirby his Majeſties Cuſtumes bee not defrauded, and his Hieneſſe Lieges, not fruſtrate of the Commodity appointed to them by God, under the Paine of Confiſcation, and Tynſell of the Veſchelles of them that cumes in the contrair thereof, and Eſcheating of all their movable Guddes to our Soveraigne Lords Uſe.'

In this Condition were the Rights of the Fiſhing, until the *Dutch* did advance themſelves to that Height and Puiſſance, that they eſteemed themſelves able to infringe them, and ſuch was their Covetouſneſs (which prompts them, that are infected therewith, to value the ſmalleſt and moſt unjuſt Gains) that they determined to do it.

In the Year 1594, *James the Sixth*, King of *Scotland*, apprehending the Growth of theſe *Netherlanders*, and their Influence upon the *Engliſh* Nation, by Reaſon of the Multitudes of our Nobility and Gentry, which reſorted thither into the Armies, and being deſirous to fortify by all poſſible Means his Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, invited the States to be God-fathers to his Son, Prince *Henry*, together with the Kings of *France* and *Denmark*, and Queen *Eliſabeth*; they ſent a ſplendid Ambaſſy, *Walravius van Brederode*, being Principal, and ſo richly preſented the Royal Infant, that they much endeared themſelves to King *James*, and no leſs exaſperated Queen *Eliſabeth*, in that they ſhould dare to rival her, at the Baptiſm of the Prince, and alſo demean themſelves with ſo much Munificence, or rather Prodigality. King *James*, either out of Intereſt, to aſcertain himſelf of their Friendſhip, or being captivated by their Preſents and Flatteries, granted (but not by any Deed, that I know) unto the *Dutch*, the Privileges which had been formerly granted to the *Belgick* Provinces, upon Leagues betwixt the Houſe of *Burgundy* and *England*, in Reference to the Fiſhing; whereby, according to Articles made with *Philip* of *Burgundy*, and with *Charles the Fifth*, they were to fiſh in the *Britiſh* Seas, without any Impediment, or the Suing for a ſpecial Licenſe. It was by Virtue of the ſame Treaties and Confederacies, with the Houſe of *Burgundy*, that Queen *Eliſabeth* did permit them the Fiſhing of our *Engliſh* Seas, for that Queen did always pretend and declare, that by Reaſon of ſundry Alliances betwixt *England* and the Houſe of *Burgundy*, ſhe did aid and ſupport the *Netherlands*. At firſt, the *Dutch*, either out of pure Reſpect (a rare Quality to that Sort of People) or becauſe their Buſſes were not ſo very numerous, as in the ſubſequent Times, did fiſh at a good Diſtance from the Land; and leaving convenient Space for the Natives of *Scotland* to purſue their ſmall Employment in the Fiſhery, there was no Notice, or at leaſt no Complaints againſt them upon that Subject: But when a Series of proſperous Succeſſes, gained by the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Valour, had raiſed the *Dutch* to a great Power at Home, and Renown Abroad, and that their Ships became exceeding numerous, and their Fleets potent; and Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Death had advanced a more peaceable Prince to the *Engliſh* Crown: They began to incroach upon the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Shores, to diſturb the Natives in their Fiſhing, not leaving them ſo much Sea-room upon their Prince's Coaſt, as to take any Fiſh, but ſuch as were the Gleanings of the *Hollanders* Buſſes; who driving at Sea do break the Skull or Shole of Herrings, and then they fly near the Shore, and through the Sounds.

I find King *James* to have complained againſt their Inſolence, and the Incroachments of the *Dutch* Fiſhermen upon his Seas, and to the Prejudice of his Subjects: But that Prince dealt moſt in Remonſtrances, an ineffectual Courſe with *Hollanders*, and equipped out no Ships to aſſert his Rights on the whole *Britiſh* Seas. At laſt, in 1609, he eſtabliſhed Commiſſioners for to give Licenſes, at *London*, to ſuch as would fiſh on the *Engliſh* Coaſts; at *Edinburgh*, for ſuch as would fiſh in the more Northern Sea; and, by Proclamation, interdicted all unlicenſed Fiſhers. The Licenſes were to be demanded yearly for ſo many Ships, and the Tonnage thereof, as ſhould intend to fiſh for that whole Year, or any Part thereof, upon any of the *Britiſh* Seas; and the Offenders againſt the King's Proclamation to undergo due Chaſtiſement. But this Edict of his Majeſty proved but a *Brutum fulmen*, an inſignificant Noiſe and Thunder: The *Dutch* contemned it, and grew more pervicacious in Oppoſition to his Majeſty's Officers which came to diſturb their unlicenſed Fiſhing. The States did mingle their Concerns with thoſe of the Fiſhermen, and ſent Wafters, or Men of War to protect their Buſſes againſt the *Spaniſh* Pirates, and to awe the King's Officers. They refuſed to pay either the Aſſize-Herring, or to take Licenſes; and in 1616, Mr. *Brown* being ordered by the Duke of *Lenox* (who, as Admiral of *Scotland*, was commanded to vindicate the King's Rights in thoſe Seas), to inſiſt upon the Aſſize-Herring, which was the King's old and indubitable Right, they did conteſt about it, and, after much Diſpute, paid it according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of *Scotland*. But the next Year, being the Year

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in which King *James* did gratify that People with the Surrendry of the Cautionary Towns, the Buſſes obſtinately refuſed it, ſaying, They were commanded by the States of *Holland* to pay it no more. Mr. *Brown*, wanting ſufficient Force to chaſtiſe their Wafters, did only take Witneſs of this their Refuſal; whereupon the inſolent *Dutch* ſeized the King of *England*'s Officer, and carried him into the *Netherlands*, where he was detained a While. The King repeats his Complaints at the *Hague*, and to their Ambaſſadors here at *London*; the *Dutch* amuſed him with Treaties, and ſent Commiſſioners to *London*, not to ſubmit, or adjuſt Differences, but to heighten them: They pleaded a Right of their own by immemorial Preſcription, and confirmed it with divers Treaties, *viz.* One of the Year 1459, betwixt *Philip* of *Burgundy* and *Henry the Seventh*. Another betwixt *Charles the Fifth*, as Duke of *Burgundy*, and *Henry the Eighth*: By both which it had been agreed, that the Subjects of the *Belgick* Provinces ſhould fiſh in the *Engliſh* Seas without Impediment, and without Licenſe. But what Influence have thoſe Treaties upon the Kingdom of *Scotland*? Or, How do they extend unto the Aſſize-Herring? For thoſe Capitulations do not leave them at Liberty as to this Point, any more than they abſolve them from paying Cuſtoms? To obſerve the Laws, and pay the Dues of a Country, are no illegitimate Impediments of Fiſhing.

To proceed: Suppoſe we that the Subjects of the Houſe of *Burgundy* had any ſuch Privileges granted them by the ſaid Treaties; What doth this concern the Rebels of the Houſe of *Burgundy*? What doth it concern the States-General of the United *Netherlands*, who by their Change of Government, and Rupture from the Majority of the Provinces, are no longer the ſame People? They have nothing to pretend unto but the Connivance of Queen *Eliſabeth*, and the Indulgence of King *James*, during the Time of their Diſtreſs: Nor doth the whole Age of their Infant Republick amount unto an immemorial Preſcription: And, if in the ſaid Treaties with the Houſe of *Burgundy*, the Anceſtors of his Majeſty did think fitting, in Conſideration of other Advantages accruing to them by the ſaid Agreements, to diſpenſe with the Licenſes unto *Belgick* Fiſhermen; Where is this Conſideration now betwixt us and the *Dutch*? And, What hinders us to reſume our Rights, when the Reaſons ceaſe for which we parted with them to the generous and noble Houſe of *Burgundy*, but to theſe *Hollanders* never? How come we to forfeit the Dominion of the Sea by ſuch Indults, whereas other Nations, *French* and *Spaniards*, *Lubeckers*, *&c.* did pay? This Plea being null, they had Recourſe to another, that, by the Laws of Nature and Nations, the Sea was free. This Defence ſeemed intolerable to King *James*, and, upon Complaint of the Lord Ambaſſador *Carleton* at the *Hague*, they gave his Majeſty this moſt ſatisfactory Anſwer: That the Commiſſioners went beyond their Limits in their Terms of immemorial Poſſeſſion, and immutable *Droict de Gens*; for which they had no Order. All that King *James* could obtain from their now High and Mighties, was a verbal Acknowledgment of his Right, whilſt it was more and more invaded daily.

The Prince of *Orange*, at that Time, made a Motion to the Lord *Carleton*, about Purchaſing the Freedom of Fiſhing with a Sum of ready Money; but he replied, It was a Matter of Royalty. The Inſolence growing every Day greater and greater, and they proceeding to impede, obſtruct, and deſtroy the Fiſhery of his Majeſty's Subjects, King *Charles the Firſt* did ſollicit them about Redreſs; and, finding the States intractable, in 1636, he iſſued out a Proclamation, to reſtrain the Fiſhing in the *Britiſh* Seas, without Licenſe obtained, and ſeconded it with a Fleet of Ships, commanded by *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, as Lord High Admiral of *England*, who, with much Honour, acquitted himſelf of that Employment. The Journal of his Expedition, ſigned with his own Hand, is preſerved in the *Paper-office*; and I find thereby, that, upon the Appearance of the *Engliſh* Fleet, the *Dutch* Buſſes did take Licenſes of his Lordſhip, ſo that he diſtributed two-hundred, though he went out late in the Year. He exacted twelve Pence in the Ton from each Veſſel, and avows they departed away well ſatisfied. The Buſſes were not defenceleſs, as the *Conſiderer* ſays, but guarded by ten Men of War, or more; and, on the Twentieth of *Auguſt*, 1636, whilſt his Lordſhip was buſied in diſperſing his Licenſes, the *Dutch* Admiral, *Dorpe*, came to him, ſaluted him with Lowering his Top-ſail, Striking of the Flag, and Diſcharging of Guns, and came a-board of him;

him: He had in his Company twenty Men of War; which, if joined with the other Waſters, made a greater Fleet than that of the *Engliſh*; yet did he never proteſt againſt the Actings of the ſaid Earl, but left his Lordſhip freely to purſue his Deſign upon the Buſſes. The Sum, which his Lordſhip received for Licenſes, was 501 *l.* 15 *s.* 2 *d*; beſides which, at that Time, I find that the *Dutch* paid to Capt. *Carteret*, Capt. *Lyndſey*, Capt. *Slingsby*, Capt. *Johnſon*, and Mr. *Skinner*, 999 *l.* for Convoy-money.

It is not to be doubted, but King *Charles the Firſt* had vigorouſly aſſerted the *Engliſh* Rights and Sovereignty of the Sea, the Earl of *Northumberland* being High Admiral, had not the *Scotch* Troubles diverted his Cares; the which Troubles and Wars were chiefly fomented by theſe Peace-loving Chriſtians of *Holland*, that he might not attend unto his Dominion of the Seas.

I obſerved, in the Peruſal of the *Journal*, that, when his Lordſhip was returned, and at Anchor in the *Downs*, he received Notice of the Arrival of a *Spaniſh* Fleet of twenty-ſix Sail near *Dunkirk*, who, in the Sight of *Calais*, did their Duties to his Majeſty's Ship, called, *The Happy Entrance*.

Concerning the *Scottiſh* Fiſhery, it may not be impertinent to fortify the Rights of his Majeſty, by ſhewing his original Title to a great Part of it; and it is this: The Kings of *Norway* exerciſed an abſolute Dominion, Time out of Mind, over the Seas adjacent to *Norway*, *Iceland*, *Shotland*, and the Iſles of *Orkney*, and, in a Manner, over all that Part of the *North* Sea; nor could any Foreigner practiſe Fiſhing there, but by his Leave and Licenſe (which Licenſe was renewed every ſeven Years by the *Engliſh*) as appears by many Leagues and Compacts betwixt that Crown and the *Engliſh*, and alſo betwixt it and other Nations. The old Inhabitants of thoſe *Scotch* Iſlands are originally *Norwegians*, and ſpeak that Language. The Iſlands *Hebrides* were conquered from the *Norwegians* by *Alexander the Third*, King of *Scotland*, the Dominion whereof was confirmed unto him by *Magnus* King of *Norway*, and the ſaid Ceſſion reiterated, by *Haquin* King of *Norway*, unto *Robert Bruce*, King of *Scotland*: But, all this While, *Shotland* and the Iſles of *Orkney* remained in the Hands of the *Norwegians*, until *Chriſtiern the Firſt*, King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, did marry his Daughter *Margaret* unto *James the Third*, King of *Scotland*, and, upon the Marriage, did make an abſolute Surrender of theſe Iſlands unto his Son-in-Law, in the Year 1468, together with the Juriſdictions thereof. As the *Scotch* Title to thoſe Seas is primarily deduced from the Kings of *Norway*, ſo their Juriſdiction and Sovereignty over thoſe Seas is the ſame with that which thoſe Kings poſſeſſed; but the Kings of *Norway* had an intire Dominion and Right of Diſpoſal over the Fiſhing in thoſe Parts, ſo that none could come and fiſh there, upon Pain of Death, without Licenſe obtained: All which is averred and proved, out of the *Daniſh* Records, by *Joannes Iſaacus Pontanus*, a *Dutch* Writer, of *Harderwick* in *Guelderland*, and Hiſtoriographer to the King of *Denmark*. This Diſcourſe doth further juſtify the preſent King of *England* in his Rights unto the *Britiſh* Seas, in that he is not ſingular in Challenging the Dominion of the Seas, and the particular Regality of the Fiſhing, the like having been immemorially challenged by the Kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*. The like Royalty, as to Fiſhing, is practiſed by the King of *Sweden*, who hath, in ſome of his Seas, the Tenths of the Fiſh; elſewhere he diſpoſeth of his Royalty by ſpecial Licenſes. The ſame is done in *Spain* and *Portugal*, *Venice*, &c.

This univerſal Sovereignty and Dominion of his Majeſty over the *Britiſh* Seas hath been acknowledged by Foreigners, Time out of Mind (even Safe-conducts and Paſſports deſired through his Seas) and is juſtified by the Precedents of the *Rhodians*, the *Romans*, and others; which to relate now were too prolix a Work. As to the Right, by which his Majeſty holds this Sovereignty, it is a better Title, than moſt Princes can ſhew for their Kingdoms and Principalities; it is a Preſcription truly immemorial; we cannot tell the Time when we had it not, nor by what Degrees we aroſe up to it: But we can thus fortify it beyond that of *Venice*, That it was never diſputed by any, except the *Dutch*, and that within the Memory of this preſent Age: And they ſo diſputed it at firſt, as to acknowledge our Right, but yet to plead an Exemption as to Fiſhing (in nothing elſe) by Virtue of the Capitulations of Intercourſe betwixt the *Engliſh* and the Houſe of *Burgundy*; the Vanity of which Claim being ſo notorious, they at laſt began to be ſo impudent and inſolent, as to renounce the Conceſ-

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ſions of the *Burgundians*, and their own, and now to plead univerſally, That the Sea is the Lord's, and not capable of, or ſubjected to the Dominion of any Prince or State. It is an unparalleled and moſt imprudent Attempt for theſe Upſtarts to ſhake thus the Tenures, not only of Kings, but even private Perſons, and to deny, that an immemorial quiet Poſſeſſion of a Land, or Territory (the Sea is called a *Territory*) is a juſt Title thereunto; whereas, hitherto, it hath been allowed, by thoſe that treat of the Laws of Nations, That he, who can alledge this, needs not to prove his Acqueſt and Title: That Preſcription doth not require any Right, but ſupplies it, and doth itſelf create a Right; nor ought there any Proof to be admitted againſt it. Nothing is more received amongſt Mankind, than that Preſcription and long Uſage ſhould be deemed equivalent to mutual Pacts, and the Aſſent of the Voiſinage; and that Practice ſeems to be adjudged to be legitimate, where all Parties, though otherwiſe intereſted to oppoſe it, do, without any extraordinary Awe, or other indirect Motive, ſilently and peaceably acquieſce. *Jephthah*, when the *Ammonites* demanded that the *Iſraelites* ſhould ſurrender up the Cities held by them on that Side *Jordan*, replied, That the *Iſraelites* had poſſeſſed them three-hundred Years, during all which Time, the *Ammonites* had not redemanded them. The Law of Nations doth generally allow a leſs Space to authenticate a Preſcription and juſt Occupancy: It is eſteemed to have an immemorial Preſcription, the Contrary whereof no Man can ſay he ever ſaw done, or heard related by others to have been done; and it is commonly declared, That one-hundred Years of Uſage, or Poſſeſſion, do ſuffice to determine the Controverſy. Our Caſe is ſuch, that I need not make Uſe of this laſt Plea, though ſo many allow of it, and *Rome* urged it againſt *Antiochus*; it is really immemorial, and conſequently as valid, morally, as if it had been conferred upon us at the primitive Diſtribution of Lands, unleſs there can be produced moſt unanſwerable Reaſons to the Contrary.

I ſhall therefore examine the Reaſon alledged by the *Dutch*, to invalidate this Preſcription, and long Occupancy of his Majeſty. The *Conſiderer* alledgeth but one, which is, That the Dominion of the Sea appertains to God alone, in the Judgment of the States-General; and the King of *England* doth uſurp upon the divine Prerogative, by aſſuming it to himſelf. I anſwer, that in the Judgment of them that are as intelligent, and more honeſt than the States-General, The Dominion of God Almighty over the Land is as much appropriated to him, as that over the Seas: Since that the ſame Scripture which ſaith that The Sea is his, and he hath made it, doth likewiſe inform us, that His Hands prepared the dry Land, *Pſalm* xcv. 5. and, that The Earth is the Lord's, and Fulneſs thereof; the World, and they that dwell therein, *Pſalm* xxiv. 1. So that without a more expreſs Declaration, a more revealed Will of God, we cannot conclude from the Text any Thing elſe, than the general providential Sovereignty of God, which (where he doth not in a particular Manner publiſh his Will, as when he gave the *Iſraelites* the Land of *Canaan*) doth no where interfere with, or exclude human Propriety: Otherwiſe the Earth muſt likewiſe become common, and all People be free from Subjection to any Government. As to this laſt Point, I find Mr. *Schookius* (a *Belgick* Profeſſor) to write, that it is proverbially ſaid in the United *Netherlands*, That the Placarts of the States-General are not in Force beyond three Days: But they ought not to oblige one Minute, ſince the World, and they that dwell therein, are the Lord's. Of all the Arguments which ever I read in Behalf of the Freedom of the Sea, this is the moſt Fanatical. If it were granted, that the Kings of *England*, *France*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, &c. were Uſurpers upon the Rights of God Almighty, What Commiſſion have theſe wicked *Hollanders* to vindicate them? A People worſe than *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* (if you believe Mr. *Schookius*) the moſt unworthy Delegates in this World. Who made theſe *Skellums* to be of the Star-Chamber? May they run before they are ſent? Are all Apoſtles? But, to wave this fooliſh Pretence, I will, for the Inſtruction of the more Ignorant, remove ſuch Objections as Men of more High and Mighty Reaſon, than the States-General, do preſs vehemently againſt the Dominion of the Sea.

1. The Nature of the Sea is ſuch, that it is in a perpetual Flux, and never ſettles in any certain Place; therefore it is not capable of being ſubjected under a certain Dominion, Poſſeſſion, or Preſcription. I anſwer, That, though

though it be not ſtrictly and phyſically the ſame, it continues to be ſo legally, and in Reſpect of its Bottom, Sand, and Channel. If this Objection were valid, even Rivers would not be ſubject to Impropriation: They do continually flow, and, which is more, without Reflux: And the ſame Reaſon would render every Man uncapable of a Legacy, or Inheritance; becauſe a conſtant Tranſpiration varieth our Bodies. *In idem flumen bis non deſcendimus:* Neither do we twice ſwim in the ſame River, nor are we the ſame Perſons who attempt to ſwim twice within the ſame Channel. Beſides, a Man may retain a Propriety in Things variable; as in Money lent, and to be repaid in Specie, not numerically. A Man may have a Right unto the Air, or Light, and an Action lieth in Caſe of Nuſance. And ſhall a Remedy be allowed, in Caſe an incroaching Neighbour doth obſtruct the Light, or annoy the Air; and ſhall not a Prince take Care that no foreign Fleets ſhall, without Warning or Licenſe, approach his Territories? Proviſion, in this Caſe, is much more allowable, by how much greater the Danger is.

2. There cannot be any peculiar and diſtinct Bounds prefixed to particular Dominions upon the Seas: And ſince nothing can be privately poſſeſſed which is not bounded, therefore God and Nature ſeem to have ordained the Sea to be free, ſince it is not limitable. I anſwer, That the Inundation of the *Nile* and the Storms upon the *Lybian* Sands do render the Bounds undiſtinguiſhable; yet are the Lands ſubject to Propriety. Beſides, the Shores, Promontories, *&c.* may ſtand as well for Sea Bounds, as Trees, Poſts, Hedges, Rivers, *&c.* are Bounds on Land: And, where they fail, imaginary Lines and Contrivances may ſupply the Defect; ſince we are no more in Contracts betwixt Princes to expect Rigour of Law (but *Æquum & bonum*) than in mixed Mathematicks indiviſible Points and Lines. Several Leagues of this Nature have been made betwixt *Spain* and *Portugal*, *Sweden* and *Denmark*. In fine, Are not the Seas diſtinct, as the *Adriatick*, *Ligurian*, *Tyrrhene*, and in the Articles of *Breda*, the *Britiſh* and *North-Seas?* Yet are there no preciſe and geometrical Bounds to them.

3. If the Sea can be reduced under any Dominion, then may the Commerce be hindered by the Proprietor of the ſame, as to ſuch as he pleaſeth. But Commerce ought to be free, according to the Law of Nature and Nations; and the Denial thereof (as alſo the Denying of an innocent Paſſage) or the Laying an extraordinary Tax of Licenſe to paſs (which is, in Effect, a Denial of Paſſage and Commerce) is a juſt Cauſe of War. Therefore the Sea ought to be free. I anſwer, That perhaps the Pretence of Wants not to be ſupplied, but by Commerce, is not ſerious and real; but if it be, it doth not follow, that our domeſtick Indigency and Neceſſities are to be remedied by the Detriment or Injury of others, but we muſt purchaſe the Opportunities of a Supply, by complying with the Conveniencies of our Neighbours. No Man muſt treſpaſs upon another's Ground, becauſe he cannot otherwiſe attend unto his own Utility. The Freedom of Commerce and Paſſage are no ſolid Arguments, when inſiſted upon by *Hollanders:* Both may be refuſed, if there be a Suſpicion of Danger. I concur with *Albericus Gentilis* herein. I am of St. *Auſtin's* Mind (who held the Opinion of *Grotius* in theſe Caſes) provided I may have befitting Security that the Perſons trading or paſſing will not hurt me; and that I be aſcertained that they cannot hurt me. This is conformable to ſundry ſcriptural Examples, and the Reſolutions of all Ages, before and ſince Chriſtianity. Nor doth the Impoſition of a Tribute for the Fiſhing, or Erecting and Preſerving of Sea-marks, and Light-houſes, or Convoy-money, infringe the Liberty of Commerce, but continue it with Security. I do not find that the *Dutch* have conteſted thus about the Cuſtoms upon the *Rhine*, or plead that it is unlawful to pay Toll upon the Paſſage of ſeveral Highways and Bridges, in order to the Repairing of them: Yet a Logician of *Holland* would by the ſame Reaſons condemn thoſe Exactions, and deny Tribute to whom Tribute is due.

To conclude this Point: After ſo many Treatiſes, and fierce Diſputes, concerning the Dominion of the Sea, upon mature Conſideration, the Controverſy is now reduced to this State: That as to Property, the Sea can fall to no Man's Dominion, by reaſon of its fluxile Nature; but as to Sovereignty, of Protection and Juriſdiction, whereby Tributes are impoſed for the Defraying of Convoys, Providing of Sea-marks, *&c.* and Fiſhing:

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This may be aſſumed, and is lawful, as to particular Seas and Gulfs; but as to the vaſt Ocean, whoſe Bounds are unknown, and whoſe Extent makes the Sovereignty to be indefeaſible, this is denied. Thus *Jo. Iſaac. Pontanus*, and others, do decide the Controverſy. And this Deciſion eſtabliſheth the King of *England*'s Right, whoſe Seas are not boundleſs, nor incapable of the aforeſaid Dominion of Juriſdiction. Such a Dominion the *Dutch* Profeſſor ſaith is practicable, and neceſſary for the *Hollanders*; thereby to ſecure their vaſt Trade into all Parts of the World, and exclude others from Merchandiſing into the richeſt Parts. From whence we may gather what we are to expect from the Prevalence of the *Dutch*, viz. to be prohibited Trading thro' the Seas, but to what Places, and on what Conditions they pleaſe: And whilſt our King ſhall be decried as an Uſurper of the divine Right, by challenging the Dominion of the Sea: Theſe *Hollanders* ſhall affect and aſſume (without any ſuch Uſurpation) the Dominion over the Seas. Which is all one in Effect, the Diſcrepancy is but verbal, and ſuch as any one may ſee into, who is not infatuated with the ſpecious and pious Harangues of the Peace-loving Chriſtians in *Holland*.

Another Argument, enforced by them here againſt his Majeſty's lawful Dominion over the *Britiſh* Seas, is this: That ſince the Subjects of their State do only ſubſiſt by Commerce, and conſequently by the Liberty of the Seas, ſhould they acknowledge the ſaid Sovereignty of his Majeſty, and the Effects and Conſequences thereof be reduced into Practice upon them, they ſhould be brought to ſuch a Condition, as to expect no leſs than an apparent and inevitable Ruin after ſome Time. And that, ſince the King of *England* challengeth not only the Channel, but alſo the *North* Sea, and a great Part of the Ocean, as the *Britiſh* Sea; they ſhould not be able to ſet Sail out of their Ports any whither, but by the Grace and Favour of the King of *England*.——To this I reply, That the King of *England*, by purſuing his own Rights, doth them no Wrong: But the *Dutch*, by intrenching thereupon, do his Majeſty apparent Injury, and violate all divine and human Laws, whereby Propriety is eſtabliſhed and ſecured to particular Princes and Perſons, and that Community, of all Things by Nature, is, by a ſubſequent and intervenient Right, limited and reſtrained. And that this may be done according to the Law of Nations, and the general Equity, no Divine or Civilian can deny or diſprove: And there is, as to this Caſe, no Difference betwixt Sea and Land. There is not any Inhability in the Nature of the Sea, as is granted by their Writers (except as to the vaſt Ocean, and that too in Reference to its utmoſt and unknown Extent, not as to determinate Parts of it) and is evident from the ſeveral Kings and Republicks which have heretofore, and do now engroſs the Dominion of it. There is not any divine Precept againſt it; no Dictates of Nature repugn thereunto: For whatſoever is common by Nature, may be impropriated by Occupancy: Neither can there be a better Title to ſuch Things than Occupancy, Preſcription, and Cuſtom. And that his Majeſty hath this Title intirely, I have evinced, and Mr. *Selden* before me. Whereas, they ſay, That ſhould any ſuch Right be acknowledged to reſide in his Majeſty, they ſhould not be able to fiſh in the *North* Sea, or to drive on their neceſſary Commerce by Navigation: This is no Argument for their unjuſt Actings, any more than it would juſtify upon Land, that one Prince, or private Perſon, ſhould uſurp upon another's Territories or Free-hold, becauſe it was moſt opportune for his Trading, or requiſite to his Subſiſtence in a flouriſhing Condition. I do not read that this Pretext was ever any Cauſe of War betwixt *England* and the Houſe of *Burgundy*: The *Turk*, Pope, Emperor, and King of *Spain*, might urge the ſame Reaſon againſt the *Venetian* Sovereignty in the *Adriatick* Sea, there not being the leaſt Part of a Paſſage for their adjacent Subjects, which is not, in Reſpect of their pretended Sovereignty, belonging to the Republick. But theſe Princes underſtand the Difference betwixt Right and Wrong; whereas the *Dutch* comprehend nothing but what is advantageous and diſadvantageous. They detain *Remneburg*, and other ſtrong Towns belonging to the Duke of *Brandenburgh*; the Biſhops of *Cologne* and *Munſter*, becauſe their Provinces cannot be ſafe without them. They would uſurp our Seas, becauſe they cannot manage their Trade without them. And they will ſeize hereafter upon our principal Ports, becauſe their Navigation cannot be ſecure without them. Certainly, it is not a ſufficient Ground for them to deny his Majeſty the proper Rights of the *Britiſh* Crown,

Crown, becauſe They do not know how he will uſe them. They have no Reaſon to imagine that he would treat them worſe than his Royal Predeceſſors have done, who never made the utmoſt Advantage of their juſt Rights againſt the *Netherlanders*, nor ever practiſed ſuch a Sovereignty as the *Venetians* exerciſe in their Seas. It is true, that the Caſe is much altered, by their queſtioning his Royalty, which was never before diſputed by them, or any elſe: And it is but equitable that they ſhould be in ſome Manner frank in their Acknowledgments, who have been ſo arrogant in the Conteſt. They that begin a Precedent, are more criminal than they which follow it; and ſince they, by an ungrateful Inſolence, have inſtructed others to imitate their Demeanor, it is but juſt that they ſhould contribute to the neceſſary Charges whereupon they put his Majeſty to enſure that Royalty, which they, above all others (being ſupported by Queen *Eliſabeth*, and owned for a free State, by the Interpoſition of King *James*, and ſtrengthened by the Surrendry of the Cautionary Towns upon moſt eaſy Terms) ſhould not have controverted; at leaſt, not in ſo barbarous a Manner, as to ſay, That all the World holds the King of *England*'s Claim to be impertinent. Whereas it may be with more Truth ſaid, That all the World, in all Ages, hath and doth juſtify his Right in general, or *in Theſi*; and it is manifeſt by the Conceſſions of all Princes concerned, and of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, and of the *Hollanders* themſelves, as to the *Britiſh* Seas; or *in Hypotheſi*.

Whereas they deny that ever they fiſhed in our Seas with Licenſe and Permiſſion of the Kings of *England*: It is a Lye; for ſince they hold their Privilege of Fiſhing, by Means of a general Licenſe or League, contracted betwixt the Crown of *England* and the Houſe of *Burgundy*; it is manifeſt, that whoſoever fiſhed in the *Engliſh* Seas, before, fiſhed with a particular Licenſe, from which they were then excepted, and that, from thenceforward, they did fiſh all by the general Licenſe or Indult of the Kings of *England* in that League. I have already ſhewed his Majeſty's Right unto the Fiſhery, and how it hath been exerted: And there is Equivocation in what they ſay concerning the Tribute of Fiſhing, That they never paid it to the King of *England*'s Father. The Fiſhing-buſſes did pay Tonnage-money for their Liberty to fiſh, unto the Earl of *Northumberland*, as Admiral under the preſent King of *England*'s Father. They, knowing the Legality of the Thing, paid it with Satisfaction, not regretting, or proteſting againſt it. The *Dutch* Admiral, *Dorpe*, did not except againſt the Actions, much leſs oppoſe the ſaid honourable Perſon: Nor do I find that the States-General did remonſtrate againſt that Tonnage-money, as an exorbitant and illegal Demand: But, according to the uſual Demeanor of theſe *Hollanders*, they gave it out all over *Europe*, that they would not pay any more, and that they refuſed it in 1637. To ſhew that this was but a ſcattered Report, not any publick Complaint, or Refuſal of the States-General at that Time; behold this Extract of a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Windebank*, to Captain *Fogge*, who at that Time commanded five or ſix Ships under the Earl of *Northumberland*.

HERE hath been a Report raiſed here, that the *Hollanders* have refuſed his Majeſty's Licenſe to fiſh in his Seas, pretended to have been offered them by Captain *Fielding*. But it is utterly miſtaken, ſeeing Captain *Fielding* was ſent to the Buſſes to offer them Protection; his Majeſty having underſtood that the *Dunkirkers* had prepared great Strength to intercept them in their Return from the Fiſhing, which his Majeſty, in Love to them, ſent Captain *Fielding* to give them Notice of, and to offer them ſafe Conduct. This you are publickly to avow whereſoever there ſhall be Occaſion; and to cry down the other Diſcourſe as ſcandalous and derogatory to his Majeſty's Honour.

Aug. 10, 1637.

Thus you ſee (to return upon them their own Language) It is a Lye that the ſaid Tonnage-money was proteſted againſt: It is a Lye, that it was no more demanded: For Captain *Fielding* did demand it (I am ſure by Letters in the *Paper-Office*) though I have not had Leiſure to examine what he received. And it is a fooliſh Report, to ſay, That the ſingle Attempt of the Earl of *Northumberland*, being violent, could not create any Right: Whereas we do not claim it in Right, becauſe it was then paid, but becauſe, as an immemorial Royalty, it was always due, and acknowledged by them to be ſo.

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I cannot allow of that Parentheſis of the *Conſiderer*, *That Violence can create no Right, no* not by Continuance. For, if Preſcription of an hundred Years, or leſs Time, according to particular Countries, does create a Right, how violent and unjuſt ſoever the firſt Occupancy be, according to the Law of Nations, which formally approves thereof, even betwixt Prince and Prince; and fundamentally, according to the Law of Nature, which diſpoſeth us to mutual Peace, and amicable Society, and to the Means conducing thereto, in the Number whereof are Preſcription, Occupancy, and Cuſtom; How then can he ſay, that Violence can never create a Right? How do they hold their Freedom, but by Violence? Are theſe the Principles of the Peace-loving *Hollanders*? Do not theſe Suggeſtions tend to the Involving of all the World in Blood!

As to the Meeting of the Yatcht with the Fleet under *Van Ghent* in the *North* Sea, and their not Striking Sail or Flag: The *Conſiderer* yields it to be a Ship of War, by Reaſon of its Equipage, Commiſſion, and Standard; and ſo it was, according to the Precedents of our Law, which ſtyles Barges and Ballingers, if armed for War, to be Ships of War; but neither he, nor any Man elſe can ſay, that the Refuſal to lower the Top-ſail, and ſtrike the Flag, was not a Breach of the Treaty at *Breda*. It is alledged, that, 'This happened in the *North* 'Sea, which is not the *Britiſh* Sea, being diſtinguiſhed therefrom, in all Sea-plats, yea, in 'the *Engliſh* Map, and, which in this Caſe is 'an invincible Argument, by Reaſon that, in 'the ſeventh Article of the Treaty at *Breda*, 'the ſame are diſtinctly mentioned one from 'the other; where it is expreſly ſaid, that 'all Ships and Merchandiſes, which within 'twelve Days after the Peace are taken in the '*Britiſh* Sea, and the *North* Sea, ſhall continue in Propriety to the Seizer. Out of 'which it plainly appears, that even, according 'to the King of *England*'s Senſe, the *North* 'Sea differs in Reality from the *Britiſh* Sea.' Theſe Reaſons are ſo far from being invincible, that they are null and altogether invalid. For the Argument from popular Maps, and vulgar Sea-plats, imports nothing at all: Thoſe being made for common Inſtruction in ſuch Caſes, as they are uſually made for; but not to decide Caſes at Law. There are ſeveral Counties in *England*, which are not ſpecified in the Maps, which yet the Laws do exempt from thoſe in which the Maps do include them. *The Diſtinction in the Article at Breda*, betwixt the *Britiſh* and *North* Sea, is popular, and mentioned, only to prevent future Quarrels, about Prizes taken, not to decide the King's Rights unto that Sea, as one of the four Seas; and, that taking Place, it is not an invincible Argument, but an affected Ignorance in this *Hollander* to urge it here. In the Treaty at *Torſtrop*, betwixt the *Dane* and *Swede*, I read that *Schonen* and *Wien* were diſtinctly named, and conſented unto by the *Dane*, to be transferred unto the *Swede*; and in a ſubſequent Agreement at *Roskild*, the *Swede* hath only *Schonen* transferred by Name; hereupon he claims alſo *Wien*; the *Danes* deny the Rendition, and evade it as the *Dutch* do now; The King of *Sweden* rejoins thus, and any Man may accommodate the Paſſage to our Caſe:

'Though the *Danes* do grant there hath ever 'been a joint Alienation of the ſaid Iſle with '*Schonen*; nevertheleſs, they would fain wave 'this by an odd Exception, pretending that '*Wien* could not really be alienated, as a Member of *Schonen*, becauſe, in the Treaty, *Wien* 'is expreſly named, as well as *Schonen*, which, 'they alledge, need not have been, had it 'been incluſive in *Schonen*. But this poor 'Plea is of little Importance, if it be obſerved, that in the Charter of Alienation, 'where *Wien* is ſeparately named with *Schonen*, there alſo *Liſter* is ſeparately named 'with the Province of *Blekingen*, which, however, the *Danes* do unanimouſly acknowledge 'to be a Part of *Blekingen*; it being diſtinctly 'named, rather for Prevention of further Diſputes, than out of Neceſſity: *Nam clauſula abundans non nocet, ut nec ejus abſentia obeſt.*'

I ſhall conclude, with two brief Obſervations upon the remaining Part of this Paragraph, not yet replied unto.

1. The *Conſiderer* ſaith, That the Striking of the Flag is but a Civility to his Majeſty's Ships, and conſequently not to be enforced, but muſt proceed from a free Willingneſs, and an unconſtrained Mind, in thoſe that ſhew ſuch Reſpect. They, that will not learn Manners, muſt be taught them; yet it is a difficult Task to teach the Boors of *Holland*. But where did he learn, that the Striking of the Flag in the *Britiſh* Seas

was merely an Act of Reſpect? Or, how can he ſay, that the *Dutch*, or others, might not be conſtrained to ſtrike, conſidering the Inſtructions of our Admiral, and the Uſage of *England*? Whoſoever refuſeth to ſtrike, is to be proſecuted as a Rebel, not as an uncivil Perſon. And I find, that the Crown of *France*, where it pretends to any Sovereignty of the Sea, doth enforce the Striking of the Sail and Flag in an uncivil Manner, ſince thoſe that refuſe to do it are to be attacked with Cannon-ſhot, and, if taken, their Ships confiſcated. The ſame is done by the State of *Venice*, and univerſally. The World is coming to a fine Paſs, when theſe Butter-boxes preſume to teach all *Europe* Civility.

2. The *Conſiderer* ſaith, That ſince the Yatcht did not meet with any ſingle Ships, or Veſſels of the States, but run in amongſt a Fleet riding at Anchor: It cannot be maintained with any Fundamental Reaſons, that the Lord *Van Ghent*, by Vertue of the ſaid Article, was obliged to ſtrike.—I anſwer, That the Article doth make it fundamental to the Peace; and the Admiral's Inſtructions, and the Uſage of *England* do expound the ſame ſufficiently, to the Prejudice of *Van Ghent*. Is this the Sincerity, the *bona fides*, with which they obſerve the Treaty? Our Laws and Cuſtoms of the Admiralty know no Diſtinction betwixt a Ship or Fleet found riding at Anchor, or met under Sail: Nor do they diſtinguiſh betwixt a caſual Meeting, and a voluntary Seeking of foreign Ships, or Fleets; nor whether our Ships be at Anchor, and the Foreigner under Sail, or both be navigating: And it is the Duty of our Men of War, in Caſe they diſcover, or hear of any foreign Ships or Fleets upon our Seas, to make up to them, and to ſee whether they come in a peaceable, or hoſtile Manner, by demanding them to ſtrike their Sails and Flags. I need not add any Thing to this Point, every one may ſufficiently comprehend the Caſe, but theſe *Hollanders*, that will not underſtand it.

The Concluſion of this Paragraph doth manifeſt the Integrity of his Majeſty, in the Penning of his Declaration; ſeeing that the *Conſirer* acknowledgeth, That the States-General did offer to ſtrike the Flag and Sail unto his Ships of the Navy Royal, upon Condition he would aſſiſt them in this Juncture (for that they mean by his obſerving the Triple Alliance) and provided no Conſtruction be made to prejudice them in the free Uſe of the Seas, *viz.* in Reference to Fiſhing, as well as Sailing. It is hence evident, that his Majeſty did not repreſent the Arrogance of the *Dutch* in ſo heinous a Manner, as he might have done, without injuring them. The *Conſiderer* hath done it; and I refer it to the Conſideration of all *Engliſhmen*.

Thus I have exactly replied unto all that the *Conſiderer* hath alledged againſt the Declaration of his Majeſty, and what elſe he hath written in Reference to the preſent Quarrel; and I think I have made it evident to the meaneſt Capacity, that the preſent War is authoriſed by all thoſe Circumſtances which make it juſt, and honourable, and neceſſary,

I intend in a ſecond Part to addreſs myſelf to my Fellow-Subjects, as the *Conſiderer* doth to his, and excite them to do no leſs to avert Injuries, and defend their Honour, and the Rights of his Majeſty, than he exhorteth the *Dutch*, to do, contrary to all Right, to our Detriment and Diſhonour: I will therein ſhew thoſe that were concerned for the War againſt the *Dutch*, under the pretended Commonwealth, that the Quarrel is fundamentally the ſame now, that it was then, and that they cannot have any Tenderneſs for the *Hollanders*, at this Time, who did ſo heinouſly complain of their Oppreſſions and Uſurpations then; The *Hollanders* are the ſelf-ſame People ſtill; as much *Hollanders* in *Europe*, as they are at *Japan*, or ever were at *Amboyna*: I know not why we ſhould not demonſtrate ourſelves all to be as true *Engliſhmen*; and to convince ſuch Perſons, I will print the Speech of Mr. *St. John*, their Ambaſſador to the States, at the *Hague*, during the pretended Commonwealth.

Camilton's

Camilton's Diſcovery of the deviliſh Deſigns, and killing Projects, of the Society of Jeſuits, of late Years projected, and, by them, hitherto acted, in *Germany*, intended, but graciouſly prevented, in *England*. Tranſlated out of the *Latin* Copy. Dedicated to the High-Court of Parliament, by *W. F. X. B.* Miniſter of Chriſt's Goſpel.

From all Sedition, and privy Conſpiracy; from all falſe Doctrine and Hereſy,

Good Lord deliver us.

London, Printed by *T. Fawcet*, dwelling in *Grubſtreet*, 1641. *Quarto*, containing thirty-ſix Pages.

To the High and Honourable, the Lords and Houſe of Commons of *England*, in Parliament aſſembled.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

ABOUT *twelve Years ago, there came to my Hand a little Tract, written, in* Latin, *by one who ſtiled himſelf* Johannes Camiltonus, *and profeſſed himſelf to have been ſometimes a Probationer in that College of Jeſuits in* Germany, *whereof* Jacobus del Rio, *at that Time Provincial, was the Viſitor. This Book, in the Year* 1607, *was by him written, and dedicated to the Proteſtant Electors of* Germany, *as a Diſcovery, beforehand, of thoſe moſt damnable Projects, which that Society then had in Agitation againſt the People of* Germany. *The Title of this Book was,* De Studiis Jeſuitarum abſtruſioribus, *concerning the more ſecret and reſerved Practices of the Jeſuits: Whereunto had thoſe Princes, to whom this Book was dedicated, given ſuch timely Ear and Belief, as they might have done, they had, in all Probability, prevented the greateſt Part of thoſe unparalleled Miſeries, which, ſince the Beginning of the Wars there (and that was not till eleven Years after the Publication of this Book) theſe Incendiaries of* Chriſtendom *have brought upon the* German *Nation, to the Aſtoniſhment of all the World. But we ſee what hath ſince been permitted to theſe Fellows to do, and what the Neglect of a timely taking Heed, to a ſeaſonable Warning, hath brought upon thoſe then flouriſhing Princes and States.*

That we, therefore, might learn, by other Men's Harms, to rectify our own Particulars, I have endeavoured the Publication of this Tranſlation, under your Honours Protection;

tion; having taught this Discoverer to speak our Language, for the publick Benefit of our English *Nation against them: I dare boldly say, even yourselves being my Judges, when you shall have read this small Tract, that the same Course hath been taken, by these common Incendiaries, for breeding a Disturbance, and bringing all Things into a Confusion, both in our Church and State, that was then projected, and, since then, acted upon* Germany. *Nor do I think, but it is sufficiently known to your Honours, and grave Wisdoms, that the same Wheel of Mischief, that wrought all the Woes of* Germany, *since the Year* 1618, *hath, for some Years last past, been set also at Work in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; *witness all the Factions and Fractions in Church and State, the Disturbances and Discontents between the Prince and People, the fearful Divisions betwixt the Clergy and Clergy, betwixt the Court and City, and betwixt the King and his Commons, yea, even betwixt the two Crowns of* England *and* Scotland; *all which have received their Birth and Breeding from the devilish Designs of those Sons of Division, the Society of Jesuits, and been fomented, almost to a perfect Flame, by their Agents, and Adherents, their deluded Disciples of this Nation; and had undoubtedly broke out, and produced, in short Time, the like Effects amongst us, that they have done in* Germany, *had not Almighty God, in mere Mercy to this Nation, and in his divine Compassion to his poor Church in* England, *thus ready to perish, stepped in to our Rescue, by his blessed Hand of Providence stirring up the Spirits of our noble Peers, to represent to his sacred Majesty the imminent Danger, and graciously inclining his royal Heart to hearken thereto, and so that we may say with the Psalmist,* Ps. cxviii. 23. This was the Lord's Doing, and it is marvellous in our Eyes. *And the same God, if it be his blessed Will, in his own Time, by his own Means, perfect that good Work of Mercy, which he hath so graciously begun for us of this Land and Nation, by rooting out, from amongst us, that disloyal Brood of* Inigo Loyola, *that our Eyes may see it, and we may say, The Lord hath been magnified upon the Borders of* England. *For, assuredly, though the* Romish *Factors may now justly say, as* Edom *did in the Prophecy of* Malachi, i. 4. We are impoverished, but we will return, and build up our desolate Places: *For they cannot but be sensible of their own Counsels, defeated both by Sea and Land; by Water, in the Year* 1588, *by Fire,* 1605; *and it is not to be doubted, that they apprehend a Fear of the Miscarriage of their great and long intended Plot of Wit, now begun to break out this Year,* 1641; *all which, notwithstanding, they still retain a Resolution to return, and build up their desolate Places; yet I desire them to read, and take Notice of the Words following, in the Place before cited,* Yet, thus saith the Lord of Hosts, They shall build up, but I will destroy, and Men shall call them the Border of Wickedness, and the People with whom the Lord is angry for ever. *And your Eyes shall see it, and Men shall say, The Lord's Name hath been magnified upon the Borders of* England. *And, to speak truly what I think, I must confess, that I have conceived an Hope, of a long Time, that this Year,* 1641, *which compleateth the Century, since that Society had their Bull from the Pope, under Protection whereof they have wrought so much Mischief, would shew unto the World an apparent Alteration in the Body of that Monster, the Society of Jesuits. A Point, which I am induced the rather to believe, because I have been certified as much, in Effect, from a Couple of their own Men, of eminent Note for Learning; the one* Paulus Florenius, *an* Italian, *the other* Christianus Franken, *a* German; *the former whereof was Divinity Reader, the other Philosophy Reader, in the* Imperial *College of Jesuits at* Vienna; *both which, above threescore Years ago, upon just Grounds, expressed in a Book by them published, forsook that Religion, and became Protestants. That Book also is to be seen, and, if it please this honourable House to command it, shall be published also in* English, *for I find*

find it written in Latin. *And, if their Prediction fail not more in the Concluſion, than it hath done in the Progreſs hitherto, I am confident that this may prove a very fatal Year to that Society. But I fear I hold you too long from the Book itſelf; humbly, therefore, commending you all to Almighty God, in my due and daily Prayers, I leave this Diſcovery to your Conſideration, and reſt*

Yours, in all the Duty of a Miniſter of Chriſt's Goſpel,

W. F. X. B.

WHAT *Marcus Cato* ſometimes ſpoke, concerning the *Roman* Soothſayers, That he wondered how they could forbear to ſmile upon each other, ſo often as they met, may not unfitly be applied to the Jeſuits. It is a Wonder that one Jeſuit, when he looketh upon another, doth not ſtraightway burſt forth into a Laughing outright, they being, amongſt themſelves, privy to ſuch Impoſtures practiſed upon the People. I ſpeak not touching your ſimpler Sorts of Jeſuits, from whom theſe more reſerved and cloſer Practices of the Society are altogether concealed, either in Reſpect they are not held wiſe enough, forſooth, to be acquainted with them, or that they are thought too devout to entertain them, or elſe in Regard of their ſhort Continuance in that Society; for all ſuch are ſo kept ſhort, through Severity of Diſcipline, that not one of them, except he be wonderous quick of Scent, can ever ſmell out, in the leaſt Meaſure, what Knavery is therein practiſed, under a Shew of Holineſs. My Diſcourſe only toucheth the prime and principal Fellows of that Society, their Regents, Fathers, Provincials, and Generals; all which are ſo univerſally and jointly tainted with all Manner of Wickedneſs, but eſpecially with Whoredom, Covetouſneſs, and Magick, that, indeed, any reaſonable Man may think it little leſs than a Miracle, if a Jeſuit, of this Rank, meeting ſuch another upon a Sudden, and beholding, as it were, another Picture, or lively Repreſentation of himſelf, ſhould have Power to abſtain from laughing outright.

I therefore thought it not amiſs, conſidering the Premiſſes, to lay open unto the World ſome particular Paſſages, and Practices of that Society, of the greateſt Part whereof myſelf have been an Eye-witneſs, and ſome Part whereof hath been related unto me by Jeſuits, whom I am able to name, and will undoubtedly nominate, if they ſhall but dare, in the leaſt Manner, to lift up their Tongues againſt me, or to contradict what I have written. And howſoever, at this Time, I paſs over Things briefly, and do only, as it were, give you a firſt Draught thereof, I do purpoſe, in due Time, God aſſiſting me, to do it more largely and compleatly, with Expreſſion of all and ſingular Circumſtances thereunto appertaining.

Firſt of all then, at your Enterance into any College of Jeſuits, eſpecially if it be ſituated in or near unto any large, and populous, and rich Place. But, alas! why do I ſay, if it be built there (ſeeing they have no Colleges in any poor, mean, or obſcure Place.) At your firſt Entry, I ſay, into ſuch a Place or College, take principal Notice of the Porter of their Gate, and him you ſhall find to look like unto the Picture of a very *Charon*, or, rather, a *Cerberus*; for the moſt Part, you ſhall obſerve him to be a Man of very great Years, or, if he be younger, he is a Fellow of moſt approved Truſt and Secrecy. And this is the Man, if any ſuch there be, who is well ſkilled in all the Myſteries of the Jeſuits Cabal, or reſerved Divinity.

In this Fellow's Keeping is great Store of Apparel, both of Men and Women, of every Degree and Calling; and, with this Apparel, do the Jeſuits habit themſelves, according to the Quality that every one findeth himſelf ableſt to perſonate, and ſo practiſe wonderful Impoſtures in the World. For, at ſome Times, being habited like Soldiers, very gallant, they walk in the Streets and High-ways, whoring and ſwaggering in the publick Stews. At other Times, in the civil Habits of Citizens, profeſſing themſelves to be of the Reformed Religion,

Religion, they pry up and down, and liſten in Inns, in Play-houſes, in Taverns, upon the *Exchange*, and in all Places of publick Meetings, whereſoever there is any frequent Reſort, what the People ſpeak up and down concerning them, what Conſultations are Abroad, what Matter of Action is ſet on Foot in any Part. Another While, like Doctors of Phyſick, or of the Civil Law, with great Rings on their Fingers, avowing, and purpoſely profeſſing themſelves to be Papiſts: Whereſoever they know any of the common Sort, that are wealthy, and have Sons, they deviſe ſome Cauſe of Buſineſs with them, and inſinuate themſelves into their Acquaintance by ſtrange Fetches, and, in Concluſion, do adviſe them to bring up their Sons in ſome School or College of Jeſuits, affirming, that themſelves have been educated by them, and that they have ſo profited under them, that, God be thanked, they never had Cauſe to repent thereof. And ſometimes, again, apparelled like Noblemen, and compleatly attended, they cauſe Coaches to be provided Abroad, and frequent the Courts of Princes, as giving Attendance upon Ambaſſadors of foreign States, and ſerve, as Intelligencers, to unlock the Cabinets of great Potentates.

Nay further, I have known them to make Shew of being baniſhed Perſons, and to crave Collections amongſt Proteſtant Divines, purpoſely to learn, Under-hand, what ſuch Men write againſt them; yea, ſuch were thoſe Men, for the moſt Part, who ſo miſerably deluded ſo many reverend Men, in many Places, by ſiniſter Ways, under that Habit, furthering the Deſigns of their Society, and breeding Diſturbances in the Reformed Congregations; of whom, to the End that all honeſt-hearted Miniſters may be more wary, I ſhall tell you, hereafter, what Projects, at this Day, the Jeſuits have on Foot to this Purpoſe.

But in the mean While perhaps you will ſay unto me, Whereto, I pray you, ſerveth ſo much Women's Apparel or what is their End in depoſiting ſo much in the Keeping of the Porter of their Gate? Attend, and I will tell you: No Pander, that ever *Terence* or *Plautus* mentioned in their Comedies, was ſo nimble at the Trade of winning pretty Wenches, as are the Jeſuits at this Day, but eſpecially that Porter of their Gate, whom I mentioned but now.

For, that which the Confeſſors themſelves are not able to wring out of them by Auricular Confeſſion in their Churches and Chapels, this Fellow knoweth how to win from them by flattering Speeches, with wonderful pleaſing and delightful Toys; eſpecially if he meet with a poor Widow, or any ſuch ſilly Woman, which ſendeth her Child to the College now and then for an Alms; or with ſome Laundreſs, or Spinſter; for, be ſhe *Lotrix*, or *Netrix*, he will make her a *Meretrix*. Whom, ſo ſoon as this baſe Pander hath once but allured to come to his Net, although her Apparel be never ſo old and tattered, yet he hath gay Gowns enough in Store, with Accoutrements ſuitable, wherewith he can make her both trick and trim, which when he hath done, he knoweth how to convey her through many ſecret Paſſages and By-ways to his venerable Maſters, the Fathers of the Society: And yet he never doth this in the Day-time, but near upon the Shutting in of the Evening, and then they make away the whole Night in Riot and Luxury, with Revelling and Dancing, the younger Sort and Novices of the Society being kept far enough from Diſcovery thereof.

For they have for that Purpoſe certain Vaults framed like Chambers and Rooms, underground, as had thoſe ancient *Romans*, who firſt deviſed their Stews in Vaults, whoſe Inclination to all carnal Laſciviouſneſs was ſo great, and ſo brutiſh, that the Senate of *Rome*, fearing the juſt Anger of their Gods for the ſame, utterly ſuppreſſed thoſe *Lupanaria* or publick Stews.

And thus much for the Jeſuits Porter of their Gate: Only I muſt not forget to tell you this one Thing, that if any Party, who by Chance ſhall come to the Sight of ſuch and ſo great a Wardrobe, do demand, with Admiration, What is the End or Uſe of it? Anſwer is made unto them, that it is the Wardrobe reſerved purpoſely for Acting of Plays: But that is the leaſt Part of their Intention, to my Knowledge.

Moreover, when thou entereſt into any of their Churches, make Account that thou walkeſt under an Heaven of Iron: Bloody *Mars* is over thine Head, not that Prince of Peace; below thee is the very Pit of Hell, and a Shop of Tormenters.

I now do relate in good Earneſt what mine own Eyes have ſeen: At *Prague* in *Bohemia*, upon

upon the Roofs of their Churches, are Thouſands of Iron Bullets, Whips, and Fire-balls, ſuch as the *Bohemians* uſe: Upon the Sides are placed Pieces of Ordnance, with a great Number of Muſquets and Harquebuſſes, with Pikes and Halberts: In the midſt, where the Arches meet, are great Heaps of huge Bullets of Stone; and the like Preparation have they alſo made at *Cracovia*. Nor do I make Queſtion, but that, upon due Search, their Colleges in other Places would appear as well provided.

But ſome Man may perhaps make Queſtion, To what End religious Men ſhould make ſuch Preparation, or what Need there can be ſo to do? I confeſs the Matter, at firſt Sight, aſtoniſhed me, and my beſt Underſtanding was exceeding ſtrange: But thus ſtandeth the Caſe:

The Jeſuits know well enough, that the Courſes which they have taken formerly, and now every Day do take, are ſo indirect and turbulent, as maketh them odious to all ſuch as they live amongſt; yea, to very Papiſts themſelves, at leaſt to the wiſer Sort of them, in reſpect of many Things which they have done both tumultuouſly and wickedly, whereſoever they have got Footing in the leaſt Manner: For they have no Regard of any, they ſpare not to root up the very Catholicks themſelves, ſo that they may pleaſure the Pope's Holineſs therein, though it were with the betraying of their Countries, and ſetting the whole Chriſtian World in a Combuſtion. And therefore, becauſe they are in daily Fear to be maſſacred by thoſe among whom they live, they make this provident and timely Prevention by warlike Preparation.

For, indeed, they are afraid, as I myſelf have heard them confeſs, leſt it might befall unto them as unto the Knights Templars, who, notwithſtanding they were forward enough to ſerve the Pope at all Times, and as good Catholicks as could be wiſhed in the Matter of Religion; yet, for their too much Ambition and Covetouſneſs, whereby they became inſupportable, they were, by Conſent of all Chriſtian Princes, and not without Approbation from the Pope himſelf, put to the Sword all at an Inſtant, and utterly rooted out almoſt in a Moment; as ſometimes were the *Pythagoreans*, thoſe very Jeſuits in Effect, among the Heathen, ſerved throughout *Italy*, and the Provinces adjoining.

Now the Reaſon, wherefore they do make Choice to lay up their Arms and Ammunition in their Churches, is only this: For if, when any Inſurrection or rebellious Tumult ariſeth in a Province, the Papiſts come thither to help and aſſiſt them, by this Means they have Arms for them in a Readineſs upon a Sudden: But if any who are of contrary Religion come thither to do them Wrong, or to ſteal any Thing from them, they have Ammunition and Stones above-head, to deſtroy them withal, before they be aware. And is not this, I pray you, the ready Way to make the Houſe of Prayer a Den of Thieves?

And yet, by your Patience, if you will but attend, I ſhall relate Things more ſtrange and horrible than theſe, in reſpect whereof, the Things, I have related hitherto, may well ſeem tolerable, I may almoſt ſay innocent.

Under the Pavement of their Church at *Gratz*, and elſewhere, to my Knowledge, are Vaults and Buildings under Ground; whereunto, there is no Way, but by Stairs, and Steps. Here have they hoarded up (like to that *Cacus* whom *Virgil* ſpeaketh of) all their Prey and Treaſure, and do obſcurely conceal a World of Wealth: So profeſſing Poverty, not only with publick Conſent, but alſo with incredible Pleaſure, ſuffering the ſame with admirable Patience, and curſing to the Pit of Hell all ſuch as are poor againſt their Wills, as unworthy of ſo bleſſed a Croſs.

But as for this their Treaſure, for the moſt Part it is ſo contrived, that it is buried directly and perpendicularly under their greateſt and chiefeſt, or moſt eminent and higheſt Altar, and ſo they ſhall be ſure, that when they chaunt Maſs, they ſhall ſacrifice to *Mars* above-head, and to *Mammon* below.

Now, furthermore, in their Vaults under Ground, they maintain a very ſtrange Library, of Cords, Halters, Racks, Swords, Axes, Iron-pincers, Stocks, Torches, Pillories, and ſeveral Inſtruments of Torture, wherewith, and whereunto, poor Wretches being tied faſt are Joint by Joint torn aſunder, as many as fall into the Hands of theſe Tyrants, who are far more cruel in this Kind, than *Mezentius* or *Phalaris* ever were.

Nor are they without a Devil's Coat, and a long ſteeple-crowned Hat, with black Feathers, a jagged Doublet cut and flaſhed, Breeches puffed out and bagged like Bellows,

down to their Ancles, ſuch as would even make a Man affrighted to look upon them.

But, perhaps, he that readeth this Relation will wonder, to what End religious Perſons, who profeſs themſelves the Diſciples and Followers (as they would have all Men to believe) of our moſt meek Saviour *Jeſus*, ſhould make ſuch Proviſion. I will reſolve you this Queſtion alſo, if you pleaſe to attend.

With ſuch Inſtruments as theſe, doth the Society captivate the Underſtanding of their Diſciples, unto Jeſuitical Obedience. For if, in the leaſt Matter, they get any Hint of Suſpicion, againſt any of their Novices, that he will not be conſtant, or that he deſireth to eſcape from them, and that he is likely to betray the Secrets of their Society, they clap up ſuch a Fellow, in a fair Pair of Stocks, and having macerated him a long Time with Hunger, and Cold, and Want of all bodily Comforts; at laſt they make an End of him, with ſome exquiſite Tortures, and killing Torments. I do not belye them. I write nothing but a Truth. There was at *Gratz*, about three Years ago, a young Man named *Jacobus Cluſſeus*, a Youth of an excellent and pregnant Wit; this Man did they lay Hands upon, and miſerably tormented him, by Whipping and Scourging, for a Matter of no Moment, and becauſe he told them plainly, that he would renounce their Society, and complain publickly, if ever he got Liberty, for this, and other ſuch wicked Dealing towards him, they clapped him up into ſuch a Priſon, under Ground, as aforeſaid, from whence he was never ſeen to come out again alive.

Nor did any of us, that were Novices, make Queſtion, but that he was made an End of, with moſt exquiſite Torments.

Which unparalleled Piece of Tyranny I purpoſe, in due Time, to divulge to the whole World, with Relation of all Circumſtances, being the Thing which the poor wretched *Cluſſeus* had a Purpoſe to have done himſelf, if he had not been hindered and prevented by Death.

I ſhall withal make publick unto the World another ſuch Piece of Villainy, committed by the Jeſuits of *Fulda* in *Germany*, upon the Body of one *Martinus*, whom they ſtole away moſt baſely from his Parents, who are yet living at *Miltenberg*, or *Milberg*.

And how many Women, think you, have been devoured and eaten up in the ſame Gulf? How many young Children ſlain? How many young Men, that have been ſole Heirs of very large and ample Patrimonies, have been made away by them? I do not ſay, I think, but I believe, and am firmly perſuaded, ſo often as Shrieks, Cries, Sighings, and moſt woeful Lamentations, were heard in the Night-ſeaſon, the Hearing whereof would put a Man into a cold Sweat all over, and make his Hair ſtand on End, though our ſimpler Novices believed them to be the Souls of ſome lately departed; it was nothing but the Shrieks and Mones of Children lately murdered, or then a murdering.

Moreover, that the extreme and deviliſh Malice of Jeſuits may be in nothing defective, they are accuſtomed divers Times, in thoſe their Vaults under Ground, to make the Devil very fine Sport: Putting on terrible Diſguiſes, they cauſe ſome of their Novices to be called down to behold their Tragedy, upon whom they will ruſh ſuddenly, with a horrid yelling Noiſe, to make Trial, forſooth, of their Courage and Conſtancy.

For, if they find any to be timorous and fearful, they admit not ſuch a Man to the Secrets of Magick, as counting them cowardly and degenerate, but appoint them to ſome of the inferior Arts: But ſuch as appear to be of bold and undaunted Spirits, they take eſpecial Notice of them, and reſerve them for ſerious Employments.

And yet they are not always ſucceſsful for all this, as appeared by that which happened at *Prague*, in the Year 1602. For whereas there were five principal Jeſuits, who being habited as Devils made Sport with the Youth: It ſo fell out, That there was found to be a ſixth in their Company, before they were aware, and he, queſtionleſs, was a Devil indeed, who, catching up one of the perſonated Devils in his Arms, gave him ſuch a kindly unkind Embrace, that within three Days after he died of it. The Fact was common Talk at Bake-houſes and Barber-ſhops, and at every Table diſcourſed upon, all over *Prague*.

And yet, for all that, the reſt of them, as nothing amazed with this tragical Event, dare ſtill, in the Height of Obſtinacy, proceed in that moſt ungodly and deviliſh Study of Magick.

Now, amongſt that whole Society, the prime Man for a Magician is a *French* Jeſuit, whom the King of *France* himſelf had in ſo high Eſtimation,

Eſtimation, that he admitted him not only to his princely Table, but alſo to familiar Conferences in private; concerning whom the Jeſuits themſelves did make their Boaſt, that he had a Glaſs made by Art-magick, wherein he could plainly repreſent, unto the King, whatſoever his Majeſty deſired to ſee: Inſomuch that there was nothing ſo ſecretly done or conſulted upon in the moſt private Room of any Cloiſter or Nunnery of other Orders, which he could not eaſily and inſtantly diſcover and diſcloſe, by this his inchanted, or, rather, deviliſh Glaſs.

And, indeed, it was by the Art and Means of this Magician Jeſuite, that their Society was confident, That they ſhould be able to draw on their Side one of the moſt potent Princes of the Empire, altho' a Proteſtant; foraſmuch, as he was obſerved to be ſomewhat delighted in the Study of Magick.

Now, as for thoſe whom they take in as Novices to be inſtructed in this Way, they expound unto them thoſe nine-hundred Propoſitions, which *Picus*, Earl of *Mirandula*, publiſhed at *Rome*: As, alſo, the Book of *Johannes Trithemius*, together with a Tract or Treatiſe touching abſtruſe or hidden Philoſophy, written by *Cornelius Agrippa*: Likewiſe *Theophraſtus*, concerning the Conſtellations and Seals of the Planets, with the *Steganographia* of I know not what Abbot, and the Art of *Paul* to procure Revelations: Meaning St. *Paul*, whom they affirm to have been inſtructed in the Magick Art, and thereby to have underſtood ſuch high Revelations, and profound Myſteries.

Yea, they bluſh not to affirm, that St. *John* was an excellent Magician: Nor do they ſtick to ſay, That even our bleſſed Saviour *Chriſt Jeſus* himſelf was a moſt abſolute and perfect Magician, as mine own Ears have heard it oftener than once or twice related by ſome of that Society, and ſuch as I am able to nominate.

And thus much for the Jeſuits Church: Only take this Direction along with you; thoſe Vaults and Rooms under Ground, which I mentioned even now, thoſe ſecret Conveyances, and *Circean* Dens, are for the moſt Part contrived to be under the Choir, or Cloiſter, not where the People do walk or ſtand.

And now when thou ſhalt paſs from their Temple into their Study (for I will ſay nothing touching their Parlours or Chambers, Refectories or Places of Recreation, Inſtruction of Novices who are newly admitted, and the Training up of other Scholars committed to the Jeſuits Tuition; nor yet touching the Method and Order of their Studies, but will reſerve that for another Diſcourſe; ſeeing thoſe Paſſages are, for the moſt Part, known Abroad already, being diſcovered by another.) When, I ſay, thou ſhalt enter into their publick Library, thou ſhalt find a moſt exquiſite Choice of Authors of all Sorts, all of them moſt curiouſly bound up in Leather or Parchment, with Fillets of Silver or Gold: And as for ſuch whereof there is daily Uſe, they are laid in Order upon Desks, faſtened with Chains upon a long Table.

But, as for the inner Library, that is only reſerved for the Fathers of the Society: It is free for none but them to go in thither, and to borrow thence what Books they think good. Thoſe ordinary Books are only free for the Juniors of the Society, nor may they take a Sentence out of the reſt, without ſpecial Leave obtained from the Regent.

Moreover, in this firſt Library, are no *heretical* Books, as they call them, but only the Writings of moſt approved Authors and Catholicks all: For they hold any other unworthy to be placed amongſt them, as fearing, perhaps, they ſhould infect the reſt.

Look, therefore, upon thy Left-hand, and there thou ſhalt ſee the wretched Books of *Hereticks*, as they term them, ſtanding all in Mourning for the Faults of their Authors, bound up in black Leather, or Parchment blacked over, with the very Leaves thereof dyed in Black.

Of theſe, not one of the Fathers themſelves may make Choice or Uſe, without Leave obtained from the Regent before-hand: But your inferior Jeſuits, and younger Novices, may not be ſo bold, as to deſire the Sight of any one of them, except he will, before-hand, with all Virulency and Bitterneſs, rail upon and diſgrace the Author, whom he deſireth to ſee, by ſome infamous Libel, and ſcurrilous ſatyrical Verſe, or Writing.

In the Midſt of theſe ſeveral Libraries, is placed a Study, being divided into many Seats diſtinct, and ſeparate one from another, with a blue Covering: On the right Side whereof, ſit the Fathers; on the Left, the Under-graduates, who have already taken ſome Degrees upon them. The other Novices, or

Freſh-men, as we call them, ſit mixed with the Fellow-commoners, that they may take Notice of them, and every Man in his Turn beat into them, by continual Diſcourſes, the Sweetneſs and Excellency of the Order of Jeſuits; eſpecially, into ſuch as are of the richer Sort, or wealthy Heirs.

I will ſay no more at this Time, as touching their Studies; but I will deſcribe briefly the Manner of the Viſitation, which every Provincial maketh; becauſe it is a Point, which, as I think, and for any Thing that I ever read or heard, hath been never hitherto divulged by any.

Now every Provincial taketh his Denomination from the Province, or Kingdom rather, which is committed to his Charge and Overſight. His Place is to viſit the ſeveral Colleges, to take an Account of their Revenues, and overſee their Expences exactly and punctually: To take Notice what noble Perſonages commit their Sons to the Tuition of the Society, and how many they are in Number? Whether there be not yearly an Increaſe of Scholars, as alſo of their Means and Revenues? Whether there be any converted from *Lutheraniſm*, and how many ſuch?

If there be no ſuch Thing, or if the Popiſh Religion hath loſt Ground, or if there be any Decreaſe of their Wealth, he ſharply reproveth their Sloth and Neglect, and chargeth ſtrictly, that they make an Amends for the Wrong they have done, and Loſs they have received in this Caſe: But, if they have beſtirred themſelves bravely, and *converted*, as they call it, or rather perverted many Souls to Popery; if they have been frugal, and ſcraped Wealth together, he praiſeth them very highly, and extolleth them to the Skies. Moreover, he demandeth, What is the Opinion of the neighbouring Hereticks concerning them? What are the Projects of the Nobles? What Meetings they have? How many? And where? What they conſult upon? What they reſolve to do? Whether the *heretical* Princes, as they term them, delight to live at Home, or Abroad? To whom they reſort moſt frequently? What is the ſeveral Diſpoſition of every one of them? In what Things he is obſerved to take moſt Delight? Whether he take any Care of his People, or not? Whether he be a religious Prince, or not? Or rather, Whether he be not a Man, who delights to take his Pleaſure in Drinking, Wenching, or Hunting? Whether he has any Catholicks about him, or that are near unto him? What the People report Abroad concerning their own Princes? Whether the Churches of the Adverſaries be full of Reſort, or not? Whether the Paſtors of thoſe Churches be learned and diligent Men in their Place and Calling, or otherwiſe lazy Lubbers, and unlettered? Whether the Profeſſion of Divinity thrives in the neighbouring Univerſity of Hereticks? Whether their Divines maintain frequent Diſputations, and againſt whom principally? What Books they have publiſhed of late, and upon what Subject?

To theſe, and ſundry ſuch Queſtions, if the Regent and the reſt of the Fathers do anſwer punctually, he doth wonderfully commend their Induſtry and Vigilancy.

If he find them defective in anſwering to theſe, or any ſuch Demands, he reproveth them ſharply, ſaying: What mean you, my Maſters? Do you purpoſe, like lazy Companions, to undo the Church of *Rome?* How do you ſuppoſe your Slothfulneſs, in theſe weighty Affairs, can be excuſed before his Holineſs? How is it, that you preſume to take theſe Places upon you, and to manage them no better? What, or whom are you afraid of? Why do not you buckle up yourſelves better to your Buſineſs, and perform your Places like Men? *Theſe Things, if you had been ſuch* Men as you ought to be, had not been to do now. Theſe Things ſhould have been done long before this Time. Do you obſerve the incredible Watchfulneſs of the Hereticks, and can you be lazy? And, with theſe or the like Speeches, he whetteth them on to their Duty.

At the laſt he inquireth as touching the Scholars, Fellow-commoners, Novices, and the reſt, How many they are in Number? How much every one hath profited? To what Study, or Delight, each one is inclinable? Whether there be any one amongſt them, that is ſcrupulous, or untractable, or not a fit Subject to be wrought upon? For he adjudgeth every ſuch an one fitting to be removed from the Study of Divinity, except he have been very well exerciſed in the Diſputations in Schools, and have a very great and good Conceit of their Religion beaten into him. Moreover, he inquireth, If they have any one in the College, who can be contented, for the Advantage of the Catholick Cauſe, to undertake any laudable Attempt, and to ſpend his Blood in the

the Cauſe, if at any Time Neceſſity ſhould ſeem to require it?

And, at laſt, he ſendeth away all theſe Informations, being ſealed up, unto the Father-General at *Rome*, by whom they are immediately made known to the Pope himſelf, and his Conclave of Cardinals; and ſo, by this Means, an Order is taken, that there is no Matter of Action ſet on Foot, nothing almoſt conſulted upon, throughout the whole Chriſtian World, which is not forthwith diſcovered unto the Pope by theſe Traitors, that lurk in every State and Kingdom. Alſo, it is not to be omitted, that the Jeſuits are tranſlated by their Provincial from one College to another, and that, for the moſt Part, once in three Years, that ſo the Provincial, out of their ſeveral Diſcoveries, may attain to unlock all the moſt ſecret Cabinets of the Prince and State, where he doth reſide.

In the laſt Place, I will add, inſtead of a Corollary, ſome ſtrange and wonderful Devices of the Jeſuits, which, being but of late newly hammered in the Forge, they have earneſtly endeavoured, yea, and at this Day do labour, Tooth and Nail, to put in Practice, by publick Conſent, for an Innovation to be made, both in the Church and State, throughout the whole *Roman* Empire. To this End, their chief and only Aim is, how to ſet the Princes of the Empire together by the Ears, and, by taking off ſome of the principal Doctors of the Church, to bring the Tyranny of the *Spaniard*, and the Primacy of the Pope, into *Germany*. Concerning which very Project I have heard the Provincial *Del-Rio* himſelf diſcourſing ſometimes, whoſe Plots and Machinations were ſuch as follow:

In the *firſt* Place, ſaith he, Care and Pains muſt be uſed to eſtrange the Affections of the Princes of the Empire one from another.

Now the Means, ſaid he, to effect that, is to work upon their Contrariety of Opinions in Matters of Religion: And, for this End, let the Emperor be incited to make a Declaration, That he will not grant Liberty of Conſcience in Matters of Religion, except there ſhall firſt be a Reſtitution made of ſuch Goods, as were taken from the Clergy upon the Treaty at *Paſſau*; for this is a Point, whereat they will ſtick aſſuredly, and deny it.

Let the Emperor thereupon ſend his Princes, and demand the ſame of the Cities of the Empire. They will either obey or deny; if they conſent, and obey, all is well; if they refuſe, let him proclaim them Rebels, and expoſe them to be ſeized upon by the next neighbouring Princes; but ſtill let the Matter be ſo carried, that he be ſure to oppoſe a *Lutheran* and a *Calviniſt*, the one againſt the other.

Moreover, ſome Device muſt be found out, that the Duke of *Bavaria* may fall foul, either upon the Elector *Palatine*, or upon the Duke of *Wittembergh*, for then may the Emperor be eaſily won to proclaim him Traitor, whom the Duke of *Bavaria* ſhall diſtaſte, and all Means be taken away of making Pacification either with *Papiſt* or *Calviniſt* for them; beſides, thereby will be raiſed unreconcileable Diviſions in the Empire, never to be quenched before an Highway be made for the Accompliſhment of our Deſires. For the further Ripening of which Deſign, the Jeſuits bethought themſelves further of this Stratagem: It will follow, ſay they, neceſſarily when any City of the Empire ſhall be proclaimed Rebellious, that every ſeveral Prince will be more ready and willing to ſerve his own Turn, upon the Spoil thereof, than to admit any other that ſhall be emulous of the ſame Booty to prevent him. This for the Generality. More particularly yet, Means muſt be found out to ſet the Princes of *Saxony* at Difference, that their Strength and Power may be broken, or at leaſt weakened.

Now that may be moſt conveniently effected thus:

Firſt, If the Adminiſtration of the Primacy of *Magdeburgh*, which now is vacant, be given to the *Bavarian* Elector of *Cologne*, neither the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, nor the Duke of *Saxony*, will eaſily grant their Conſents thereto.

Secondly, If that ſucceed not according to our Deſires, there muſt be ſome Cauſe pretended, why the Duke of *Saxony* either doth ſeem worthy, or ought to ſeem worthy, to be removed from the Electoral Dignity. For, if in Times paſt, the Princes of the Empire caſt down *Wenceſlaus*, from the Imperial Throne, becauſe they had adjudged him a negligent Prince; ſurely the Emperor may take as juſt an Occaſion to remove, from the Electoral Dignity, the Duke of *Saxony*, who is drunk every Day. And, in this Reſpect, let his Imperial Majeſty reſtore, and confer that Dignity, upon the Houſe and Family of the Dukes of

Weymar.

Weymar. And, becauſe theſe Princes are yet under Age, let the Adminiſtration of that Electorſhip be committed to *Henry* of *Brunſwick*, a learned and vigilant Prince. This Project, being once ſet on Foot, cannot chuſe but beget infinite Diſtractions, throughout all *Saxony*; ſo ſhall it come to paſs, that they ſhall waſte and weary themſelves one againſt another, and by that Means become utterly unable to withſtand a common Foe, when he ſhall come upon them.

And as for the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and them of *Pomerania*, let Means be uſed to move the King of *Poland*, who is the Emperor's Kinſman, to covenant with his Uncle, the King of *Sweden*, that they two ſhall invade and divide *Pruſſia*, and canton the ſame; which Thing the Marquis of *Brandenburgh* will oppoſe with all his Powers. Now as concerning the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, he muſt be urged and ſollicited, daily to divide the Inheritance equally with his Uncle *Lodowick*, and to reſign the Government of *Hertsfield* to the Biſhop of *Wirtzburgh*; if he refuſe to do ſo, let him be proclaimed Rebel, and let his Inheritance be aſſigned unto his Uncle *Lodowick*.

Moreover, as for the Duke of *Wittembergh*, and the Elector *Palatine*, they two may with Eaſe be ſet together by the Ears, if the Duke be commanded to make Reſtitution of ſome Religious Houſes, or otherwiſe, upon his Refuſal, be proclaimed Rebel, and ſome neighbouring Monaſteries be aſſigned to the Elector *Palatine*, and, amongſt them, one eſpecially, which he hath been obſerved to have aimed at long ago.

And theſe are thoſe killing Projects of the Jeſuits, which I have heard from their own Mouths, not without Admiration even to Aſtoniſhment, and they have many more of like Sort, all which I do not at this Preſent remember.

Moreover, there hath been a Conſultation among the Jeſuits, to ſend Abroad ſome bold Aſſaſſins, who by Poiſon, or by the Piſtol, may cut off the principal Doctors of the Reformed Churches; Fellows who are ſo abſolute Maſters in that Trade of Poiſoning, that they are able ſo to infect Platters, Salt-cellars, Baſons, Kettles, Pots, and Caldrons, and ſuch like Veſſels of ordinary Uſe; that, altho' they ſhall be ten Times over waſhed and wiped, yet ſhall they retain the Power and Infection of moſt deadly and ſpeedy Poiſon. Wherefore, I humbly adviſe all godly and religious Governors, and Miniſters of the Church, that hereafter they be wary, and cautious, how they truſt any, but ſuch, of whoſe Fidelity they have had ſufficient Trial.

And theſe Things could never have fallen within Compaſs of mine Underſtanding, nor ever did, before ſuch Time, as I heard them from the Principals and Heads of the Society of Jeſuits, together with many other Particulars, which I held myſelf bound in Conſcience to reveal to the World, for the Good of my Country, and of the Church of Chriſt; which although I have for the Preſent only given you as in a rude and firſt Draught; yet I purpoſe, God willing, in due Time, to expreſs the the ſame at large, painting them out in their Colours, with Circumſtances of Time, Place, and Perſons.

A Poſtſcript to the Reader.

COurteous Reader (if ſo thou art pleaſed to ſhew thyſelf, by taking an impartial View of this ſhort, but well intended Tranſlation) I doubt not, but by this Time thou art able to diſcern the Face of the Times, and of thyſelf to make a true Parallel betwixt *Germany* and us, and doſt ſee evidently the Foot-ſteps of that Myſtery of Iniquity, which, by the Contrivements of the pragmatical Society of Jeſuits, hath for many Years been ſet at Work amongſt us. As there the Foundation of their Work was laid in working upon their Diverſities in Opinions, and ſeconded by Advantage, taken upon the ſeveral Humours of the Princes, propounding to each one ſome ſuch Ends, as his Nature moſt affected; ſo may I truly ſay, they have done here alſo. To what other End was the peſtilent Doctrine of *Arminius* introduced, whereby to make a Party, that might prove ſtrong enough in Time to oppoſe the *Puritan* Faction, as they ſtiled it? Why was ſo great Care and Pains taken to leaven all conſiderable Sorts of People of what Degree ſoever, with thoſe erroneous Points, but to the ſame End? And can we chuſe but think that *Socinianiſm* crept in after *Arminianiſm*, purpoſely

purpoſely to make the Breach the wider, that it might be large enough to let in Popery, at the full, in Concluſion? Doubtleſs, as our Saviour ſometimes ſaid to his Diſciples, in another Caſe, *John* iv. 35, Say not ye, there are yet four Months, and then cometh Harveſt? Behold, I ſay unto you, lift up your Eyes, and look on the Regions, for they are white already unto Harveſt: So may I ſay now, moſt Men thought it might yet be four Months, or ſome good Diſtance of Time before the Jeſuit could attain to reap the Harveſt of his Deſire amongſt us. But I ſay unto you, lift up your Eyes, and look on the Regions, they are white already unto Harveſt: Or, if I may not ſay they are, becauſe God's gracious Hand of Providence hath diſappointed their Hopes, yet I aſſure myſelf, that any Man of ordinary Underſtanding will confeſs, that within the Space of this Year laſt paſt, our Land was already white to their Harveſt; the King's Majeſty was wrought to an evil Opinion of his People, the Commons were grown diſcontented with the preſent Government, two adverſe Armies were lodged in our Land, and all this, with a new whole Army of evil Conſequents, brought on by the ſecret Contrivements of our Adverſaries, and on all Hands the Way was ſo prepared, Altars ſet up, and Prieſts enough in Readineſs, that nothing was wanting, to ripen their Harveſt for the Sickle, but a Proclamation for Setting up publick Maſs, in all our Churches; which Things, when I ſeriouſly conſidered, and now of late, looking again upon the Regions, I diſcern what Alteration God hath begun to work amongſt us by the pious Endeavours of our happy Parliament, I cannot but take up that Saying of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſalm* cxxiv. 1, 2, 3. If the Lord had not been on our Side, may *England* now ſay: If the Lord had not been on our Side, when Men roſe up againſt us, they had then ſwallowed us up quick, when their Wrath was kindled againſt us; then the Water had drowned us, and the Stream had gone over our Soul; if the Plots of the pacific *Arminians* had once ſet up the Bridge of Reconciliation, whereon the Proteſtant and Papiſt ſhould have met, and the Trap-door had taken Effect, then the ſwelling Waves had gone over our Souls indeed: But praiſed be the Lord, who hath not given us as a Prey unto their Teeth; our Soul is eſcaped even as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowler, the Snare is broken, and we are delivered; ſo that we may truly ſay, as the Pſalmiſt there concludeth, Our Help ſtandeth in the Name of the Lord, who made both Heaven and Earth. And now what remaineth for us to do but this? By daily and earneſt Prayer, to beg a Bleſſing upon our gracious Sovereign, the King's Majeſty, and upon the high and honourable Court of Parliament, that God will be graciouſly pleaſed to finiſh, by their happy Conſultations and pious Endeavours, that good Work of Mercy, which he hath ſo graciouſly begun for this Land and Nation, to make a total and intire Reformation in Church and State, and particularly to root out this diſloyal Brood of *Inigo Loyola*, from amongſt us, preventing their Plots, and turning the Wiſdom of their *Ahitophels* into Fooliſhneſs, that the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt* may have free Paſſage amongſt us, until his Return to judge the Quick and Dead. This is, and ſhall be the daily Prayer of,

Thy well-wiſhing Friend and Servant in the Duties of a Miniſter of Chriſt's Goſpel.

W. F. X. B.

Diviſion

Diviſion our Deſtruction: Or, a ſhort Hiſtory of the *French* Faction in *England*.

Nought elſe but Treaſon from the firſt this Land did foil.
Spencer's ſecond Book of the Fairy Queen, *Cant.* 10. *Stan.* 48.

London, printed, and ſold by *John Nutt*, near *Stationers-hall*, 1702. *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages.

SINCE it is certain, that the Greatneſs which *France* has acquired, and the Dangers which the reſt of *Europe* is obnoxious to, ariſe both from the ſame Cauſe, which is that Maxim the *French* have ſo firmly obſerved, *viz.* To create and foment Diviſions among neighbouring States and Princes; therefore, at this Juncture, a ſhort Diſſection of that Maxim is neceſſary to invigorate our Reſentments againſt *France*, and to unſeal the Eyes of ſome among us, whoſe Credulity has rendered them Agents in their own Deſtruction. I ſhall ſay nothing of the Diviſions *France* has raiſed in the Empire, in *Spain*, in *Poland*, in *Holland*, and, indeed, in all Places where the *French* Miniſters have reſided, but will confine myſelf to a ſhort Account of what they have done in *England* only. I ſhall begin with the Revolution, when no Nation was ever more immediately preſerved from Slavery, both in Conſcience and Eſtate. We were amazed at our Deliverance, and acknowledged the wonderful Mercy of God in that Inſtance of our Gratitude, the Crowning his great Inſtrument of our Freedom. We were then ſo truly poſſeſſed of the Source of our Misfortunes, we ſo plainly ſaw our Slavery come rolling down, in full Tides, from thoſe inexhauſtible Springs of Oppreſſion, the Ambition and Power of *France*, that we unanimouſly addreſſed our Deliverer to direct us how we might remove the Principles of our Fear, and raiſe up Liberty to our Poſterity. The King told us (and we agreed with him) that, whilſt *France* poſſeſſed the overgrown Power he was at that Time Maſter of, the Liberty, not only of *England*, but of *Europe*, was in a very precarious Condition; and we could then ſee his Strength increaſed yearly, his Dominions were daily inlarged, and the ſtrongeſt Towns were too weak to reſiſt the Battery of his Money. And the Depredations of his neighbouring Countries were the Exerciſe and Reward of his Armies; and his Power at Sea was grown to ſo ſurpriſing a Height, that he was a Match for *Holland* and *England* in Conjunction. That ambitious Monarch no longer diſguiſed his Intentions; he let the World ſee, that he thought himſelf ſtrong enough to conquer *Chriſtendom*, and that the Conqueſt of *Chriſtendom* was the Quarry he flew at. But, though our Dangers were great at that Time, yet our Eyes were open, and we put on our brave old *Engliſh* Principles; the common Danger not only united our Factions, but the impending Tyranny of *France* reconciled the jarring Intereſts of the reſt of *Europe*, and finiſhed that Confederacy, which the Intrigues of *France*, and our two former Kings, had rendered abortive for ſo many Years before. At that Time, our Circumſtances were happily come to a Criſis ſcarce hoped for a few Weeks before. A Set of Perſons ſprung up, brave, wiſe, and honeſt; and, tho' the cankered Tongue of Envy has been hard upon them ſince, it is to the Virtue of thoſe Men that we owe the Unravelling of our entangled Affairs, and the Hopes of Liberty which are yet left. The late Ferment of the Nation had worked off Part of its Phlegm; a new Spirit of Gallantry warmed our Youth, and our old Men fell out with Avarice;

varice; *Weſtminſter-hall* was purged, and Property was put into clean Hands. The Church was truly in the King's Intereſt, and we had at laſt got a King, who had no ſeparate Intereſt from his People.

Thus our Affairs ſtood when the Confederacy commenced: The *French* King wiſely foreſaw his Ruin, if we proceeded as we began; and, knowing it fruitleſs to tamper with the new Miniſters, he was neceſſitated to play on his Game, with thoſe that were leſt of his old Pack. He found our new Meaſures were not to be broke any Way, but by our old Diviſions, ſo he concerted with his Friends here in ſecret to divide us; and the War was not a Year old, before the Wretches of the laſt Reigns were warm in the merciful Boſom of the new Government; they began to hiſs, and were readier to ſting, than kiſs the Hand that ſigned the Act for their Pardons. Thoſe very Men, who were the Inſtruments of our late Kings, whoſe Heads at the Revolution tottered on their Shoulders, now ſkreened from Juſtice by the Act of Indemnity, began to reſume their old Principles, and wiſh again for thoſe Maſters, under whoſe Tyranny they had indulged their Luxury and Covetouſneſs: But they found it impoſſible openly to bring about their Deſigns, the Ability and Integrity of the new Miniſtry being ſo apparent and neceſſary at that Time: All they could then do was to work themſelves into the Secrets of the Nation, and diſcover them to *France*. They privately, at firſt, made what new Proſelytes they could, and ſlily lamented their Country, inſinuating, that it was oppreſſed with Taxes, and worn out with the Ignorance and Pride of its new Governor. As they grew ſtronger, they embarraſſed all publick Affairs as much as was poſſible, and they were particularly aſſiduous in the Deſtruction of our Money; and, when they had drawn on an inevitable Neceſſity to recoin it, they ſtruck in with the Court, and were very zealous for Recoining, hoping that ſo dead a Stop to Trade, in the Midſt of a heavy War, would undoubtedly have broke the Back of the preſent Conſtitution; and we were, as the *French* Faction had foreſeen, in the very Agonies of Confuſion; our Trade, and Miniſtry, both Civil and Military, were at a Plunge. Our Enemies rejoiced, and our Friends were dejected, at the Loſs of our current Money. We ſtared on one another, and knew not what to think, when *Exchequer*-Bills, which are now ridiculed, revived our Trade, ſet out our Fleets, brought our Army into the Field, and ſupported our Alliances. The *French* Party were ſurpriſed, the Loſs of ſo ſure a Game made them deſperate, and, from that Time, they have reſolved the Deſtruction of him who, in preſerving *England*, diſappointed them.

The War continuing, and the Charges growing heavier, the moſt Chriſtian Faction took Hold of the popular End of the Staff, and began to rail publickly, at Viſionary Miſmanagements, and corrupt Miniſters; and this Step was the Foundation of the Heats and Diviſions among us ſince. Thus, the Tory Party commenced Patriots; grown Patriots they rail at all Men, and all Things, that do not chime in with their Intereſts. They entertain the King, after the Fatigues of a Campaign, with Vexation all the Winter, they grow bolder every Day than other; and, when the moſt Chriſtian King found it neceſſary to have a Peace, they, by delaying the King's Buſineſs, and fruſtrating his Deſigns, tired him into the Peace of *Reſwick*. That Peace was no ſooner concluded, but the Tories fell into the old ſpecious Arguments and Artifices, to inflame the Nation; Miſmanagements, Favourites, corrupt Miniſters, Foreigners, and Standing Armies; the King, to ſatisfy them, ſends away the *Dutch*, and diſbands the Army.

They then demand the forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland*, and plainly tell the King, that he ought not to have diſpoſed of them, and that they will take them from him again. The beſt King takes no Notice of the Indignity offered him; but ſacrifices his juſt Rights and Reſentments, to the Eaſe and Happineſs of his People.

The King of *Spain* dying about this Time, and *France*, contrary to all Faith and Honour, poſſeſſed of the whole *Spaniſh* Dominions, *Holland* in the greateſt Danger, and *Europe* expecting, where Slavery would firſt ſettle, the King diſſolved this, and called a new Parliament, to preſerve us in this Juncture; but this late Succeſs of *France* had made his Party here ſo bold and powerful, that inſtead of Settling to the Defence of the Nation, and Addreſſing his Majeſty early, to form Alliances, they, to amuſe People, voted a great Fleet, which was a prodigious Expence, and ſignified no more, than to impoveriſh us, *France* having (as they well knew) no Deſigns at Sea, at that Time.

After this, they fell to Wrangling, and revived the Story of *Kidd*, and ſtruck, at once, at five of the King's faithfulleſt Servants, villainouſly tempting that unhappy Wretch to ſave his own Life, by Swearing falſly againſt thoſe Lords. *Kidd* failing them, they fall next on the Treaty of Partition, a Treaty deſigned to eſtabliſh a laſting Tranquillity to *Europe*. Here they impeach the four Lords, and through their Sides abuſe the King, in the moſt baſe and Porter-like Language; they drive on with the greateſt Vehemence, and *France* had gained his Point, if the Houſe of Lords had not ſtood reſolved and ſteady, in the Defence of Innocence, and *England*; let this be for ever remembered to the eternal Honour of that illuſtrious Body. Here the Faction was ſtung again, and railed at the Lords, becauſe, right or wrong, they would not ruin whomſoever they are pleaſed to impeach; and ſince, how induſtriouſly has that Party ſtrove to raiſe a Flame, which, if the conſummate Wiſdom of his Majeſty had not prevented, might have ended in the Ruin of *England*. After this, they did nothing but trifle away their Time, in invidious and vindictive Matters, and empty Addreſſes, till the King, in the plaineſt Manner, laid before them, and the whole Nation, the Deſtruction, which was daily expected to fall on the United Provinces. The People's Eyes beginning to open at the laſt *Dutch* Memorial, they perceived they were betraying, and began to grow clamorous, and ſome *Kentiſh* Gentlemen, being at this Time impriſoned, contrary to all Equity, only for Petitioning the Parliament, to take Care of the Nation, had very much incenſed them. The Faction, to ſilence theſe Clamours, and, if poſſible, to regain their Credit, voted ten-thouſand Men, which the *Hollanders* demanded, by Vertue of a Treaty made with King *Charles the Second*; but to ſhew, how heartily they deſigned our Ruin, they voted twelve Regiments of Foot out of *Ireland*, which ſhould be made ten-thouſand Men, and that no other Regiments ſhould be raiſed in their Places, abſolutely tying up the King's Hands from the Defence of that Country. This was the openeſt Avowing their Deſigns, that I have met with, to make which plainer, I muſt go back to a little after the Peace of *Reſwick*, when the Diſputes in Parliament, about Diſbanding the Army, were at the higheſt. It was then thought abſolutely neceſſary, in Conſideration of the Papiſtical and Rebellious Principle of the *Iriſh*, that a Body of twelve thouſand Men ſhould be kept up in *Ireland*, which were eſtabliſhed there accordingly. Now when the King of *Spain* was dead, and the moſt Chriſtian King in actual Poſſeſſion of his whole Monarchy; when all Mankind agreed, a War was unavoidable, unleſs *France* receded from thoſe Meaſures, he had taken, which none ever thought he would, without Force; then I ſay, to ſtrip *Ireland* of its Guard, and leave it naked and defenceleſs, is to me the plaineſt Owning their Intentions in Nature. Were I in the *French* Intereſts, and had been reproached by Mr. *Pouſſin*, for Want of Vigour, in Conſideration of the numerous Lewis d'Ors received, I would juſtify myſelf thus: 'Good 'God, Mr. *Pouſſin*, what would you have us 'do? Have we not, from the King's firſt Co-'ming to this Time, delayed all Things, that 'were for the Intereſt of *England*? What 'have we not done, that could tend to your 'Service? Or what have we done, that the 'King recommended to us, at the Opening of 'laſt Seſſions? Have we not uſed the vileſt 'Means by *Kidd*, to take off five of your irre-'concileable Enemies? And when that would 'not anſwer our Ends, Did we not impeach 'three of the Chief of them? Did we not fall 'into the greateſt Heats, and groſly abuſe the 'Houſe of Lords, only for remembering us, to 'bring the impeached Lords to their Trials? 'And have not our whole Faction fallen on 'my Lord *Haverſham*, notwithſtanding one 'of our Managers was the Aggreſſor? Pray, 'tell me, What have we done, without your 'Advice, before the *Kentiſh* Petition, and the 'Legion Letter? And when yourſelf acknow-'ledged, there was an unavoidable Neceſſity of 'ſending thoſe Forces to *Holland*: Did we 'not ſurpriſe even you, by leaving *Ireland* open 'to whatever Deſigns, his moſt Chriſtian Ma-'jeſty might have on it? And after all, Have 'we not cajoled the King and Country, to 'continue us another Seſſions? Come, come, 'Mr. *Pouſſin*, have Patience, and aſſure your 'great Maſter, that we will deliver *England*, 'diſpirited and defenceleſs, into the Arms of 'his Mercy.' 'I cannot ſee what Monſieur *Pouſſin* could have ſaid to me, and I am ſure I muſt have ſilenced him, if there is any Verity in this old Proverb, *Truth will prevail*.

Thus,

Thus, have we ſeen our beſt Friends oppreſſed, by the Villainy of our worſt Enemies; this is the End of the Blood and Treaſure, which have been ſpent, to ſettle us on a firm Baſis of Liberty. After a ſhort Period of twelve Years, we are almoſt in the ſame Hands that brought us to the Brink of Deſtruction, ſo lately.

The King, a little after his Return from *Holland*, diſſolved the laſt Parliament, as he was addreſſed to do, by his People, with what Confuſion to his Enemies, their violent Reflexions on his Perſon were a ſufficient Evidence; they were, for a Time, diſtracted with Anger and Envy, and, when they began to cool, they found it neceſſary to conſider of their Safeties, and of Ways and Means to ſupport their deteſtable Faction; in Order to which, their Council was often called, and (whether it were Fear, or the Devil, that ſharpened their Inventions) they reſolved upon a moſt villainous Expedient, which was this: They declared in all Places, that whatever Oppoſition, they had made to the Court, was in Order to preſerve the Church; to confirm this, I appeal to all the Counties and Boroughs in *England*. If thoſe Members, who were charged with delaying the King's Buſineſs, did not uſe almoſt the ſame Argument to their Electors; the Sum of which was, that they were ill uſed, and reproached for nothing in the World, but their Deſire to ſave the Nation's Money, and their unſhaken Sincerity to the Church, in Oppoſition to thoſe who would deſtroy her, the Whigs.

Thus, the continual Efforts of the *French* Faction is to divide us; and it is our Misfortune to be the eaſieſt divided of any People in Nature, one Artifice of *France* having been ſufficient to do it, for the greater Part of a Century. The old *Cavalier* and *Roundhead*, the latter Whig and Tory, and the immediate Church-Party and Whig-Party, are all the ſame; *France* ſometimes new chriſtens our Factions, and we, an unthinking Generation, let a little Jargon divide, diſtract, and ruin us.

But the Partiſans of *France* have been lately more aſſiduous than ordinary to poiſon our Ear; they buz the diſaffected Nobility, and great Factions, or fooliſh Commoners, with being ſhut out from all Profits and Share in the Government; their great Parts and Capacities for the Miniſtry are cried up, neither do they forget to tell them of the Injuſtice and Diſhonour they receive by being left at the Tail of Affairs, whilſt a few unworthy Flatterers go away with all the Honours and Advantages. The Commonalty are poſſeſſed with new Hardſhips, Taxes, Miſapplication of their Money, evil Counſellors, *&c.* and the Church with Retrenchments on their Honours and Privileges, and Deſigns of totally ſubverting, or at leaſt new modelling their Authority and Juriſdiction: They are continually remembered of what their Fathers ſuffered from *Cromwell*; from whence it is inferred, that the Whigs will play the ſame Game. And it is theſe Arguments which have drawn the Ignorant and Unthinking, or the Deſigning, Part of the Clergy into their Intereſts. Now, that I may not ſeem to reflect on Church-men without Reaſon, I will give a particular Inſtance, that ſome of them were miſtaken, at the Electing Knights of the Shire for a neighbouring County. Five Gentlemen ſtood Candidates, four of them undeniably in the King's Intereſts, but the other was ſaid to be abſolutely againſt him: Yet there was a Doctor of Divinity, and a Convocation-man too, who, beſides all the Votes among the Clergy that he could influence, gave the Gentleman, who was reproached for being againſt the King, his ſingle Vote, which, I think, was neither the wiſe, nor well-bred Part of the Church-man. But it would be an unhandſome Part to reflect on the Gentlemen who ſent him to the Convocation, becauſe he has done this; and I doubt not but thoſe Gentlemen will ſhew their Reſentment of this Action of his, by ſending a new Repreſentative to the next Convocation.

I will not aggravate this Matter by heaping up more Inſtances of the like Nature, becauſe the Miſtakes or Credulity of ſome few of the Divines ought not to bring a Reflexion on the honeſt Men of that Profeſſion: Neither muſt we think the whole Body of the Clergy in the *St. Germain* Intereſt, becauſe we have ſeen ſome of their Coat ſo zealous in their Service to Gentlemen generally eſteemed in the *French* Faction. On the contrary, the Virtue and Steadineſs of the Church in the Cauſe of Liberty, at the Revolution, ſhould, in Juſtice, cover the Failings of her weak Members: But *France* is under a Neceſſity of uſing all its Arts at this Juncture to divide us; it is the laſt Card he has to play; and if *England* has Virtue enough to be united, and countermine

his Emiſſaries, that aſpiring Monarch muſt be humbled; his chief Hopes of Univerſal Monarchy are built on our Diviſions; it is this he applies his utmoſt Ability to procure; it is for this, as much as any Thing, that he ſighs for the Arrival of his Plate Fleet. It was our Diviſions that founded the Greatneſs of his Monarchy, and nothing elſe can finiſh the Superſtructure: To curb the Genius of *Great-Britain* was ever the Load-Star of the *French* Miniſtry. That great Cardinal *Richlieu*, who laid the firſt Stone of the *French* Greatneſs, improved all Opportunities to divide us. I queſtion not but he was the Fomenter of our Civil Wars, and *Charles the Firſt*'s Head paid for his Deſigns on the Iſle of *Rhee*. The *French* always apprehending our Agreement as a ſure Preſage of Misfortune to them; when we were but a little reconciled in the Perſon of *Oliver Cromwell*, they bought our Friendſhip with the moſt baſe and unworthy Action, the baniſhing and expoſing two miſerable Princes, who had taken Sanctuary in that Court. *Mazarine* and his ſucceeding Miniſters have ſtill kept up to this darling Maxim of Diviſion, and, from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, they have maintained a brave and towering Faction; the two Kings, and their Courts, were the Parties of *France*, in Oppoſition to the People of *England*. *France* was at a miſerable Plunge, at the Coming of King *William*; he was obliged intirely to ſhift his Sails, and, ſince he could no longer have our Kings his Penſioners, he ſubmitted to more inferior Agents, and fell into thoſe Meaſures beforementioned. But Money being an excellent Promoter of Diviſion, and *France* having ever found it the moſt unerring Perſuaſive, both with worldly Men, and Men of Revelation too, begins already to fear the Failure of this almoſt irreſiſtible Rhetorick. It will be impoſſible to ſpin out his Wars, without an Annual Return from the *Weſt-Indies*; the ſhort Remora's of that Fleet have already thrown him on his extremeſt Meaſures of Oppreſſion, the Capitation Tax, and Raiſing the Value of his Money: He foreſees every Year's increaſing Difficulties, and how impoſſible it will be to ſtem them, without the *Spaniſh* Money; and nothing can retard the Return of the Galleons, at any Time, but the *Engliſh* Fleet. Wherefore, an Expedient muſt be found to make that Fleet always neceſſary at Home; in Order thereto, his Friends already begin to rail at any Propoſal for increaſing the Army; they argue in all Places, that an Army, if the King pleaſes, may inſlave the Nation; that the Emperor may raiſe and maintain Men much eaſier and cheaper than we can, and they are very willing to give the King what Money he pleaſes, to ſupport the Emperor. This is a ſmart and well concerted Matter; the Complimenting the King with Deſigns of Tyranny is the leaſt Part of it; this is cloſer laid, and if *France* cannot wheedle us into a Peace (which he will accept on almoſt any Terms) his next Beſt will be to keep us without an Army; without an Army our Fleet muſt ſtay to protect us, or we ſhall be left open and defenceleſs to *French* Invaſions. I foreſee, the Friends of *France* will expoſe this, as a chimerical Notion; but let honeſt Men take Care of being too credulous; let them conſider the great Number of flat-bottomed Barques, which, for ſeveral Years, have lain in the Ports of *France*, that are near *England*; and, allowing we had more Men of War than the *French* might have for their Convoy, yet the ſame Wind, which brings them, may keep us in our Harbours; and, if the *French* can land twenty-thouſand Men, we cannot oppoſe them afterwards; What ſhall hinder them from ruining all our Docks, and burning our naval Magazines? Let any Body tell me, What ſhall ſtop their Marching to *London*, Ravaging the Country, all the Way they march, and Plundering and Burning the City? I can name a ſhrill Speech-maker, with a vinegar Satyr, that will ridicule all I have ſaid, and, probably, ſome ſuch Way as this: What a mighty Concern is this poor Man in, a diſbanded Officer, I will warrant him, both by his Argument and Reaſonings? Let me ſee, ſays he (ſleeringly) firſt, the *French* are to land twenty-thouſand Men; very well, he makes no more of tranſporting them, than ſo many Oyſters. Then they are to come to Town, I ſuppoſe, like the Rehearſal Army, in Diſguiſe, nothing is to be known of them, till we hear our Wives and Daughters ſqueak. Lord, how will our poor old Ladies do to bear Raviſhment! and our Bankers will be ſo confounded, at the Loſs of their Money, that they will not have Impudence enough left to deſire God to ſave them; then all our Men, from *Dover* to *Windſor*, may be engaged at Nine-pins, and want Leiſure to oppoſe the *French*. I vow, I think we had beſt raiſe an Army, and inſlave ourſelves,

ſelves, to prevent this; but then I deſire to add one Thing more, which is this, That there may be an Act made for erecting a competent Number of ſtone Pillars round every Houſe in *England*, to prevent the Sky from hurting us, if it ſhould happen to fall; for I am of the Man's Mind, that we ought to provide againſt all Dangers; ſo, putting on his particular Sneer, ſets a whole Coffee-houſe into a Tittle-hee.

For that Gentleman's Sake, I ſhall farther tell you, that the King of *France* has a much ſuperior Number, than what I ſpeak of, lies always on (or within a Day's March of) the Coaſts of *France* and *Flanders*, and he may, when he pleaſes, in two Days Time, imbarque that Number of pickt Men, and a fair Wind, in twelve Hours, may land them in *England*. Now, if we had an Account of their Deſigns brought by the Meſſenger, that carries the Orders to the *French* General, who commands the Deſcent, it would be a Day, at leaſt, after that General had received his Orders, before the Account could come to the Secretary's Office; and ſuppoſe a Council immediately called, and Orders given for three-thouſand Men to march next Morning, and they do march accordingly, it would be three Days more before they could reach the neareſt Coaſts of *Kent*, or *Suſſex*, and march twenty Miles a Day too, and ſuppoſe them joined with all the Country. But I trifle. Did ever any Foreigners attempt to land in *England*, and did not, from the Time of *Julius Cæſar*, to the Revolution? As for that Notion, that our Mob would tear twenty-thouſand *French* to Pieces, all Men, that know any Thing of Soldiery, laugh at it, as a ridiculous Story; a regular Army, of that Strength, is not to be oppoſed by the Confuſion of a Multitude, be they never ſo brave. I know ſome Gentlemen, who pretend to be very fond of beating *French* Armies with Spits and Fowling-pieces, that would be almoſt as eaſily perſuaded to be hanged, as to head ſuch an Army againſt the *French*. I do not pretend, that they can abſolutely inſlave us with ſo ſmall a Number as twenty-thouſand (though it might be ſome Difficulty to get them out, when their Friends had joined them) but I do maintain, that their Ruining our Harbours, and City, would be practicable; and what a Step to Slavery that would be, let any Man judge. Another Inſtance, worth our Conſideration, is, That an Army, which will defend *England*, is alſo capable of offending *France*. If we are ſtrong enough, in Shipping, to cover a Deſcent on any Part of his Coaſt, ten-thouſand Men, incamped near *Dover*, or *Deal*, or any where in *Kent*, or *Suſſex*, near the Sea, will oblige *France* to keep forty-thouſand of his beſt Troops, to ſecure his own Country.

What a vaſt Charge was he at, in intrenching and fortifying his Coaſts laſt War, when General *Talmaſh*, with leſs than ſeven-thouſand Men, alarmed his Countries, bordering on the Sea, from *Dunkirk* to *Breſt*? And though, as we are told, the Deſign of landing at *Breſt* was known to *France*, yet he would not truſt any Part of his Coaſts defenceleſs. What a Hurry was there! what Raiſing his Militia, and forming a Flying-camp! all his Ports were ſtrongly gariſoned, and he had fifteen-thouſand Men intrenched at *Camaret-Bay*. Thus, at leaſt, fifty-thouſand of his beſt Troops, beſides the Militia, were diverted by a Lieutenant-general, and ſeven-thouſand Men. But, if we have no Army to moleſt *France*, I ſee no Reaſons to induce him to keep above ten-thouſand Men in that Part of his Country; which, with his Militia, will be Security enough for the Ports there, and he may diſpoſe of the Remainder of the forty-thouſand, which we might divert, into the Empire, into *Italy*, or where elſe he pleaſes. And it may happen, that, when we are deſtitute of an Army, thoſe numerical Men, finding their own Ports in no Danger, may come, and gariſon ours for us. Thus, I think, it is plain, that we muſt have an Army, or keep our Fleet at Home; and, if the *Gallican* Engines can bring that about, the Galleons may come Yearly for the Reward of their Services, and the Support of the *French* Tyranny.

Now I may poſſibly be attacked by ſome graver Perſon of the Faction, who will ſay, Is not this Pamphlet-man very abuſive on Gentlemen, who have contributed ſo much, and heartily, to ſave the Nation? And then he gives you a formal Liſt of all the good Actions of the laſt Parliament, which he calls theirs. Part of this may be true too, which is ſo much the worſe; for it is theſe plauſible Stories blind us. The *French* Party do, and will join with the true Patriots, in all, but raiſing an Army, and loving the impeached Lords:

Let

Let thoſe two Things alone, and they will come in with you; they will ſeem as vigorous as any; they will addreſs as often as you pleaſe; they will pretend to pay the National Debts; they will part with their Privileges; they will deſire the King to make Alliances; they will declare the Electreſs next Heir to the three Crowns; or, if their Minds are altered, and you are willing to relinquiſh her Highneſs, and chuſe the Czar, the Sophy, the Sultan, or *Preſter John*, with all their Hearts; they will oblige you in any Thing but an Army. An Army! No, no, my Maſters; an Army might effect the aforementioned Matters in good Earneſt. Do you think they will ſave the Nation? That is what thoſe Rogues, the Earl of *O.* the Lord *S.* the Lord *H.* and the Whigs, would do, if they could but diſcover how. Now let us ſee into what Circumſtances this one Policy of *France* has reduced us, and, if poſſible, to find a Means to diſingage ourſelves. It is to our Diviſions that we owe the Peace of *Reſwick*, not to mention any Thing before; it was Diviſion expoſed us naked, impeached our Friends, and left unpaid the Debts of the Nation; it was that Maxim, improved to the Height in *England*, which made *France* himſelf break the Treaty of Partition; it made the Elector of *Bavaria*, and Prince *Vaudemont*, declare for *France*; it brought *Cologne*, *Bavaria*, and *Portugal*, into his Alliance, and it ſet up all the Neutralities in *Italy*, and in the Empire. Diviſion has ſet us on the Edge of Deſtruction, and we muſt exert our utmoſt Vertue to recover ourſelves; we muſt ſhake off the Lethargy which has ſeized us, and we muſt reſolve to ſacrifice mutual Injuries to the common Safety of ourſelves in particular, and of *Europe* in general. Providence has pointed out Means for rejoining and recovering our former Grandeur, a Chain of Bleſſings is let down to us, to which we may add the Link of our own Security. The late King's Death has given a fair Opportunity to drop the invidious Name of *Jacobite*; many, who thought themſelves tied by Oaths, or perſonal Obligations to that unfortunate Prince, are, by his Death, at Liberty, and they muſt have ſome Reſpect for a Government, which has uſed them moderately, though known Enemies to it. But if any are ſo ſtupid, or inveterate, to perſiſt in the Intereſts of a ſuppoſed Part of his Family, which the Nation has renounced, they ought to be treated as Monſters of Ingratitude, and Traitors to their King and Country.

The Diviſion between our greateſt Merchants is reconciled, by the Marriage of the two *Eaſt-India* Companies; and our unfortunate Heats, in the laſt Parliament, have no Reaſon to be revived, ſince we have a new one; we have a true noble Houſe of Lords, and, at the Head of all theſe, we have a brave and wiſe King. Theſe are great Steps to the Reconciling of *England*, and we have the moſt compendious and generous Way to do this, which is mutually and ſincerely to ſink at once all Injuries. Then, and not till then, ſhall we meet Friends, and then we ſhall aboliſh all the damned Names and Diſtinctions of Parties, and Factions, in this great and glorious one, a Party for the Proteſtant Religion in all its Branches, and for the Liberty of *Europe*. Now, and only now, is the Time for this great Agreement, which will, and nothing elſe can, effectually reduce this exorbitant Power of *France*: It is in our Hands to repel that voracious Monarchy into its ancient Boundaries; and we have the good Fortune to be ſure of our Allies, from thoſe undeniable Principles, their Intereſts; the Emperor firm, in the Vindication of his Honour, and the Rights of his Family; the States-General reſolved to have a Barrier to their Commonwealth; (and I contemplate their Beating down the Fort, near *Sas van Ghent*, was more to convince our Parliament, of the Steadineſs of their Reſolutions, than to inſult the *French*) the King of *Pruſſia* will, to the utmoſt, oppoſe that *Boutefeu*, amongſt the States and Princes, that have ſcrupled to own him as King; the Elector of *Hanover*, the Duke of *Zell*, and the Elector *Palatine*, have thoſe notorious Reaſons to be ſtifly againſt *France*, that I think it ſuperfluous to name them. On the other Side, the Diſadvantages the *French* have met with in *Italy*, and the Charges of the War, are ſo exceſſively great, that, though the moſt Chriſtian Court aſſumes their grandeſt Airs, it lies heavy at their Hearts, they find themſelves ſurrounded with Neceſſities at the Beginning of a War; their Conſtitution is languiſhing, and nothing, but the Cordial of Money, can revive it; each new Doſe muſt be increaſed, and, if the Cordial is never ſo little abated, the crazy Carcaſe of the abſolute *French* Monarch

Monarch muſt give up the Ghoſt: Whereas our Allies have had Succeſs beyond Expectation, and they are invigorated with the Hopes, that *England* will fall, with its whole Weight, into the Scales againſt *France*. The Neutral Princes and States are waiting to ſee what we ſhall do. And if the Terrors of our Fleet was ſo great in a perfect Peace, What new Meaſures muſt an avowed War influence *Portugal* to take? That proud King *Lewis*, who formerly declared, he warred on *Holland* for his Glory, and made that the baſe Excuſe for his barbarous Invaſion of the United Provinces, is now reduced to thoſe Neceſſities, that he is forced to ſtifle his Anger and Reſentments againſt the *Dutch*. Is it not extraordinary to ſee that haughty and ambitious Prince, whoſe long Reign has been a continual Diſtraction to his Neighbours, whoſe Pride and Malice ſacrificed whoever dared to oppoſe him, that he could by private Villainy, or open Force, come at, on a Sudden, grow the humbleſt Creature, and the beſt-natured Soul in the World? He thinks the Beating down his Fort, and Inſulting his Incroachments, are not ſufficient Reaſons to break with his good Friends the States-General. He, quiet Prince, is willinger to enter into Negotiations to preſerve the Peace, than to take thoſe juſt Revenges, which the Goodneſs of his Cauſe and the Bravery of his Troops would give him. But he was of another Mind, the Beginning of laſt Spring, when he ſeized the Towns in *Flanders*, which were mortgaged to the *Hollanders*, and inſtead of paying the Debt confined their Troops, and kept them Priſoners during Pleaſure: When his Army hovered near their Frontiers, and built Forts under the Cannon of their Town; he knew they were then weak, and dared not oppoſe him; he then apprehended none of thoſe croſs Accidents in *Italy*, which have mortified him ſince; he ſeems now quiet and humble-minded, and Troth I believe him:

Pauper videri Cinna vult, & eſt Pauper.

He is certainly humbled at preſent, and muſt be ſo for ever, if we do not give him Opportunities to forget his Humility, and reſume his Ambition. This ſeeming Moderation of his has given his Friends a dainty Occaſion to declare againſt War. What, break with a King, who puts up the greateſt Inſults, rather than break the Peace? A King that has no Inclination for War, and would rather grant any Terms, than diſturb the World, and himſelf, the few Days he has to live? This is a ſpecious Pretence, but the Truth is, *France* is brought to his laſt Efforts, and cannot ſupport the additional Weight of *Spain*, two Years longer, if we fall upon him. But if we can be ſo far impoſed on, as to let him get a Peace for but three Years, *France* will then be able once more to make War for his Glory.

As we have theſe great Advantages, ſo let us ſet againſt them our viſible Diſadvantages: For though *France* has ſqueeſed the laſt Drops into his *Exchequer*, yet with that Money which he has barbarouſly wrung from his poor Slaves, he is finiſhing our Ruin; it is that Money has carried his Troops into the Electorate of *Cologne*, and has opened him a Way into the Bowels of the Empire. It is that Money which carries the Recruit of Twenty-thouſand Men, with an additional Strength of Twenty-thouſand freſh Men more into *Italy*. It is that by which he hopes to diſcover the Meaſures of his Enemies this Winter, and the deſigned Operations of the next Campaign. Wherefore if we do not now oppoſe him with our utmoſt Strength, but fall into Diviſions and Delays, the Heart of the Confederacy will be dead, the Emperor muſt take what equivalent *France* will give him, the Glory of the laſt Campaign in *Italy* will paſs as a Dream, the unparalleled Preparations the *Dutch* have made in Defence of our common Liberty muſt come to nothing, and thoſe brave States muſt compound and come under *France*, as a Maritime Province of their new Empire.

Thus in all human Appearances the Fate of *Europe* depends on the Reſults of this Parliament: If they are united, we are free. But ſhould they be ſo unhappy as to be wheedled into a Peace, or reſolve but on a defenſive War, both which God forefend, I can then think of nothing better for the Intereſt of poor *England*, than by an early Submiſſion to gain the beſt Terms we can, and get as eaſy a Slavery as is poſſible from our new Maſter *Lewis the Great*.

The

The laſt Confeſſion, Prayers, and Meditations of Lieutenant *John Stern*, delivered by him on the Cart immediately before his Execution, to Dr. *Burnet*: Together with the laſt Confeſſion of *George Borosky*, ſigned by him in the Priſon, and ſealed up in the Lieutenant's Pacquet. With which an Account is given of their Deportment both in the Priſon and at the Place of their Execution, which was in the *Pall-Mall*, on the Tenth of *March*, in the ſame Place in which they had murdered *Thomas Thynn*, Eſq; the Twelfth of *February* before, 1681-2. Written by *Gilbert Burnet*, D. D. and *Anthony Horneck*, D. D. *London*: Printed for *Rich. Chiſwell*, at the *Roſe* and *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, 1682. *Folio*, containing twenty-eight Pages.

An Account of the Deportment of Captain Vratz, *Lieutenant* Stern, *and* George Boroſky, *the Murderers of* Thomas Thynn, *Eſq. both in the Priſon, and at their Execution.*

FOUR Days after the barbarous Murder of Mr. *Thynn*, which filled all People's Minds, with a juſt Horror, at ſo vile and inhuman a Fact, I was deſired to go and viſit the Priſoners. I carried Dr. *Horneck* with me, becauſe I heard that *Boroſky* the *Polonian* ſpoke no other Language, but *Poliſh* and *High Dutch*. We waited on the Captain, but he was unwilling to enter into much Diſcourſe with us; and adhered to what he had confeſſed before the Council, that he only intended to fight with Mr. *Thynn*, and that the *Polonian* had miſtook his Orders, when he ſhot him. The Lieutenant ſaid at firſt nothing, but that he was in the Company of thoſe, that committed the Fact, without Intention to murder any; and if, for that, he ſhould be condemned to die, then ſaid he, *Fiat voluntas tua*, thy Will be done. The *Polonian* was free and ingenuous, in his Confeſſion, and expreſſed great Sorrow, for what he had done. But, within a few Days, I went again, and found the Lieutenant wonderfully touched: He told me, that, the Morning after he was firſt taken, he awakened full of Horror, for what he had done, and the firſt Thing that came in his Mind was the ninth Verſe of *Pſal.* xxxii. Be ye not as the Horſe and the Mule, which have no Underſtanding, whoſe Mouth muſt be held in with Bit and Bridle. This he applied to the Irons, in which he was, and then began to reflect what a Beaſt he had been, and that it was fit he ſhould be ſhut up in a Priſon, and fettered as he then was; upon that he looked back with Horror, on what he had done, and began to cry earneſtly to God, for Mercy.

He continued ſome Days in Doubt, whether, he ought to confeſs or not, and was in that Anxiety, when I ſaw him firſt, which made him ſay nothing at that Time; but he ſaid afterwards, He found ſuch inward Compunction in his Mind, that he wiſhed to die; he grew weary of Life, and hated himſelf ſo much,

much, that he was glad to do every Thing, that was lawful, which might be a Means to bring him to be a publick Example, and to suffer in this World for his Sin. Upon that, he made his Confession to the Justices of Peace, and found himself much at Ease, when that was done. He turned himself after that wholly to God, and found that, then, he was intirely out of the Snares of Satan, and the Hold which the Devil had of him. All the rest of the Time of his Imprisonment, except a few Hours of Sleep towards the Mornings, he spent in Reading the Bible, and some other good Books, particularly *Dilheren's Way to Happiness*, in *High Dutch*, which he valued highly; and *Thomas a Kempis*'s Book of the *Imitation of Christ*, and some other Books of Devotion. He thought it was also fit for him to leave, in Writing, a Warning behind him to others, to learn by his Example; he was not bred to Letters, and so, he said, he knew what he should write would appear simple to those, that delighted in Learning, or polite Language; but he said, He would write from his Heart, and prayed God, it might have a good Effect on others. He had travelled up and down *Europe*, three and twenty Years, being then in the forty-second Year of his Age, and he had observed many Things, though he had no Literature; so, he said, he would leave an Exhortation to all Sorts of People, with whom he had conversed, and touch those Sins which he himself had known many of them guilty of; and he said, that, if his Writing should become publick in *Germany*, or in other Places, where he had been, he was confident that many might read it, who would know, for what Reason, he had writ many Passages in it, and might, perhaps, be moved to reflect on those Sins, of which they knew themselves guilty, and would understand his Meaning, better than any others could. When he had writ it, he gave it to me four Days before his Execution; he had dashed and changed it in many Passages, which he said he writ at first, when there was yet too much of the Spirit of the World in him, but he had reviewed it, and had corrected it in the best Manner he could. He said, he had never writ so much in his whole Life, and so he did not doubt, but there would appear great Weakness in some Parts of it, but he had writ it in the Simplicity of his Heart. To this he added a short Account of his Life, and a Confession of the Crime, for which he was to suffer.

He often wished that, from him, all that stood might take Heed lest they fell; for once he thought himself as little capable of committing such a Crime, which should bring him to such an End, as any Man was. He was the Son, by the Left-hand, of a Baron of *Sweden*, who was made a Count, before he died; but he did not carry his Name, because he was not legitimate, and he would not have his Father's Name to be published, because he was now such a Reproach to it. He applied himself to the War, but in all these twenty-three Years, in which he had been travelling up and down the World, he had led a much more innocent Life, than might be guessed, from such a Conclusion of it. He had early a Sense of the Fear of God, before he came Abroad into the World, which never left him quite, till a few Days before this Fact; but was always such a Curb on him, that he never fell into those Sins, that are too common among those that follow the War. He was so little guilty of Plunder and Oppression, in his Quarters, that he said, he was sure, less than twenty Crowns would pay all, that had been ever taken by him. He was never guilty of any Act, either of Cruelty or Treachery, of Rapes or Blasphemies, was never false at Play, had not the Custom of Swearing, nor did he fail daily to pray to God. He had always a compassionate Nature. He was not a little lifted up with the Courage that he had shewed on many Occasions, and had been very sensible of all those Things which are called Points of Honour. He was, for many Years, a Papist, when he served in *Flanders*; but he said, He was never perfectly satisfied in his own Mind, with that Religion, and detested the Idolatry, that he saw in it. But he was much corrupted with that Principle, which is too common in the World, That, if a Man was honest and good, he might be saved in any Religion; and that it was fit to be of the Religion of the Country, where one lived: Yet, he said, He could never look on Popery, but as a Contrivance of Priests, for Governing the World. About a Year ago, he changed his Religion, and returned to be of the *Augsbourg* Confession. Last Summer he came to *England*, being then out of Employment, and intended to have got into the Guards; he grew acquainted with (or found)

found) Captain *Vratz* here, for I do not remember well, whether he knew him firſt here, or not.

For the Particulars of his Confeſſion, I refer the Reader to his own Paper; only one Paſſage, which he has not mentioned, will ſhew clearly the Temper of his Mind, when he writ it: He told me, that, after the Captain and he had talked of ſundry Poniards, for giving Mr. *Thynn* the fatal Stroke, the Captain ſpoke to him one Day of a Muſquetoon, and told him they were now reſolved to do it by that: He anſwered, that he thought that was, by no Means, a proper Inſtrument for it, ſince it would be ſeen in a Man's Hand, before it could be diſcharged, and ſo they might be catched, before the Buſineſs ſhould be done; therefore he thought, a Piſtol was much better: But the Captain anſwered, That the Count's Council were of another Mind; and when the Lieutenant aſked, Who they were, he named three outlandiſh Men. But, three or four Days after that, he told me, That, though that Paſſage was very true, yet he did not know, but the Captain might only name thoſe Perſons to amuſe him, and he did not believe, it was true of one of the three; and, if it was not true of him, then there was Reaſon to doubt, if what he ſaid of the other two was true; and therefore, ſince it might have been ſaid only to deceive him, and ſince his Naming them would caſt a Slur upon them, he thought he ought to be ſo tender of their Reputation, as not to publiſh their Names. This will ſhew both the Strictneſs of his Conſcience, and the Soundneſs of his Judgment; and that he would not ſay a Thing, though it was true, in ſo far as he ſaid it, unleſs he had believed it was true in itſelf.

He told me, that for ſome Weeks, before the Fact was done, he fell under a Darkneſs and Stupor in his Mind, which he could compare to nothing, but the Senſe a Man has, when he is half aſleep: He continued to ſay his Prayers, but it was only as a Child repeats a Leſſon by Rote, for he had no Senſe of God all that While; and he lamented much, that he had not read any Thing in that Book of *Dilheren*'s, written much like our *Practice of Piety*, which he had carried about with him two or three Years.

He was ſo little able to judge of Things aright, that he thought he would be free of the Crime, if he did it not with his own Hand; and, becauſe he abhorred the Acting it himſelf, he fancied he would not be guilty, if he only went in the Company of thoſe that were to do it. When the fatal Day came, in which it was done, he ſaid, though he was not drunk, yet he was like one drunk, for he was almoſt ſtupid; it was on a Lord's-day, which he had much and often prophaned, and on that Day, in particular, he had not worſhiped God, neither in publick or private. The Captain deſired him to go with him, and fight with Mr. *Thynn* (I think it was near Six o'Clock at Night, but am not ſure as to the Hour). He confeſſed, he believed is was deſigned to act what followed, for he ſaw the Muſquetoon in the Hand of the *Polander*, and he remembered well the Uſe for which it was bought; but he ſtill reſolved, that he would do nothing, but fight, if there ſhould be Occaſion for it. He had delighted much in Horſes, and had a great Opinion, that there was ſome Sagacity in them; ſo the Dulneſs of his Horſe in following Mr. *Thynn*'s Chariot, all along *Pall-Mall*, made ſome Impreſſions on him; for, though he uſed the Spur pretty ſmartly, yet he could not get him to follow cloſe. That, and a Diſorder in his own Mind, made that he was almoſt twenty Paces behind, when the Fire was given, which had that deplorable Effect on that unfortunate Gentleman. He told me, even that did not awaken him, but his Stupor continued ſo, that ſome little Time paſt, before he offered to fly away; and then his Horſe, without the Spur, was quick enough. He was not after that affected with it, but ſpent that Night almoſt as ill as he had done the Day; nor was he recovered of that Stupidity, till the ſecond Day of his Impriſonment.

He ſaid he would have writ nothing concerning the Fact, if his whole Confeſſion had been read at his Trial; but, that not being done, he thought it fit for him to leave it behind him to the World, that the whole Truth of that Matter might appear; but he profeſſed often, that he did it not out of any Reſentment to any Perſon whatſoever; and, though he looked on the Captain, as the fatal Inſtrument that had drawn him into this Sin, and this Miſery that followed it, yet he ceaſed not every Day to pray for him. When Sentence was pronounced, the Captain reproached him, and called him with ſome Scorn a *Murderer*: He ſaid, That it touched him very ſenſibly to ſee him, that was the Cauſe of his Ruin, inſult over him;

him; yet he often aſked News of him, Whether he was touched with a Senſe of his Sin, or not? And, when he underſtood that he continued ſtill to deny all, but only an Intention to fight with Mr. *Thynn*, he deſired, that he might be ſuffered to go to him, and ſpeak with him; for, he ſaid, though others might ſpeak much better, yet he hoped he might ſay ſomewhat that would be more effectual: So, on *Wedneſday* the Eighth of *March*, he was carried to him. I warned him beforehand, that the Captain would, perhaps, uſe him roughly; for he was often upbraiding him for his Ingratitude, and for having accuſed him falſely; but he anſwered me, That he went to ſee if he could be a Means to do him any Good, and not to diſpute a Matter of Fact with him, which he knew in his Conſcience was true; and, if he ſaw there was no Appearance of doing any Good to him, he would ſoon leave him. In his Way to him, he was to go up ſome Stairs, and paſs through the Chapel, and then to go down; ſo he told me he was going up to the Houſe of God, but he ſhould go higher within two Days, to a Houſe not made with Hands. Dr. *Horneck* was then with the Captain, and prepared him for his Coming. There was no other Witneſs of what paſſed between them in that ſhort Interview, but he only. He told me afterwards, that the Lieutenant ſpoke to the Captain with great Humility; he told him, he heartily forgave him all the Injury he had done him by drawing him into this Buſineſs; he knew he had ſaid nothing but the Truth; he exhorted him to repent, that ſo he might find Mercy at God's Hands. But the Captain fell in ſome Paſſion, and ſaid, He lyed, and gave him other reproachful Words; upon which he left him. When he came back to his Chamber, he told me how ſorry he was to ſee the Captain in ſuch a Condition; but he ſaid, Though at another Time he could not have endured ſuch Reproaches from the greateſt Man in the World, yet he felt no Reſentment in his Mind at what he had ſaid to himſelf; and added, That, by bearing this in ſuch a Manner, he hoped he had got two Steps higher in his Way to Heaven. When I replied, That it was a good Sign, that he had learned to be like his Saviour, who, when he was reviled, reviled not again, he ſaid: Ah! Such a miſerable Criminal, as I am, muſt not be in any Thing compared to my bleſſed Redeemer. He deſired, that the *Polonian* might be ſuffered to ſtay all the Day long in his Chamber, for he found he had a Mind well diſpoſed, but was ignorant: So he took great Pains to inſtruct him. They were together the laſt Night of their Life, in which, as the one ſlept, the other watched and prayed; for the Lieutenant ſaid to me, He thought it was not fit that both ſhould be together aſleep that Night, but that, all Night long, either the one, or the other of them, ſhould be conſtantly calling upon God. He expreſſed not the leaſt Deſire of living any longer: He never once aſked me, if I thought a Pardon might be obtained: On the contrary, he ſaid he deſerved to die, and deſired it as much as he had deſerved it: He only wiſhed, that, if it could be obtained, his Head might be cut off; but he eaſily acquieſced, when I told him that was not to be expected. He often bleſſed God for Bringing him to a Priſon, and that he had not made his Eſcape to have led a wicked Life any longer. After he had been under great Horror, for almoſt a Week, he found great Quiet come inſtead of it, chiefly after he had diſburdened his Conſcience by a ſincere Confeſſion; at laſt it grew upon him to a Joy in God, and at the Approaches of Death.

The Night before he ſuffered, he told me, he was languiſhing through Deſire to die; he was now ſo ſettled in his Aſſurance of God's Goodneſs to him, that he was longing to be with him; he conſidered that Night as the Eve of his Wedding, and therefore it would ſeem tedious to him. A little while after he ſaid, To-morrow is the laſt Battle I ſhall fight; my Enemy ſhall gain the Camp, the Tent I dwell in, but I ſhall, by the Grace of God, win the Day. And, when he ſpoke of that at another Time, he looked up to God, and ſaid: I go to fight with thy Weapons, and thy Armour, and, when I have overcome, I will come and offer them up to thee. He had that Day received the Sacrament with great Devotion, and ſaid: Now I have got my Paſſport, and I long to be gone. He was much rejoiced to hear, that Night, that the Captain was in a better Temper, than he had been in formerly; for the Miniſter of the *Auguſtbourg* Confeſſion in *London* told him, in my Hearing, that the Captain had confeſſed, That he had drawn them into this Snare, and had engaged them in this Murder. The Captain alſo ſent a kind Meſſage to him, and gave

Orders for every Thing that concerned his Burial; upon which he ſent a Return to him full of great Affection. This made him change a Reſolution, he once had, of ſpeaking ſomewhat concerning the Murder at his Execution. He ſaid there was nothing material in his laſt Confeſſion, that was not in his firſt taken by the Juſtices of Peace, ſo there was no Need of making any other publick Declaration; and he thought, if he ſaid any Thing that might reflect on the Captain, it would, perhaps, put him in ſome Diſorder, and he would not venture the being diſcompoſed in the laſt Moment of his Life; therefore he reſolved to ſeal up all, and give it to me at the Place of Execution. He had ſhewed it four Days before to one Mr. *Effart*, a *German*, in *Covent-Garden*, and had ordered me to let him copy it; he had likewiſe ſhewed it to Dr. *Horneck*, and it was almoſt all copied out, before he died.

In this Temper I left him at Night, but found him much better on the Morning of his Execution. He had ſlept three Hours, and was then well in his Heart and Health; for the Night before he was very faint. He told me, Now he was full of Joy, he was going to exchange a Priſon for a Palace: A Priſon (ſaid he) that has been, to me, better than any Palace; for here God has touched me, he has drawn me, he has quickened me; and now, O God, I come to thee, to live with thee for ever. He broke often out in great Tranſports of Joy; he ſaid this that follows ſo often, both in *French* and *Dutch*, that I could not but remember it well: —— O my God, my good God, my infinitely good God, How do I love thee! I bleſs thee, I will bleſs thee, as long as I live; yea, Lord, I will ſing of thy Praiſes for ever, for thou haſt bleſſed me wonderfully. Thou haſt put many good Inclinations in me; thou haſt often touched my Heart with the Motions of thy Holy Spirit; but, above all thy Bleſſings, for this I will bleſs thee, That, when I had forſaken thee, and was at the Gates of Hell, thou haſt brought me from thence, and haſt now brought me even to the Gates of Heaven; open them, O Lord, and I will enter in, and praiſe thy Name for ever. I bleſs thee, that thou haſt chaſtiſed me with thy Rod, but thy Rod is a Rod of Mercy; and, now thou haſt done ſo much for me, O grant me a greater Senſe of thy Love, that I may praiſe thee with my whole Soul, and from the very Bottom of my Heart.

This he repeated often, in ſuch a Manner that he ſeemed as one raviſhed for Joy. He wept, but he told me theſe were not Tears of Sorrow, but flowed from the Abundance of his Joy. He and the *Polonian* ſung the Fifty-firſt *Pſalm* in *High-Dutch*, three ſeveral Times; and I ſaw him particularly touched, when he ſung thoſe Words, Deliver me from Blood-guiltineſs, O God, thou God of my Salvation. He ſpent the reſt of the Time in Prayers and Ejaculations. A Gentleman came in, and aſked how he did? He anſwered him, He thanked God, well; his Friend had ſent to call him to come to dine with him, and he was ready to go. And when it was told him, he was now to fight his laſt Battle, he anſwered, That Battle was already fought, there was but one Shock behind, and he was ſure he ſhould overcome. His Heart was ſo full of the Senſe of the Goodneſs of God, that he could now complain of nothing, or deſire nothing but that he might be able to rejoice more perfectly in God, and to praiſe him more. He longed much for the Officers that ſhould carry him away, and looked with great Chearfulneſs at me, when he ſaw them come to lead him out. When his Irons were taken off, he told me, Some of his Fetters were taken from him, but he had others yet about him that ſhould be likewiſe taken off very ſpeedily, but I have Chains upon my Soul which ſhall draw me up to Heaven. He told me, 'That he intended 'to make a ſhort Exhortation on the Cart, 'chiefly to have warned the People not to caſt 'off the Senſe of God; and particularly, that 'as they did their own Buſineſs all the Week, 'that they would do God's Work on the 'Lord's-Day; and learn from him what the 'ill Effects of profaning that Day were. He 'was likewiſe to have exhorted them not to 'think there was any Wickedneſs ſo great, 'but if they did caſt off God, and were for-'ſaken of him, they might fall into it. He 'had been once in a good Way, but had left 'it, and they ſaw the Effects of that; yet 'God had mercifully brought him back to it, 'and therefore he intended to pray them to 'fear God, and keep his Commandments, 'and it would be well with them.'

This was the Subſtance of that which he had purpoſed to ſay; but, when he came to the Place, the Noiſe was ſo great there, that he ſaid he would ſpeak nothing, but left it to me to publiſh wht I knew he had intended to

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ſay; and ſo he continued in his Devotions, reading ſome Prayers and Hymns out of *Dilheren's* Book; and, in ſeveral Paſſages as he read them, I perceived great Joy in his Looks: He told me, his Mind continued firm and ſettled in his Joy in God; and ſo he went on a While reading; at laſt he threw his Book to me, and wiſhed me to give it to ſome good Soul. He ſaid a few Words to the Captain in *High-Dutch*, which I did not quite underſtand; but by his Manner I judged it was a Declaring that he forgave him, and died in Charity with him; to which the Captain made a ſhort Anſwer, that ſeemed to me a Return of his Kindneſs: But the Crowd was ſuch, that the *German* Miniſter could not poſſibly come to the Place, ſo this was loſt.

And this is all the Account I can give of Lieutenant *Stern*; it is the Subſtance of many and long Converſations I had with him; *French* was the Language in which we diſcourſed, and he expreſſed himſelf very well in it.

I cannot give ſo long an Account of *Borosky*, the *Polander*, for all my Diſcourſe with him was by an Interpreter, and the Lieutenant did for the moſt Part interpret between us. I found that the Courſe of his Life had been very honeſt and innocent; and that, before he committed this barbarous Act, he had not been guilty of any enormous Crime in his whole Life: And that, particularly the laſt Year of it, he had a greater Senſe of the Fear of God than formerly, ſo that he had reformed his Life to ſuch a Degree, that he had not been guilty of one Act either of Drunkenneſs or Uncleanneſs, of Swearing or Lying; and that he had conſtantly prayed to God. He ſaid, That, when Count *Conningſmark* made that Propoſition to him, which he told me much more largely than I find it is in his Confeſſion, he was troubled at it, and went into another Room, and kneeled down and ſaid the Lord's Prayer; but concluded, ſince his Mind was not fortified againſt it, that God had appointed that he ſhould do it. He ſaid, in his Country they were bred up in ſuch an Opinion of their Duty to their Maſters, and of their Obligation to maintain their Honour, that he believing the Relation the Count made of the *Engliſh* Gentleman (for Mr. *Thynn* was not named to him) having intended to murder him, and having ſet ſix Aſſaſſins on him, thought himſelf in ſome Sort abſolved, if he ſhould revenge ſuch an Attempt. He was alſo deluded by what the Captain told him, that, if they happened to be taken, he only, and not the *Polander*, would ſuffer for it; ſo that he was eaſily wrought on to do it. He was not ſpoke to by the Count till One o'Clock on *Sunday*, but, whether in the Morning or Afternoon, I do not know, and it was acted that ſame Evening; ſo that he was never alone, nor had he any Opportunity of recollecting himſelf, but was hurried upon it blindly.

He told me one Paſſage that befel him after his Impriſonment, which he firmly believed was real, and not the Effect of a diſturbed Fancy: He ſaid, being ſhut up in his Chamber a Day or two after his Impriſonment, he thought in the Night being fully awake, that one opened the Door, which he fancied was his Keeper coming to him; but when he looked at it, it was a Woman who had appeared ſometimes to him before in *Germany*, upon ſome extraordinary Occaſions: She looked on him, but ſpoke nothing to him; and vaniſhed. He verily believed this was ſent from God to to him, to touch his Heart; and, whether it was real or only imagined, it had certainly a very good Effect on him: For from that Time he was wonderfully changed.

He ſaid, he continued about four Days as in Hell, by the Rack that he felt in his Conſcience; but, after that, he came to have great Quiet, and Aſſurance of God's Mercy. He had no Fear of Death, but every Time I asked him concerning it, he ſaid he was ready for it, and longed for it more than ever he did for any Thing in his Life: He aſſured me he had from his Heart forgiven both the Count and the Captain, and that he prayed earneſtly for them.

The Lieutenant often told me, That he had an excellent Soul, and that, tho' he had not much Knowledge, yet he himſelf learned much from him; for he had the Simplicity of a little Child, and a Love to God, and to his Saviour, that paſſed all Knowledge: So that he ſpent almoſt his whole Time in Praying, and Praiſing God. He went out of the Chamber, when he was called on by the Officers to his Execution, with great Chearfulneſs; and, by his Looks, and Carriage in the Cart, expreſſed a great Senſe of his Condition: He ſeemed to have no Sort of Fear in him, nor did he in the leaſt change Colour, or was he at all terrified.

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In the laſt Place, I muſt ſay ſomewhat of Captain *Vrats*, which I do unwillingly, becauſe ſome Paſſages are not ſuch as I can reflect on with any great Satisfaction. It is certain, that never Man died with more Reſolution and leſs Signs of Fear, or the leaſt Diſorder. His Carriage in the Cart, both as he was led along, and at the Place of Execution, was aſtoniſhing: He was not only undaunted, but looked chearful, and ſmiled often: When the Rope was put about his Neck, he did not change Colour nor tremble, his Legs were firm under him: He looked often about on thoſe that ſtood in Balconies and Windows, and ſeemed to fix his Eyes on ſome Perſons: Three or four Times he ſmiled; he would not cover his Face as the reſt did, but continued in that State, often looking up to Heaven, with a Chearfulneſs in his Countenance, and a little Motion of his Hands. I ſaw him ſeveral Times in the Priſon: He ſtill ſtood to the Confeſſion he made to the Council till the laſt Day of his Life: He often ſaid to me, he would never ſay any Thing but what he had ſaid at firſt.

When I was with him on *Sunday* before his Death, he ſtill denied all that the Lieutenant and the *Polonian* had ſaid, and ſpoke ſeverely of them, chiefly of the Lieutenant, as if he had confeſſed thoſe Things which he then called *Lyes*, in Hopes of ſaving his own Life by it, or in Spite to him, that he might not be pardoned: And all, I could ſay, could not change his Mind in that. I told him it was in vain for him to dream of a Pardon, for I aſſured him, if any kept him up with the Hopes of it, they deceived him. He had two Opinions, that were, as I thought, hurtful to him; the one was, That it was enough if he confeſſed his Sin to God, and that he was not bound to make any other Confeſſion; and he thought, that it was a Piece of Popery to preſs him to confeſs. He had another odd Opinion alſo of the next State: He thought the Damned were only excluded from the Preſence of God, and endured no other Miſery, but that of ſeeing others happier than themſelves: And was unwilling to let me enter into much Diſcourſe with him for undeceiving him: He ſaid it was his own Affair, and he deſired to be left to himſelf; but he ſpoke with great Aſſurance of God's Mercy to him.

I left him, when I ſaw that nothing I could ſay had any good Effect on him, and reſolved to have gone no more to him; but when I underſtood by the *German* Miniſter, and by the Meſſage which I heard delivered in his Name to the Lieutenant and *Polander*, the Night before his Execution, that he was in another Temper than when I ſaw him laſt, I went to him; he received me more kindly than formerly: Moſt of his Diſcourſe was concerning his going to the Place of Execution, deſiring that it might be in a Coach, and not in a Cart: And, when I prayed him to think of that which concerned him more, he ſpoke with great Aſſurance, that it was already done, that he knew God had forgiven him: And when I wiſhed him to ſee that he might not deceive himſelf, and that his Hope might not be ill grounded, he ſaid it was not Hope, but Certainty, for he was ſure God was reconciled to him, through Chriſt. When I ſpoke to him of Confeſſing his Sin, he ſaid he had written it, and it would be publiſhed to all *Europe*, but he did not ſay a Word concerning it to me; ſo I left him, and ſaw him no more, till I met him at the Place of Execution: When he ſaw me, he ſmiled on me, and whereas I had ſometimes warned him of the Danger of affecting to be a counterfeit Bravo *(faux brave)* he ſaid to me, before I ſpoke to him, That I ſhould ſee it was not a falſe Bravery, but that he was fearleſs to the laſt. I wiſhed him to conſider well upon what he grounded his Confidence: He ſaid, He was ſure he was now to be received into Heaven; and that his Sins were forgiven him. I aſked him if he had any Thing to ſay to the People; he ſaid no. After he had whiſpered a ſhort Word to a Gentleman, he was willing the Rope ſhould be tied to the Gibbet: He called for the *German* Miniſter, but the Croud was ſuch, that it was not poſſible for him to come near. So he deſired me to pray with him in *French*; but I told him I could not venture to pray in that Language, but, ſince he underſtood *Engliſh*, I would pray in *Engliſh*. I obſerved he had ſome Touches in his Mind, when I offered up that Petition, that, for the Sake of the Blood of Chriſt, the innocent Blood, ſhed in that Place, might be forgiven; and that the Cry of the one for Mercy might prevail over the Cry of the other for Juſtice: At theſe Words he looked up to Heaven with the greateſt Senſe that I had at any Time obſerved in him. After I prayed, he ſaid nothing, but that he was now going

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to be happy with God, so I left him. He continued in his undaunted Manner, looking up often to Heaven, and sometimes round about him to the Spectators: After they had stood about a Quarter of an Hour under the Gibbet, they were asked when they would give the Signal for their being turned off; they answered, That they were ready, and that the Cart might be driven away when it pleased the Sheriff to order it: So a little While after it was driven away, and thus they all ended their Lives. It is possible, that conversing in *French*, as we did, some small Mistakes might have been made, either by them in expressing themselves, or by me in not understanding them right: But I am sure they could not be material; for I took Care to make them repeat what they said, that was of any Importance, often, and in different Words; so that any Errors, that may have been committed, are inconsiderable.

March 11, 1681-2. *G. Burnet.*

Dr. Horneck's *Account of what himself observed in the Carriage of the late Prisoners.*

THE Lieutenant and *Polonian*, the Authors of the following Papers, having acquainted me with their Intent to have them published to the World, to testify the Sincerity of their Repentance: I was very willing, at the Desire of Dr. *Burnet*, with whom they intrusted them, to be instrumental in the Translation, and to take this Opportunity to give my Sentiment of the Behaviour of the respective Prisoners. The first Time the Doctor and myself went to visit them, we saw no Sense of the Crime in any of them, but the *Polonian*, who professed his Sorrow, and gave me a large Account of his Condition, and how he came to be drawn into the barbarous Murder, by the Captain: Adding, That whatever the Captain might say in his own Vindication, that it was through his Servant's Mistake that the Fact was done; if he had a thousand Lives, he would venture them all for this Truth, that the Captain did peremptorily bid him fire upon the Coach, and kill the Gentleman that was in it. And that he was so far from mistaking his Command, that after Reasoning with him about the Barbarousness of the Deed, the Captain bid him not trouble himself about that, but do what he commanded. The Lieutenant, when I told him, that according to our Laws, Men present at a Murder committed, were liable to the same Penalty with the Actors: Replied, If that be your Law, I have nothing to say against it. And, at that Time, seemed to have no great Remorse, which made us leave him, after some Exhortations to Repentance, and Consideration of his Ways.

The Captain, at the same Time, hard as Flint, entertained us with a Discourse of his Resolutions to believe himself innocent, to defy Death, and to fancy, that if his Judges would be impartial, they could not blame or condemn him. So we left him. The second Visit I made them was in a few Days after, when the Lieutenant sent for me: And, being then to pass by the Captain's Chamber, I thought fit to call upon him, before I saw the other; and here repeating my former Counsels to him, and putting him in Mind of the All-seeing Eye above, who knew his Crimes, though he did conceal them from Man; he was pleased to tell me, That he had far other Apprehensions of God, than I had, and was confident God would consider a Gentleman, and deal with him suitably to the Condition and Profession he had placed him in; and would not take it ill, if a Soldier, who lived by his Sword, revenged the Affront offered to him by another. I replied, That there was but one Way to eternal Happiness, and that God, in his Laws, had made no Exception for any Sorts or Degrees of Men; and, consequently, Revenge in a Gentleman was a Sin God would not pardon, without true Repentance, any more than he would forgive it in a Peasant. He asking me hereupon, What Repentance was? I told him, it was, so to hate the Sin we had done, that, for the future, no Argument should prevail with us to commit it again. To which he said, That if he were to live, he should not forbear to give any one as good as he brings: With some other Expressions, which I am loth to repeat, for

for they made me ſo melancholy, that I was forced to leave him. Yet I bid him conſider of what he had ſaid, as he loved his own Soul.

I went from thence to the Lieutenant, in whom I found a very great Alteration, and ſaw now ſeveral good Books, and the Bible among the reſt, lying before him; and he now was readier to confeſs his Guilt, than I to exhort him to a free Confeſſion; ſeveral Things, he had ſaid to Dr. *Burnet*, he expreſſed now to me, adding, That it was God's juſt Judgment upon him to let him fall thus: For when he conſented to engage with the Captain in the fatal Enterpriſe, he had not ſaid his Prayers, nor read in his beloved Book, *Dilheren's Way to Eternal Happineſs*, in a Month before; which two Things, if he had continued to do, with that Devotion he uſed formerly, the Devil could not, and ſhould not have perſuaded him to come into ſuch a deſperate Confederacy. I adviſed him to repeat *Pſalm* li. often, as being moſt ſuitable to his Condition; and directed him to other Prayers in a Book, which the *Lutheran* Miniſter had lent him. He now told me how he was concerned for the Captain, and cried out, O this hard-hearted Captain, I pray for him Day and Night, that God would turn his Heart and melt him, and make him ſenſible of the Errors of his Ways. He profeſſed that he did not deſire to live; all the Favour he begged of the King, was, that he would cauſe him to be beheaded, for the Reaſons mentioned in the preceding Papers. Yet he hoped his Fall was permitted by Almighty God, to bring him to a true Senſe not only of this, but of all his other Sins; and that God ſuffered him thus to be thrown down, that, through that Toſs, he might rebound the higher; and that though he had walked in the Dark, yet he doubted not, but God would draw Light from that Darkneſs. He proteſted, at that Time, upon my Expoſtulations with him, that it was not approaching Death, and the Puniſhment that was like to attend him in this World, that moved him to Repentance, but the Blackneſs of the Crime, and his Offending a gracious God, and Forgetting his dear Redeemer's Precepts. And here he broke forth into holy Ejaculations fit for a Chriſtian and a true Penitent. And when, among other Paſſages, I minded him, that it would not be long before he would come to his Trial, and ſo to his Execution: He chearfully replied, That he was ready to obey God's Summons. And whereas I told him, it would be within a few Days: He ſaid, he ſhould be content if it were within a few Hours. He then ſhewed me the Places, in a little Book he had by him, *The Way to Eternal Happineſs*, which gave him the greateſt Comfort, and preſcribed him moſt excellent Directions. The Book treated of the Nature of a true Repentance, of Confeſſion to the Miniſters of the Goſpel, of the Lord's Supper, and the Rules of a Chriſtian Life; to which are added ſeveral Meditations proper for Feſtivals, Prayers ſuited to all Conditions, and a pathetick Sermon on the Paſſion of Chriſt; all which, he ſaid, were a great Support to him in his preſent Condition, which he deplored chiefly, becauſe he had made ſo bold with God, who had manifeſted himſelf to him upon many Occaſions. I aſked him whether he had been ſeduced by the Count, or by the Captain? To which he anſwered, That he had been in the Count's Company twice, but the Captain would not let him know that it was the Count, yet he believed it was he, having formerly ſeen him, and that the Captain ſtill told him that he had a Quarrel with ſuch a Gentleman.

I went from thence to the *Polonian*, whom I found engaged in reading a *German* Book, containing Prayers and Devotions, fit for a Penitent, which, he told me, he was repeating to himſelf Day and Night. I gave him ſuch Heads of Contemplation, as I thought proper for his Condition and Capacity, exhorted him to recollect himſelf, and to find out what other Sins he had formerly lived in, it being not ſufficient to deplore one, but all he could remember, upon ſerious Examination; which he promiſed me to do, and ſo I departed.

The laſt Time I was with them was on the Eighth of *March*, and, while Dr. *Burnet* went to the Lieutenant, I viſited the Captain; whom, when I had ſaluted, I told him, I hoped he had taken his dangerous Condition into Conſideration, and wrought himſelf into a greater Senſe of his Sins, than I could obſerve in him, when I was laſt with him. He ſaid he knew not what I meant by this Addreſs. I then explained myſelf, gave him to underſtand, that I ſpoke it with Relation to the late great Sin he had been engaged in, and that I hoped, his approaching Death had made him more penitent, than I had found him the

other

other Day. To which he replied, That he was sensible he was a great Sinner, and had committed divers Enormities, in his Life-time, of which he truly repented, and was confident that God had pardoned him; but he could not well understand the Humour of our *English* Divines, who pressed him to make particular Declarations of Things they had a Mind he should say, though never so false, or contrary to Truth; and at this, he said, he wondered the more, because, in our Church, we were not for Auricular Confession. He guessed indeed, he said, what it was we would have him declare, *&c.* That Count *Coningsmark* had been the Contriver of the Murder, and had been in Consultation with him about compassing his Design, and prompted and bribed him for that End; which Falshood he would never be guilty of, if he had never so many Lives to lose. He understood, he said, that the Lieutenant had been tampered with, and, by Promises of a decent Burial, enticed to confess Things notoriously false; as that he should shew the said Lieutenant a Letter, signed by Count *Coningsmark*, to engage him in the Business, and offer him Money to stab Mr. *Thynn*, &c. But, as for his Part, he was resolved to confess no more, than he had already declared publickly before the Council.

I let him run on, and then told him, That he was much mistaken in the Divines of the Church of *England*, who neither used to reveal private Confessions, nor oblige Offenders, in such Cases, to confess Things contrary to Truth; that this was both against their Practice, and their Principles: The Confession, I said, he was so often exhorted to, was no private, but a publick Confession; for, as his Crime had been publick, so his Repentance and Confession ought to be publick too; and, in that he was loth to come to it, he gave us but too much Occasion to suspect, that his pretended Repentance was not sincere and cordial. I told him, That in such Wrongs and Injuries, as he had done, there was either Restitution, or Satisfaction to be made; at which Word he replying, How could he make Restitution, now Mr. *Thynn* was dead? I answered, Because he could not make Restitution, that therefore he should make some Satisfaction; and this he might do, by a free and full Confession of his Sin, and of the Cause of it, and who they were that put him upon it. I added, That, where true Repentance melts the Heart, after such Commissions, there the true Penitent was readier to accuse himself, than others to charge him with the Crime, and would have that Abhorrency of the Sin, that he would conceal nothing, that served either to aggravate, or expose it to the Hatred of all Mankind; and that it was an Injustice to the Publick, not to betray the Accomplices, and Assistants, and Occasions, in such heinous Offences. I told him, he seemed to talk too high for a true Penitent, for those, that were truly so, were exceeding humble, not only to God, but to Men too; and one Part of their Humility to Men was, to confess to them, and to their Relations, the Wrong they had done them: Whereupon he answered, That it was enough for him to be humble to God, but he knew of no Humility he owed to Man; and God, he believed, had a greater Favour for Gentlemen, than to require all these Punctilioes at their Hands; and that it was absurd to think, that so many thousand Gentlemen, Abroad in the World, that stood upon their Honour and Reputation as much as he, should be damned, or for ever miserable, because they cannot stoop to Things, which will prejudice and spoil the Figure they make in the World: As for his Part, he said, he believed Christ's Blood had washed away his Sins, as well as other Men's, for on this Errand he came into the World, to save Sinners; he was, indeed, sorry Mr. *Thynn* was dead, but that was all he could do. I told him, That Christ's Blood was actually applied to none but the true Penitent; and that true Repentance must discover itself in Meekness, Humility, Tenderheartedness, Compassion, Righteousness, Making ingenuous Confessions, and, so far as we are able, Satisfaction too, else, notwithstanding the Treasure of Christ's Blood, Men might drop into Hell.

Upon this he replied, That he feared no Hell. I answered, Possibly he might believe none, or, if he did, it might be a very easy one of his own making. He said, He was not such a Fool, as to believe that Souls could fry in material Fire, or be roasted, as Meat, on a great Hearth, or in a Kitchen, pointing to the Chimney. His Belief was, That the Punishment of the Damned consisted in a Deprivation of the gracious and beatifick Presence of God; upon which Deprivation, there arose

a Terror and Anguiſh in their Souls, becauſe they had miſſed of ſo great a Happineſs. He added, That poſſibly I might think him to be an Atheiſt, but he was ſo far from thoſe Thoughts, that he could ſcarce believe there was any Man ſo ſottiſh in the World, as not to believe the Being of a God, gracious and juſt, and generous to his Creatures; nor could any Man, that was not either mad or drunk, believe Things came fortuitouſly, or that this World was governed by Chance. I ſaid, That this Truth I approved of, and was glad to ſee him ſo well ſettled in the Reaſonableneſs of that Principle: And, as for material Fire in the other World, I would not quarrel with him for denying it, but rather hold with him, That the Fire and Brimſtone, ſpoken of in Scripture, were but Emblems of thoſe inward Terrors, which would gnaw and tear the Conſciences of impenitent Sinners; but ſtill this was a greater Puniſhment than material Fire, and this Puniſhment he had Reaſon to fear, if he could not make it out to me, or other Men, that his Repentance was ſincere.

Hereupon he grew ſullen, and, ſome good Books lying upon the Table, one of which was *Arnt's true Chriſtianity*, he turned away from me, and ſeemed to read in it; and, after a ſhort Pauſe, he told me, That he underſtood the Lieutenant's Papers were to be printed, wherein there would be Part of Count *Coningſmark's* Letter, with ſome other Circumſtances, reflecting on the Count and himſelf; but, if they were printed, he would print his own Story too, which ſhould undeceive the World, in the Fancies and Opinions, the Lieutenant's Papers ſhould draw them into; and, in that Paper, he would ſet forth the Behaviour and Manners of the *Engliſh* Clergy, and the ſtrange Ways and Methods they take, with poor Priſoners, to extort Confeſſions from them. As for the Lieutenant, he ſaid, he was a Fellow that was poor and wretched, and, by his Means, kept from ſtarving, and ſometimes he was not well in his Wits; that himſelf was a Gentleman, and a Man of an Eſtate, and ſhould leave great Sums of Money behind him; and that no *Engliſh* Gentleman would have been ſo coarſly uſed in his Country, meaning *Pomerania*, as he hath been in this; and, if the Lieutenant perſiſted in his Falſities, he would die with a Lye in his Mouth. I ſaid, It was not probable that a dying Man, and a Man that was ſo very ſenſible of his Sins, and who had betrayed nothing of any Diſorder in his Carriage, during his Impriſonment, ſhould tell and aver Things, which he knew to be untrue. He ſaid, it was no ſtrange Thing, in *England*, for dying Men to ſpeak notorious Untruths, there being not a few Examples of thoſe who had lately done ſo. I told him, it would be very fit that the Lieutenant and he ſhould ſpeak together, and Captain *Richardſon*, I thought, would ſend him preſently. With that he grew angry, and replied, he had nothing to ſay to him, nor did he care for ſeeing him, nor for being troubled with any *Engliſh* Divines; they being Men too inquiſitive and meddling, with Things that belonged not unto them; and hereupon he turned away from me again to the Book that lay upon the Table.

By and by the Lieutenant came in, with a penitent Countenance, and a mortified Look; the Captain, ſeeing him, grew preſently cholerick, and retired into a Corner of the Room, and then aſked him, What he came to trouble him for? He did not care for the Sight of him, eſpecially ſince he had beſpattered him ſo notoriouſly with Untruths: The Lieutenant very meekly told him, That they had not long to live, and therefore he was come to admoniſh him to repent of what he had done, and to tell him, that he freely forgave him the Wrong he had done him, by drawing him into the late unhappy Action. The Captain hereupon called him Lyar, and aſked him, how he durſt vent ſuch abominable Lyes concerning him and Count *Coningſmark*; how he could have the Confidence to tell Men, that he ſhewed him a Letter of the Count's, in Order to engage him; and of four-hundred Pounds, that he ſhould offer him, to ſtab Mr. *Thynn*, and talk ſometimes of four-hundred, and ſometimes of two-hundred Pounds, which was a perfect Contradiction; and if, ſaith he, I had been ſo baſe or fooliſh, as to make you ſuch an Offer, you, that were the elder Man, and may be ſuppoſed to have had more Wit than myſelf, Why did not you chide and reprove me, for tempting you to ſuch Diſhoneſty? One would think you are diſtracted, or had a ſoft Place in your Head: Is this your Gratitude to a Perſon that hath relieved you, and done you Kindneſſes? And are you not afraid to die with a Lye in your Mouth? Here

I inter-

I interposed, and told the Captain, That this Wrath and Anger was but an ill Preparation for another World, and that greater Meekness and Charity would become a dying Man. To this he answered, It is you Divines that are the Causes of this Passion, by obliging People to confess more than is true. The Lieutenant, all this While, heard the Captain very patiently; professed that this was the first Time that he was called Lyar to his Face; and that, which formerly he could not have endured from the greatest Man, he was very willing to bear now, out of Respect to that God, from whom he expected Pardon of his Sins. And, as for what he had said and confessed to other Men, he took God to witness, that it was nothing but Truth; and though it was possible, in his Confessions, he might mistake Pounds for Dollars, that being the Word commonly used in telling Money in *England*, as Dollar is in *Germany*, yet he meant nothing by it but Dollars; and what he had said of the different Sums, was very true, for at one Time he had offered him two-hundred, at another four-hundred, so that could be no Contradiction. The Captain, notwithstanding this, still called him Lyar, and Ungrateful, while the Lieutenant stood before him, talking with great Meekness and Humility, and, for the most Part, with his Hat off, and saying to him: You know, and your Conscience knows the Truth of these Things; Why would you offer me these Sums? You know you made me these Offers; God forgive you, and I forgive you. This said, when the Lieutenant saw that his Speaking did but inrage him more, he took his Leave, wishing him a Sight of the Error of his Ways. The Lieutenant being gone, I stayed, hoping this religious Confidence of the Lieutenant might work the Captain into Remorse, but it was all in vain: I persisted in my former Assertions, That Repentance could not be true, which was not attended with Meekness, Humility, and Patience; but he turning from me, and looking into his Book, and refusing to give me an Answer, I left him too, wishing him a better Mind.

From thence I went up to the penitent Lieutenant, where I found the *Polonian* too. I told the Lieutenant, I was heartily glad to see his Christian Behaviour under Reproaches, and nothing pleased me more in Matters of Repentance, than Humility and Patience, under Injuries, a Thing absolutely necessary, where we have to deal with God, who hath been for many Years patient, under the Injuries we have offered to his Majesty. He then vented some comfortable Ejaculations, and expressed how freely he forgave that stubborn Man, whom no Intreaties or Arguments could work upon. And while Dr. *Burnet* went with the Lieutenant to the Fire-Side, I entered into Discourse with the *Polonian*, who gave me his Confession in *High-Dutch*, written from his own Mouth by the Lieutenant, and signed by him the *Polonian*. I asked him, whether, as he hoped for Mercy of the great God, he believed the Things said, in that Confession, to be true or no? He answered yes; whereupon, to be fully satisfied, I desired a *German* Gentleman then present to read it over again in his, and my Hearing, and to read it distinctly, that in Case there were any Mistakes in it, he might rectify it; for as I was willing, I said, he should clear himself, so I should be sorry, he should asperse another Man, or say any Thing of him, that might unjustly reflect upon his Reputation; he promised me, that he would attend carefully, and take Notice of every Expression, which accordingly he did; and finding a Mistake in the Paper, in Point of Time, he immediately gave Notice of it, which I caused to be rectified; and having heard it read over before him, I charged him once more, as he was to give an Account to God, in a Day or two, to tell me, whether Things were carried on, and managed in those Circumstances, as are mentioned in the Paper? To which he religiously answered in the Affirmative. I asked him thereupon, how long he had been a Protestant of the *Augsbourg* Confession, for he had been bred a Papist? To which he answered, Ever since his last Sickness; which, as I remember, he said, was about *Michaelmas* last; when being told, That the Protestant Religion was more conformable to the Word of God, he consented to embrace it, and hath kept to it ever since. I demanded of him to tell me seriously, whether he had not led a very debauched Life formerly, which made him venture upon that late inhuman Enterprise; he told me no, and that he had been so far from committing any such Crime heretofore, that he had had the good Fortune to live with Masters, who were sober, and Men that were Enemies to Disorder and Debauchery; that according to

his Capacity, he had always made Conscience of grosser Sins, and had been very punctual in Saying those Prayers he had been taught, either by his Parents, or such Persons as he conversed with; and that Captain *Vrats*, when he bid him shoot Mr. *Thynn*, told him, that it was here, as it was in *Poland*, where the Servant, that doth his Master's Command in such Cases, is blameless, and the Master bears all the Burden; and that prevailed with him, tho' he found no small Reluctancy in his Breast, and pleaded with the Captain about the Heinousness of shedding innocent Blood. I then endeavoured to find out what Kind of Repentance he felt in himself, whether it proceeded from Fear of a shameful Death, or from an Hatred of Sin, and Love to God; whereupon he gave me such an Account as his honest Simplicity dictated to him, and said, That, if he were to live any longer in this World, he verily thought this one Sin would keep his Soul so awake for the future, that it would not be an easy Matter to make him act again, against his Conscience: This had rouzed him, and he now perceived the Sweetness of a good Life, and Keeping close to the Ways of God. He was sensible he had deserved the Punishment, the Law would inflict upon him; and all his Confidence was in the Blood of *Jesus*, who knew how he was drawn in, and the Plainness of his Temper, wrought upon by the Captain's Subtlety; however, he freely forgave him, and commended his Soul, into the Hands of God. And here ended my Conference with the respective Prisoners; having wished them the powerful Assistance of God's Holy Spirit, I took my Leave of them. The Lieutenant, who in repeated Words expressed his honest Design, in having the following Papers published, desired me to go with him, on *Friday* following, to the Place of Execution, there to tell the Spectators what he should think fit to say to them: I told him I would very readily oblige him in his Request, but that I was bound to preach that very Morning, and that very Hour, when he should be led to the Place of Execution; however, Dr. *Burnet*, who had been his spiritual Father all along, would not fail to do that last Office for him, in which he rested satisfied; and with all Humility, in a penitent Posture, bid us Adieu.

In the Translation of the following Papers, I could not be curious in the Stile, because I was forced to keep to the Simplicity of the Lieutenant's Expressions: He writ not to shew his Learning, but his Piety; having never been brought up to Letters, Rhetorick is not a Thing that can be expected from him. Truth sounds better from a plain Man, than from an Orator; and the less Ornament there is in a dying Person's Discourse, the less it will be suspected of Hypocrisy. The Expressions used here speak his Heart, more than his Fancy, and when a Man is preparing for a tremendous Eternity, it would be foolish to study Eloquence. The Words here are not chosen, but flow naturally; and the Honesty of his Soul dwells in the Home-spun Meditations. To have affected better Language, than himself used, had been Injustice; and to say in *English* what he had not said in his own Language, had not been to translate, but to polish his Admonitions. Such a plain Harangue, it is like, may be nauseous in a critical Age, where Learning and Wit ride in Triumph; yet a Soul, touched with the same Loadstone that his was, can relish the Sweetness of it: Himself was afraid, that the Simplicity of the Language would be an Offence to the curious Readers; and therefore begs of them, when they came to peruse it, to make greater Use of their Charity, than their Sagacity.

The same I must say of the *Polonian*'s Confession, where you must expect no better Entertainment; he could but just express his Meaning, and was no greater Scholar, than Nature had made him.

I was at first in some Doubt, whether I should publish the Captain's Answers to my Queries, and Expostulations, because some of them savour of Prophaneness: Yet considering that the Evangelist hath thought fit to acquaint the World with the ill Language of the one, as well as with the penitent Expressions of the other Malefactor, I was willing to follow that great Example; hoping that those loose Discourses of the Man may serve as Sea-marks, to warn Passengers from running upon those Sands. That which I chiefly observed in him was, That Honour and Bravery was the Idol he adored, a Piece of preposterous Devotion, which he maintained to the Last, as if he thought it would merit Praise, not to decede from what he had once said, though it was with the Loss of God's Favour, and the Shipwreck of a good Conscience. He considered God, as some generous,

nerous, yet partial Prince, who would regard Men's Blood, Descent, and Quality more than their Errors; and give vast Grains of Allowance to their Breeding and Education; and possibly the stout Behaviour of some of the ancient *Roman* Bravo's, for he had read History, might roll in his Mind, and tempt him to write Copies after those Originals; or to think, that it was great to do ill, and to defend it to the Last. Whether after my last Conference with him he relented, I know not; those that saw him go to his Execution observed, that he looked undaunted, and with a Countenance so steddy, that it seemed to speak his Scorn, not only of all the Spectators that looked upon him, but of Death itself: But I judge not of the Thoughts of dying Men; those the Searcher of all Hearts knows best, to whom Men stand or fall. I cannot say, that I remember every Syllable of the several Conferences; but sure I am, I have not mistaken the Sense of what he said, nay think I have kept to the very Words, he then used, as much as is possible. I would not wrong the Living, much less the Dead; but Truth is a Thing, which though not always conveniently, yet may lawfully be said at all Times: This was all I aimed at, and because Reports are already spread Abroad of other Discourses and Expressions, this unhappy Man should use to me, and how he affronted me in Prison, it was fit the World be undeceived.

At the *Savoy*, *March* 13, 1681. *Anthony Horneck.*

For Dr. BURNET.

SIR,

I Heartily thank you for all your Kindness; and promise myself, that, according to your Word, you will publish my little Writings, intended only to let the World see, that I came not into this Country, with a Design of being engaged in the late black Deed. And, since the Justices have not declared what I can say, or did say for myself, the Rabble, it is like, will be of Opinion, that Money brought me over into these Parts: In which Verdict, they will be undeceived, if you will be pleased to let them read, in *English*, what I have set down in these Papers.

Written in the Prison, *London*, 1682.

I remain, Sir,

Your obliged Servant,

John Stern.

The last Meditations, Prayers, and Confession of Lieutenant *John Stern*.

Let God have all the Glory, and Man acknowledge his own Unworthiness.

I. SEEK ye first God's Kingdom, and his Righteousness, and all these Things shall be added unto you, *Matt.* vi. 33. I said in my Trouble, I am cast out from thine Eyes, notwithstanding, thou didst hear the Voice of my Weeping. When I cried unto thee, thou didst see my Trouble, and didst know my Soul in Adversity. Watch, and pray, that ye enter not into Temptation, for the Devil, like a roaring Lion, walks about, seeking whom he may devour. In the third Book of *Moses*, it is written, Thou shalt bear no Malice to any of the Children of thy People; by these are meant our Neighbours. In the first Book of *Moses*, Chap. vi. The Inclinations of Man are said to be evil from his Youth; but the Spirit of God can endure no such Maliciousness.

I have been a Traveller, any Time these twenty-three Years, and have perceived but little Malice in my Heart; though I have had too often Cause and Provocation, yet have I committed all to God, as the supreme Judge of all. What hath brought me to this present Misfortune, is known to God alone; yet I am greatly to blame, because I did not abandon the World, lived in carnal Security, and minded the Lusts of the Flesh, more than God, blessed for evermore; for which I am heartily penitent, and I thank my God, who hath brought me to a Knowledge of myself, and given me his Grace, to come to a true Sorrow for my manifold Sins; if I have been enticed, or tempted by any Person to this Wickedness, as it is evident I have, I beg of God to pardon him,

for

for Christ's Sake: And I desire all Persons, that shall read what I have written here, during my Imprisonment, to consider of it seriously. Let no Man rejoice at his Neighbours Misfortunes; every Man's last Hour is not come yet: When you see a Prisoner led along, pray for him, for the same may happen to you; have Compassion on your Neighbours, and God will have Compassion of you. Be merciful, and God will be merciful to you. I give thee Thanks, sweet *Jesu Christ*, Son of God, that thou hast given me to understand so much out of thy Holy Word; give me Constancy and Perseverance, that I may obtain the Salvation of my Soul. *Amen*.

II. God saith, Man, help thyself, and I will help thee: But alas! While we are in this Valley of Tears, we think seldom, or not at all, of the Divine Assistance; our Eyes are darkened, and we consider little besides the Lusts of the Eyes, and the Lusts of the Flesh, and the Pride of Life, of which Christ himself hath sometimes complained, when Men have forgotten him: Happy is the Man that feels true Repentance in his Heart. Lord *Jesu!* give me that Grace, who am the chief of Sinners. God; thou hast not sent thy Son into the World, to condemn Sinners, but to save them: O, save me not for my Sake, but upon the Account of that precious Blood, which was shed for me on the Cross.

III. I pray God, Nobody may be scandalised at what I write, but let every Body lay to Heart what a poor Sinner writes in Prison. Ye Children of the World, when will you bethink yourselves, and consider the Things, which belong to your Peace, but it is hid from your Eyes. O, may it not continue hid from you! Keep close to the Word of God, and think on the Woman's Seed, which was to bruise the Serpent's Head: Be vigilant, and pray, that ye fall not into Temptation; think often, that your Sins are an Abomination to God: Take Heed you give no ill Example to young Children, which if you do, your Account will be dreadful.

IV. *John*, the Forerunner of our Lord Christ, when he began his Ministry, the first Words, he let drop from his Mouth, were, to recommend Repentance unto the Impenitent, *Matt.* iii, and *Matt.* iv, saying, The Kingdom of Heaven, and the Day of Grace, is come to you, and at Hand, and God offers you Pardon of Sin, and eternal Life. In the vith of St. *Mark*, the twelve Apostles went out, and preached, that Men should repent; and *Acts* iii. Repent, and be converted, that your Sins may be blotted out. And *Acts* xiv. What mean ye, Sirs, we preach unto you the Gospel, that ye may turn to God. O my dear Lord *Jesus*, make me Partaker of this Conversion, for thy Name's Sake! *Amen*.

V. *Acts* xvii. 30. Ye Men of *Athens*, the Times of Ignorance God winked at, but now he commands all Men every where to repent. *Act.* xxvi. 20. St. *Paul* shews to King *Agrippa* that he was therefore called from Heaven, to be an Apostle, to preach Repentance both to *Jews* and *Gentiles*. Ye that are Parents, if you have Children, keep them close to the Fear of God; teach them the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; send them to School, and bind them out to an honest Trade; be not ashamed of this, it is better than an idle Life, or *French* Gallantry, Dancing, *&c.* Keep your Children out of bad Company, whether they be Sons or Daughters: A Heathen writes, that, Evil Communication corrupts good Manners, which myself hath had very sad Experience of. Before my twenty-three Years Travel, I should have learned a Trade; but it is too late now. God give me Patience in all my Sufferings. I hope, by the Help of God, I shall, before long, be separated from the World; for it is my greatest Desire and Comfort, to dwell with God. *Amen*.

VI. *Gen.* iii. God saith, In the Sweat of thy Brows, shalt thou eat thy Bread, till thou return to the Earth, of which thou art taken. *Psal.* civ. When the Sun rises, Man goes forth to his Labour; but not to such Labour, as the Devil suggests and tempts Men to.

VII. *John* xxi. When *Peter* was more concerned about St. *John*, than about himself, the Lord said, What is that to thee! *Luke* vi. It is said, Thou Hypocrite, first pull out the Beam that is in thine own Eye, and then thou shalt take the Mote out of thy Brother's Eye; and thus it is with us. The Mote in our Brother's Eye we easily spy, but are regardless of the Beam in our own Eye.

VIII.

VIII. *Rom.* xiv. It is said, Who art thou that judgest another Man's Servant; he stands or falls to his own Master; he shall be holden up, for God is able to hold him up. Preserve my Steps, O Lord, that my Foot slip not. O Lord, by thy Power, strengthen the Weakness of my Flesh, that I may fight manfully, and, both in Life and Death, may press toward thee. *Amen.*

IX. And now ye that are Governors of the World, abstain from Anger, exercise Justice, let not the Sword grow rusty in the Scabbard, though you begin with mine own Head; let the Will of the Lord be done. Ye Princes, and great Lords, do the same; have an Eye upon your Officers, and take Notice, how, instead of doing Justice to the Widows and Orphans, they go about Banqueting, Visiting of Play-houses, Playing and Hunting; the rest I will not name, for Fear of giving Scandal to the younger Sort; see that none of them take Bribes, for unjust Bribing cries to Heaven for Vengeance. By the Word *Governors*, I understand Kings, Princes, Viceroys, Lords of Countries and Provinces in *Christendom*; Colonels, Captains, and whatever Titles they may have; punish none that are innocent, release rather ten that are guilty, than condemn one innocent Man. Ye Kings, Princes, and Presidents, let no proud and fantastick Dresses be allowed of in your Land; for, through Pride, the Angel turned Devil. Ye Fathers and Mothers, cloath your Children decently, when they are little; when they grow big, they soon become bad enough. Let no Man be taxed or rated above his Ability; oppress not the Poor, rather help him to bear his Burden, as much as it is possible.

X. Let us say, out of *Psal.* xviii. 28. The Lord my God turns my Darkness into Light. In *Genesis* we read, That the Thoughts of Man's Heart are evil from his Youth. The Spirit of the Lord can take away that sinful Inclination: I will say with *David*, *Psal.* lxxxi. Create in me a clean Heart, O God, and renew a right Spirit within me; cast me not away from thy Presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me. Out of *Psal.* cxv. O Lord, not unto us, not unto us, but unto thy Name, give all the Honour and Glory. He that is fallen into Poverty, let him hope in God, he will help him. *Psal.* l. God himself saith, Call upon me in the Time of Trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt praise me. My Strength is made perfect in Weakness, for Christ is good and gracious; and, because he is merciful, let us call upon him; as it said, *Luke* xv. Father, I have sinned against Heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy Son, make me as one of thy hired Servants.

XI. The Apostle St. *Paul* mentions, in a certain Place, how a Man may have all Things and yet have no Charity. Christ also exhorts us to love one another. I may say as it is in the Song, Love is quite extinguished among the Children of Men. *Deut.* xxii. If thou see a Stranger's Ass, or Ox, go astray, thou shalt take them into thy House. *Levit.* xix. Thou shalt bear no Grudge to any of the Children of thy People, which have provoked thee to Anger. *Prov.* xxi. If thine Enemy hunger, give him Meat; if he thirst, give him Drink. *Mat.* viii, and *Luk.* vi. I say unto you that hear, Love your Enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them that persecute you, and despitefully use you, that ye may be Children of your Father, which is in Heaven, who is good to the Unthankful, and to the Evil. Think of this ye proud, vain-glorious, and wrathful Men, who say, *Shall I yield? I am much better than you.* Agree with your Brother quickly, while you are yet in the Way with him. When you come to your long Home, you will be weary, and find another Register or Book of Account before you. And here I beg, of all those who shall read these Lines, if in any Thing I have been against them, or offended them, to forgive me for Christ's Sake.

XII. *Eccles.* vi. *Solomon* saith, It is an Evil, that I saw under the Sun, and it is very common among Men, that God hath given to some Men Riches and Honour, and they want nothing that the Heart desires. By such, *Solomon* understands Lords, and Governors in this World: Take Heed of Pride, and Voluptuousness, Wrath and Anger, for these are now become very common; and such Men are apt to cry, Am not I a Lord? Am not I a Governor? King *David* was very penitent. *Exod.* v. *Pharaoh* tells *Moses*, Who is the Lord, whose Voice I should hear? But notwithstanding he must sink in the *Red Sea*. Take Heed,

the

the Sea of Sin is deeper than the Western Ocean; make Haste, make Haste to get into Heaven's Boat, that ye may get into the Ship of God.

XIII. Ye proud, Who is there among you, that will take a View of his Life? This is very usual with you to cry, I have sent my Taylor into *France*, to bring me newest Modes and Fashions. Thou hadst better have gone to *Jerusalem*, and considered the Passion of Christ; and much better would it be for thee, if, instead of voluptuous Youngsters, thou hadst some grave ancient Man about thee, whether Secular or Ecclesiastical; but such Men must be Fools among you. *Gen.* iii. When *Adam* and *Eve*, out of Pride, affected to be like God, they were cast out from the Presence of God. The *Sodomites* were proud, *Ezek.* xvi. 49. This was the Sin of thy Sister *Sodom*, Pride and Idleness, and Fulness of Bread.

XIV. Ye Officers, Colonels, and great Men, How do you live? When a Country Minister dies, To whom goes the Parsonage? To him that brings most Money. Ye ask not, Have you studied hard? Do you live a good Life? Are you a good Preacher upon Trial? Only the Man saith, Here is my Purse, and that is enough. The deceased Parson hath a Son, it is true, that is a Scholar, but he hath no Money, or he is too young. The Widow hath divers Children. Thus he pleads: And is not this a most lamentable Thing? Ye Generals and Colonels, Where are your Camp-preachers? I do not ask you about Quarter-masters, belonging either to Generals or Regiments; those you do not want, for they fill your Purses: And what Religion are they of? Why of this, To take all they can get. Who knows how long it will last? Sometimes you carry your Camp-preachers, or Army-chaplains, in your Pockets; O, How do you rob God of his Honour, and your Neighbours of their Souls! He that serves, let him serve faithfully, that he may be worthy of his Salary: He, that hath none, needs not trouble himself about Entering into Service. Ye Generals, Colonels, and Commanders (when you are in your March, or form a Camp, and are either besieging, or besieged) pray remember to exercise brotherly Love to the Meanest, as well as the Greatest. Ye Commissaries, Where is the Provision ye are to make for the Army? Three Parts of it are in your Pockets; and then you give the General a Present, but the poor Sheep may go to Grass. You *Countrymen* (that is the Word) you must pay; give what you have, and the rest you may keep; such a great Man, or Friend of the General, must have a Safeguard. The poor Widows and Orphans run about like amazed People, with their Children in their Arms, their Hair dishevelled, and Tears running down their Cheeks like Pease, and you shall not find one in an Hundred, that will give them one Penny, though you great Ones have, it may be, taken Possession of their Cows, Calves, and Sheep. Your Soldiers, in their March, must at least have Gifts brought them; sometimes the Money is drawn out of People's Purses by dreadful Oaths. In another Place, you let the poor Soldiers lie, as it were, on a Heap, and plague the whole Country; then the Poor must run to the Rich, to borrow Money of them to treat and entertain the Soldiers. You great Ones have Abundance brought in to you by your Officers, whereas the poor Soldier must content himself with an empty House. You cause the poor People's Oxen and Cows to be driven away, and then sell them; but the meaner Sort must eat dry Bread.

XV. Ye Gentlemen, Burgomasters, Aldermen, and Grand Bailiffs, pity the Poor in your Exacting Contributions. Take Heed ye oppress not the Widow and Orphan, nor take their Goods away for your private Use, nor corrupt yourselves with Bribes. Do you understand the *Latin* Phrase, *Quid juris?* Or the other, *Da Pecuniam?* To make your own Cause good, you make Feasts at the publick Cost; and this happens often, when you are to sit as Judges, either in Matters of Blood, or in Civil Causes. Before you do so, pray the Lord's Prayer, and consider the Import of that Place, *John* xiii. 34. Hereby shall all Men know, that ye are my Disciples, if ye love one another, *i. e.* do Justice one to another. There are many good Christians among you, but, alas! far more of the other Sort.

XVI. My Lords, ye Bishops, Abbots, Deans, if it be so, that, in the Town or Country you live in, you have, either for Money or Kindred-sake, placed any Ministers, or Schoolmasters, which are not capable to look to their Charge, or to instruct Youth, you will

will have a very great Account to give. Ye great Ones, you ſhould at leaſt viſit your Clergy once a Year; but I do not underſtand to what Purpoſe you put the poor Parſon to the Charge of a Banquet, which takes off, at leaſt, a fourth Part of his Income the firſt Year, if his Pariſhioners in the Country do not help him. You ſhould preach, and examine the Children, this your Office requires. If the Miniſter hath good Drink in his Houſe, he is commended; and thoſe, that love the good Liquor, will commend his Sermon; ſometimes there is one that will give him a ſilver Cup for his Pains, and that is the Humour of the World.

XVII. Ye Merchants, ye know it is written, With what Meaſure you mete, it ſhall be meaſured to you again. Live up to this Rule, Put not out your Money to Uſury; content yourſelves with honeſt Gain, for all depends upon the Bleſſing of God; unjuſt Gains deſcend not to the third Generation. Let every Man, in his own Station, take Care to mind his Calling, and do what he is commanded. Do not ſit down and write Two for One, and then lay the Fault upon your Man. Take Heed of Curſing and Imprecations, whereby you endeavour to make old Commodities new, eſpecially where the Buyer hath no great Skill, whence he muſt needs be cheated; you give it him upon your Word, though it is not worth a Straw.

XVIII. Ye Seamen and Skippers, How do you live at Sea? Take up your Anchors in the Name of God, and in the ſame Name you ought to ſpread your Sails. When the Merchants grow rich, preſently they muſt have great Gardens, with delicate Houſes for Pleaſure, where they may treat their rich Acquaintance: If they give at any Time ſomething to the Poor, in their Houſes, or in the Hoſpitals, it is not much. When they begin to be merry at their Feaſts, then the next Diſcourſe is about their Incomes: I have a Ship at Sea, ſaith one, ſo much I get by this Voyage. Wretched Man! Thou talkeſt of thy Gain, but doſt not pray to God; thou mindeſt thy Pleaſure; thou dealeſt with the great ones in the Country; ſometimes thou goeſt Abroad thyſelf, and Courtiers do cheat thee; then then thou curſeſt, becauſe thou canſt not recover it. In Travelling, Men meet with Variety of People. Sometimes thou haſt an old Miſtreſs, her thou goeſt to viſit, and after that haſt the Confidence to aſk, Why thy Ship was loſt at Sea? (He that hath an honeſt Wife, let him make much of her, for ſhe is a rare Jewel.) The Seamen, when they come to Shore any where, nothing but Drinking and Carouſing all Night will ſerve them, and the Glaſs muſt go round, and that is their Way of Living; and from hence come thoſe many Misfortunes at Sea.

XIX. Ye Doctors of the Civil Law, Proctors, and Advocates, it is needleſs to expound any Thing to you out of the Scripture, you are better Scholars than I. *Pſal.* xvi. it is written, I have ſet the Lord always before me: This is worth your Thinking of; for there may be Men among you, who love to ſhear the Sheep, ſo long as there is any Wool upon them; many of you are ſquint-eyed, looking for the Hand that comes with a Bribe; which is a Thing doth more with you. than the greateſt Juſtice of the Cauſe that is before you. May be, there is one in fifty who contents himſelf with half ſo much as another Man takes. The Holy Ghoſt direct your Hearts, that you may mind your Neighbour's Good and Welfare more, for that is to act like Chriſtians.

XX. Ye Drunkards, Ranters, and Blaſphemers, and Underminers of your Neighbours, who give ill Counſel to their Ruin. Ye Whoremaſters and Gameſters, ye haughty and wrathful Men, I pray God ſend you ſome Sparks of his Grace, that you may ſmite your Breaſts, as the Publican in the Temple. I hope you will conſider the Text we read in the Holy Scriptures, *Rev.* xviii. 7, where it is ſaid of *Babylon*, How much ſhe hath glorified herſelf, and lived deliciouſly, ſo much Torment and Sorrow give her. From hence, Divines do infer, That every Sin will meet with a peculiar Puniſhment in Hell, and, conſequently, a proud and haughty Man will have the Honour of being tormented firſt, or before others, or will be trampled on by others. The Voluptuous will have a Cup of Gall given him; a Drunkard be plagued with an infinite Thirſt, *Luke* xvi. 24. The unchaſte Perſon, with Putrefaction and Worms, which ſhall break forth at the Members whereby he hath ſinned, *Eccl.* xix. 3. A Slanderer, with Serpents and Scor-

pions. There were some Comfort in it, if there might be an End of this, but, As the Tree falls, so it will lie, whether it fall towards the South, or towards the North, saith *Solomon*, *Eccl.* xi. 3. So that no Change of their Torment is to be expected. The Damned can get no Comfort, no Ease, no Mitigation of their Pain: If they could but have Hopes of a Drop of Water hanging at a Finger's End, *Luke* xvi. 24, this might yet refresh them. *Rev.* xiv. 11, it is said, They have no Rest Day nor Night, but their Shame and Pain shall last for ever. The Smoke of their Torment shall rise for ever; read the aforesaid Place, though you never read or considered it before; the Door of Grace is yet open. Ye Drunkards and Whoremongers, ye cry, Let us be merry, for who knows how long we are to live? When thou readest, *Prov.* vi. 11. So shall thy Poverty come as one that travelleth, and thy Want as an armed Man, do not take in thy Meat and Drink like Beasts, but with Consideration of the Superabundant and Almighty Goodness and Mercy of God. *Tit.* i. 15. 1 *Tim.* iv. 4,-5. *Prov.* iv. 17. *Ecclesiasticus* xxxi. 21. *Luke* xxi. 34. For God's Sake read these Chapters, and you will see what Hazard you run in living in the World, as if there were neither Heaven nor Hell. There are two many, God knows, that believe all Things alike. Let us confess our Sins, and say, Help, Lord and Father, who art good to all, and givest to all, that we may walk in Newness of Life, and be zealous of good Works, to thy Glory, and the Joy of Angels, the Love and Edification of our Neighbour, and the Devil's Envy, that we may, at last, obtain the End of our Faith, the Salvation of our Souls; and hear the chearful Voice, *Matth.* xxv. 21, Well done, good and faithful Servant, thou hast been faithful over a few Things, I will make thee Ruler over many Things, enter thou into thy Master's Joy.

Great Healer of the Wounds Sin makes
In Hearts with Grief, and Tears oppress'd,
O! how my Soul doth pine away
With Dolours great, and hard to bear?
Almighty Saviour, take thou me,
And let me in thy Wounds be safe;
Then, then, it will be well with me,
My Soul, my Flesh, shall rest in thee.

Jonah iii. 6, 7, The King of *Nineveh*, and all his People, humbled themselves, put on Sackcloth, and sat in Ashes. Let us put on the Garment of Love, of true Repentance, and Sorrow for our manifold Sins which we have committed, and, through the Grace of God, we shall obtain Deliverance from all our Sins; for which Deliverance I praise him. I do already feel the Almighty God in my Soul, and, though I had the Sins of the whole World upon my Back, yet that good, that gracious God, would not let me sink under that Burden, *Psal.* cxxx. Though our Sins are multiplied, yet God's Mercy is far greater; his helping Hand is not limited. Let the Hurt that hath been done be never so great, still he is the good Shepherd, who will redeem *Israel* from all his Troubles and Transgressions. I bless God, who hath brought me to a Sense of my Sins; nay, I am so well satisfied, praised be his Name, that, though I might have Half the World's Goods, I would not desire to live longer. I have had little Comfort in this World: Now and then a Body is upon the Water, by and by in a Storm; even by Land the Journies are long and tedious. How soon doth Sickness oppress us? No Man is secure of this Life: Though a Man be above an Enemy, yet there is no Rest. Emperors and Kings rise in the Morning fresh and sound, but the least Change of Air throws them down, and they must wait for the Help of God as well as Beggars. Let us therefore say, with *Jesus Syrach*, Man, think of thy End, and thou wilt never sin: And, to do so, the Lord *Jesus* grant us his Grace, for in this I have failed frequently.

XXI. Ye Tradesmen and Artificers, I will make but this simple Remonstrance to you: Many of you complain, that you labour Day and Night, yet you can get Nothing: It is not your Labour altogether, but God's Blessing that is to be regarded. For Christ saith, Thou shalt sanctify the Sabbath; and, on that Day, go diligently to the House of God. Thou shalt not swear or curse, neither thou, nor thy Wife, nor Children, nor Family. You should not spend so much Time as you do in Taverns, for there you ordinarily stay till Midnight: And ye Bakers, Brewers, and Butchers, sell as you mean to answer it to God; for the Magistrates are apt to connive at you upon the Account of Friendship, or some other Relation, but this should not be. On *Sunday* Morning, instead of your Cups of Brandy, you should take a Prayer book in your Hands, and out of that

instruct

inſtruct your Children: Look into *Pſal.* cxxii. I was glad, ſaith *David*, when they ſaid unto me, Let us go into the Houſe of the Lord. Our Feet ſhall ſtand within thy Gates, O thou Houſe of God! If any of you fall into Poverty or Sickneſs, you that are their Neighbours ſet them up again; you need not fear that this brotherly Love will make you Anabaptiſts. Cloath yourſelves, and Children, according to your State and Condition; give to the Poor according to your Ability, and that is your Bleſſing; for, by this Means, you will want Nothing that is neceſſary here on Earth.

XXII. And now, ye Priſoners, How do you behave yourſelves in Priſon? Keep cloſe to the Word of God, and you will receive Peace and Comfort: Do not you read, *Iſa.* liii. 4. He hath ſurely born our Griefs, and carried our Sorrows: He was ſtricken, and ſmitten of God, and afflicted: See what he ſaith, *Mark* xiv. 34. My Soul is exceeding ſorrowful, even unto Death. This, ſaid Chriſt, at that Time, when, for the Sins of the whole World, he ſuffered himſelf to be impriſoned and bound: Was not that an exceeding great Love, which Chriſt hath expreſſed to all Mankind? Greater Love he could not ſhew. And this he did, that we might think of him, when any of us are taken Priſoners. Let ſuch a one examine himſelf, for what Reaſon he is impriſoned; if he find himſelf innocent, let him have Patience, let him not curſe; if he find himſelf guilty, let him pray diligently; if the Crime be great and heinous, let him pray the oftener, and ſend up his Sighs every Moment to God, and he will turn all Things to his Advantage. Chriſt, our Lord, when he was taken Priſoner (though we are not to be compared with him) ſaid, *Matth.* xxvi. 42. Abba, Father, not what I will, but what thou wilt. Behold here his mighty Love, wherewith he hath loved us, when we were yet his Enemies! He ſuffered himſelf to be impriſoned; this is no ſmall Comfort for you when you lie in a Priſon; for which Reaſon, conſider ſeriouſly of it; but take Heed you do not curſe in Priſon; do not break forth into Wrath and Anger; be patient, confide in God, who will ſupport you in all Things, if you call upon him. Uſe no Threatenings, that, in Caſe you come off, you will remember the Perſons that have been the Cauſe of your Impriſonment. This makes your Caſe but worſe; commit Revenge to God, for thou art not permitted to be thine own Revenger: For he that judges ſhall be judged. The Law of God and Man condemns theſe Things; he that ſins much muſt repent much; this is God's Order, who can truly ſay of himſelf, as it is in *John* xiv, I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life. And, if he be the Way, we cannot poſſibly err if we follow him; if he be the Truth, we cannot poſſibly be deceived by him; if he be the Life, we cannot poſſibly come by any Thing that is hurtful. If your Fleſh and Blood be ſtraitened in Priſon by the Temptations of the Devil; if the Chains and Shackles preſs hard upon you, remember the Crown of Thorns which our Redeemer bore, and without any Guilt of his own. *Matth.* xi. 28, it is written, Come to me all ye who are weary and heavy laden, and I will refreſh you; and let this be for your Comfort. Nor is it enough that a Man is laden with Bonds and Chains, for that is only a temporal Puniſhment; you muſt, at the ſame Time, take your Hearts Priſoners by the Word of God. Sigh, therefore, with *David*, and ſay,

* Look not upon my Sins, O God,
Make pure my Heart, make clean my Soul;
A new Gloſs on my Spirit ſet,
And from thy Preſence chace me not.
Thy holy Spirit grant thou me,
With Peace and Health refreſh thou me.
To pleaſe thee, make me willing, Lord!
Amen.

Thus ought Men to live in Priſon, upon which, by the Grace of God, Remiſſion of Sins muſt neceſſarily follow.

XXIII. I had almoſt forgotten the common Soldiery, which I would not willingly do, for there is great Philoſophy to be found among them, *i. e.* There is nothing in the World, but you may find it among Soldiers: You find learned and unlearned, good and bad, holy and profligate Men; you find ſome who really aim at the Kingdom of God, and others who ſuffer themſelves to be blinded by the Devil, and live according to his Will: Nay, many Strangers, which no Man knows who they are; one fears God, another blaſphemes him. In a Word, you have among the Soldiers pious and

* This is Part of a Spiritual Hymn uſed in the *Lutheran* Church.

impious Men; and, if a Soldier leads a good Life, it may be ſaid to be ſtricter than a Capuchin's; but ſuch a one is a Creature very deſpicable, yet more or leſs, according to the Country he lives in. When an Enemy knocks at your Gates, ye great Ones, and you can but get Soldiers, you rejoice exceedingly; but, if God give you Peace again, I am ſure you have no Command from him, that they, who have ſerved you faithfully, ſhould be caſhiered and ſent away without Pay, and thoſe, which ſtay behind, ſhould ſcarce have Bread enough to eat. I ſuppoſe they are Creatures created of God, and redeemed as well as you: He, that wrongs them, wrongs God in Heaven: Here I muſt die for a Man's Fortune, with whom I never changed a Word all my Life; for a Woman, which I never ſaw: Nay, for a Man that is dead, whom I never had a View of: And are not theſe three very great Things? I leave it to every Man's Conſideration. It would grieve a Man, I confeſs, it is a little hard; yet be it as God pleaſes, I have intirely reſigned myſelf to his Will. And now I will tell you all that I have loved in the World: Next to God and his holy Precepts, I have loved my Neighbour till the late Misfortune befel me: I have ever had a great Fancy to travel, and from a Child have had Inclinations to be a Soldier; which Deſire, as that of Travelling, hath yet much decreaſed with Time. A Courtier's Life I never much affected, becauſe the Court is generally crouded with a Sort of Politicians, which are no better than Diſſemblers. A learned and experienced Man I always had a very great Eſteem for, whether he were rich or poor, for I have met with both Sorts. Laſtly, I have had a peculiar Love for three Things, yet have been moſt miſerably cheated by them; yea, theſe three were Inſtruments I made Uſe of, that Day I came into the late Misfortune. I thought I had an excellent Friend in the Captain, but have been ſadly deceived in him, and ſeduced by him; that is one Thing. Secondly, I have been no Hater of Women, and here alſo I have been cheated. I have alſo had a great Love for Horſes, and, when that late Misfortune began, was upon the Back of one.

Let every pious Chriſtian take a View of the World, let him love nothing that is in the World, but God alone. Let him do no Wrong; nay, let him not permit another Perſon to do that which he can hinder, eſpecially where the poor and meaner Sort are concerned; and he that is rich, let him look to it, that he may communicate to the Poor heartily; and let him do the ſame to the Sick, and to diſtreſſed Families, and to Strangers. The Recompence God will give, who is ſo far from forgetting ſuch Works, that he will reward them a hundred fold. Grieve no Man who is already grieved, for it is ſinful. Rejoice not over any Man's Misfortune, for, before a Day be paſt, you may come to ſome ſad Accident. Take Heed you do not ſpeak ill of God; and take no falſe Oath.

Yeſterday I was at the laſt Sermon which I am like to hear in this World; the Preacher was an *Engliſhman*, and a Doctor of Divinity, his Name *Burnet*; and I take God to Witneſs, that in this Sermon my ſinful Heart was opened, and received great Comfort from it. The Text was as follows: *Chriſt Jeſus came not to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance.* O Joy above all Joy! O comfortable Promiſe! O ſweet Recreation of my Soul! Nay, nothing can be found, that tends more to a poor Sinner's Comfort, than this comfortable Promiſe. If, therefore, *Chriſt Jeſus* came into the World to ſave Sinners, without Doubt, he is come for my Sake too. Therefore, O my Sins, why do ye trouble me? *Jeſus Chriſt* is here, who will take you away from me. Sing and rejoice, O my Soul, with *Jacob*, *Gen.* xxxii. 10. I am leſs than the leaſt of all thy Mercies, and the Truth thou haſt ſhewn unto thy Servant. With *David* we will ſay, 2 *Sam.* vii. 19. What am I, Lord, and what is my Father's Houſe, that thou haſt brought me thus far? With the Virgin *Mary*, we will ſay, *Luke* i. 47. My Soul magnifies the Lord, and my Spirit hath rejoiced in the God of my Salvation; for he hath done great Things for me, and holy is his Name.

And here, you great Commanders, give me Leave to preſent you with this humble Supplication, that you would not take it ill, becauſe this Writing comes to you in a homely Stile, yet it is penned with a good Intent, and that is enough: Becauſe I am neither Divine, nor Philoſopher, but have, by Profeſſion, been a Soldier, I have written Things in very coarſe Language; yet, I hope, no pious Man will think ill of it. I have written nothing but what I have ſeen with mine own Eyes; I grant, you are not all ſuch Perſons, as my Writing

Writing seems to make out, yet, must confess, that I have known Abundance of such, but will not call them by their Names. I am sorry I have seen so much, and have not eschewed that Evil, which hath at last brought me to Shame before the World.

XXIV. I shall, in the last Place, briefly acquaint you with my Course of Life. About twenty-seven Years ago, my Father, of blessed Memory, sent me out of *Sweden* to *Germany*, where, for two Years together, I went to School. Two Years after that, came the *Muscovites*, which obliged us to fly back to *Sweden*. About twenty-three Years ago, I left *Sweden*, and went to *Pomerania*, where I served the Elector of *Brandenburgh* a Quarter of a Year; from thence I went through *Poland*, towards the *German* Emperor's Dominions. From *Bohemia*, I travelled into the *Netherlands*, from thence into *France*; from *France* again into the *Netherlands* with the Army: After the Peace, I went back to *Bohemia*, *Austria*, and *Hungary*, and after that again to the *Netherlands*, where I staid eight Years; from thence I went farther, to *Holland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Poland*, and then to *Holstein*, which was in the Year 1681. During these thirteen Years, I have been a Papist twelve Years, because I was commonly all that Time in *Popish* Territories; but in *Holstein*, in the Year 1681, I turned again to to the *Lutheran* Religion, in which I was born, and baptised, and in that, God willing, I mean to die. I could no longer bear with the Popish Religion, because of their many Saints and Intercessors. There is no Religion comes nearer to mine, than that of the Protestants in *England*. God grant they may live in Peace with the *Calvinists* to prevent Quarrels, and in Opposition to the Papists.

Ah! my dear *Jesus*, look upon me with the Eyes of thy Mercy, and chasten me not according to my Desert. I firmly hope, thou wilt not dismiss my broken contrite Heart without a Blessing, the rather, because thou didst bespeak the poor Thief upon the Cross, with these comfortable Words: *This Day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. O Jesu!* let me also hear this Word, and my Soul will be safe. I will not cease Praying to the very last, and to say, Lord *Jesu*, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit. These shall be my last Words, and when I can speak no more, O Lord *Jesu*, thou wilt accept of my Sighs, for I believe that thou camest into the World to save Sinners, of whom I am chief. Now, Lord *Jesu*, strengthen me in all my Sufferings. Thou sayest, Come to me all ye who are weary and heavy laden, and I will refresh you. In this Faith, at thy Command, I am come, but altogether unworthy; O Lord *Jesu*, heal thou me, for thou art the true Physician of Souls. Yea, Lord *Jesu*, I confess, that at present I feel great Refreshment in my sinful Heart. I am as an armed Man, who goes against his Enemy, and will not draw back one Step, but fight courageously. Now, Lord *Jesu*, thou hast armed me with a stedfast Faith and Confidence in thee. Grant me, Lord *Jesu*, that I may be thankful for this great Mercy and Goodness; let me wrestle boldly, and press through Life and Death. *Hallelujah.*

Let me say, Lord *Jesu*, with St. *Paul*, If God be for us, who can be against us? Nay, he hath not spared his own Son, but hath given him for our Sins. Who will accuse the Elect of God? It is God that justifies, Who will condemn? It is Christ that died, who sits at the Right-hand of God, and intercedes for us. Who shall separate us from the Love of God? Shall Trouble, shall Anguish, shall Persecution, shall Hunger, shall Nakedness, shall Peril, or the Sword? As it is written by *David*, *Psalm* xviii. 28. The Lord make my Darkness Light; and the Blood of *Jesus Christ* wash me and purify me from all my Sins. *Amen*, Jesu, *Amen*, *Amen*.

Whatever State or Dignity a true Christian is of, he must not make light of Prayer, or think, I can pray To-morrow, and this Business I must do To-day. Ah! Christian, let thy Business be rather laid aside, except thy Fellow-Christian should be in the Pangs of Death, or thy House should be on Fire, for these Things may cause more than ordinary Trouble. Neglect not the Service of God, O my Son, nor the Festivals of the Church, for I can tell, what will be the Effect of that Neglect. In a Word, nothing should have so much of your Care, as the Exercise of Prayer, and going to the House of God, where you must not sit idle, but work in the Vineyard, that you may receive your Penny, which the Lord of the Vineyard will at last give. Consider this, for Christ's Sake. *Amen*, *Amen*. My sweet *Jesu*. *Amen*.

XXV. And

XXV. And now I will let you know how I came to that late Misfortune here in *London*. About the End of *October* last I came to *London*, and lodged in the City, near the *Royal Exchange*, in *Broadstreet*, in the *Dutch* Ordinary, at the Sign of the *City of Amsterdam*. When I had been there about a Month, a Gentleman came to lodge there, who called himself *Vallicks*, but his Name is *Vrats*: He and I began to be acquainted: At last he told me he had a Request to me; to whom I replied, That to the utmost of my Power he might command me. To this he said, That he had a Quarrel with a Gentleman, and desired me to be his Second. I told him, without any Consideration, I would. A Fortnight after, he told me, That it was good Living thereabouts; and if I would take a Lodging in that Place, during the four Weeks he should stay in *London*, he would pay for me. Hereupon he took four Servants; sometimes he was for Marrying, sometimes for Fighting; and if he could get one, who would kill the Gentleman, he said, he would give him two-hundred, nay, three-hundred Dollars. There it rested for a While. He dismissed two of his Servants, and was going for *France*, or *Holland*. The two Servants continued without Places. Six Days after, I took Leave of my Acquaintance; and after my Things had been two Days on Shipboard, I went to the *Lutheran* Church, where I received a Letter from Captain *Vrats*. O unhappy Letter! The Contents were as follow:

S I R,

I Am sorry I could not have the Honour to take my Leave of you; but be it all to your Advantage. I am going for *France*, yet have not as yet a certain Commission. In the mean While, be pleased to continue, either at Mr. *Block*'s, or the *City of Amsterdam*, where I will not fail to pay for all.

I am

Your obliged Servant,

De Vrats, *alias* de Vallicks.

After I had read this unhappy Letter, I changed my Resolution, and stayed here, and fetched my Things from the Ship, and went to lodge in *Blackmore-street*. About ten Weeks after he returns to *London*, sends for me, and I came; and himself took a Lodging in *Westminster*, where I was with him; and the Count himself lay one Night in the Captain's and my Lodging. The Captain then asked me, How *Thynn* did? I told him, I could not tell, for I had never seen him. Thereupon he told me, I must see now, how to order it, that I may come at him, if I could get but some stout Fellows——Do you know no *Frenchmen* about Town, or what other People there is? I said, I would see. Then he added, Could not one get an *Italian*, who might dispatch him, I would give him three or four-hundred Dollars? I said, I knew none: Hereupon he got four Brace of Pistols, three little ones, and one Brace of great ones. The great ones, and one Brace of little ones, he had by him before, and two long Swords; and then said, Now he is a dead Man. He prayed me to cause two Poniards to be made, whereof he gave me the Draught, but I would not do it. And now he had a Mind to draw in a great many more. At last I had a very strange ominous Dream. He saw I was musing, and then asked me, What I ailed? I told him; and he laughed, saying, There was no Heed to be given to Dreams; yet the Dream proved too true. Now, I saw, he was resolved to kill him; when, therefore, he importuned me to engage more Men in the Business, I told him, What can you do with so many People, cannot you take three Horses, you will have Use for no more? Hereupon he fetched out Money, and on the *Friday*, before the Murder was done, he bought three Horses. On *Sunday* following, he told me, I shall get a brave Fellow (that was the miserable *Polonian*) who came to Town on *Friday*, and the *Sunday* after he killed the Gentleman (according to Order from his Master, and you know who his Master was) myself being, then, alas! in the Company. Half an Hour past Four, the Gentleman went by in his Chariot before our Window. Thereupon we went for the Horses, and afterward rid toward the *Pall-Mall*, where we met the Gentleman in his Chariot. I rid before the Coach, the Captain went close by it, and then cried, *Hold*, and shewed the *Polonian* the Man in the Coach; who thereupon gave Fire, and shot four or five Bullets into his Body.

They

They ſay he lived till next Morning, and then died. On *Monday* following we were all taken Priſoners, and now muſt die too; we have yet four Days to live: The great God pardon us this Sin, for Chriſt's Sake. *Amen.* For I repent from the Bottom of my Heart, that in my old Age, to which I was advanced with Honour, I ſhould come to this Diſaſter: But it is done, and cannot be remedied. It is written, The Days of our Years are few, and, when we come to our beſt Age, it is then but Labour and Sorrow.

MEMORANDUM.

The Letter, the Captain ſhewed me one Day, was to this Purpoſe:

'I have given Captain *Vrats* full Commiſſi-
'on to diſpoſe of the Places of Captain, or
'Lieutenant, to whomſoever he ſhall find
'capable of it.'

So far I read the Letter; five Lines lower ſtood theſe Words, *ſix-hundred Dollars*; which was not the Captain's Hand, or Writing, it was *High-Dutch*. I, ſeeing the Letter, threw it down upon the Table, but he put it up, and, underneath the Letter, was ſigned *Coningſmark*. Thus much I ſaw, but made no farther Reflexions upon the Letter, becauſe, God knows, I was blinded.

Another Memorandum I have forgot in the Papers, which, after my Death, are like to be publiſhed, *viz.* It hath been twice in my Thoughts, when Captain *Vrats* was in *Holland*, to go and tell Mr. *Thynn* what the Captain intended againſt him, but I ſtill forgot.

I deſire the Doctor, in Caſe any Thing of the Captain's Writings ſhould come Abroad, to compare what he ſaith with my Confeſſions, and to conſider one with the other. Give unto *Cæſar* the Things that are *Cæſar*'s, and unto God the Things that are God's. I hope I ſhall go with the Publican into the Temple of God; I am a great Sinner, yet God's Mercy is greater, wherein I truſt; nor will Chriſt therefore refuſe a Soul, though the Body is hanged up by the World. My Lords, ye Judges, I do wiſh you all Happineſs; I confeſs you have a weighty Office, God give you his Grace, that you may neither add to, nor diminiſh from a Cauſe. You have ſeen how I have expoſed all my Failings, and that openly, to God, and to the whole World, becauſe others may take Warning by me, whom I leave behind me in the World. I beg of God, that People may conſider this, my poor Writing, the Effect of the Aſſiſtance of God's Spirit, and the Deſire of a pious Soul.

The Captain deſired me, that I would cauſe two Daggers to be made, becauſe at firſt it was reſolved, we ſhould fall upon Mr. *Thynn* on Foot, and he would have had ſome *Italian*, or another, to thruſt them into Mr. *Thynn*'s Body; yet I neither looked out for a Man, fit for that Purpoſe, nor would I cauſe thoſe Daggers to be made. The Muſquetoon, or the Gun, I fetched indeed, but it was out of a Houſe, which the Captain deſcribed to me. The Holy Paſſion of *Jeſus Chriſt* preſerve me; the innocent Blood of our Lord ſtrengthen me; the pure Blood, that flowed from his Side, waſh me; the great Pain of *Jeſus Chriſt* heal me, and take away the deadly Wounds of my Soul.

O bountiful *Jeſu*, hear me; hide me in thy Holy Wounds; from thy compaſſionate Heart, let there flow into my wicked Heart Mercy, Comfort, Strength, and Pardon of all my Sins.

My Lord, and my God, if I have but thy moſt Holy Paſſion and Death in my Soul, neither Heaven nor Earth can hurt me. O *Jeſu!* I creep into thy gaping Wounds, there I ſhall be ſecure, until the Wrath of God be overpaſt. O Lord, let me always adhere to thee; keep off from me all the Aſſaults of Satan, in the Hour of my Death. O my deareſt Lord *Jeſu*, who haſt ſpoke comfortably to the penitent Sinner on the Croſs, call to my dying Heart, and ſpeak Comfort and Conſolation to it; aſſiſt me, that, in my laſt Neceſſity, through thy Help, I may happily overcome; and, when I can ſpeak no more, accept of my Sighs in Mercy, and let me continue an Heir of eternal Happineſs, for the Sake of thy moſt Holy Blood, which thou haſt ſhed for me. *Amen.* Lord *Jeſu Chriſt*, my Lord and Saviour. *Amen. Amen.*

O *Jeſu*, receive my poor Soul into thy Hands, then ſhall I die thy Servant. My Soul I commend to thee, and then I ſhall feel no Pain nor Sorrow. *Amen. Amen. Amen.*

Theſe Ejaculations are Parts of ſuch Spiritual Songs, as are uſually ſung in the Lutheran *Churches.*

1.

MY Wants, and my Neceſſities,
Sweet *Jeſu*, I intruſt with thee;
Let thy Good-will protect me, Lord,
And what's moſt wholeſome grant thou me.

2.

Chriſt is my Life, Death is my Gain,
If God be for me, I am ſafe.

3.

My Lord, my God, O pity me,
With free, with undeſerved Grace!
O! think not on my grievous Sins,
And how I have defiled my Soul.
When, in my youthful Days, I err'd
Againſt thee, Lord, thee have I ſinn'd;
Sinn'd then, and do ſin every Day:
Thee I intreat, through Chriſt I mean,
Who was incarnate for my Sins.

4.

Conſider not, Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*,
How heinous my Tranſgreſſions are;
Let not thy precious Name, O Lord,
Be loſt on this unworthy Wretch.
Thou'rt call'd a Saviour, ſo thou art;
With Mercy, Lord, look on my Soul,
And make thy Mercy ſweet to me,
Sweet, Lord, to all Eternity.

5.

Almighty *Jeſus*, Son of God,
Who haſt appeas'd thy Father's Wrath,
I hide myſelf within thy Wounds;
Thou, thou, my only Comfort art,
Amen, thou art, ſo let it be.
Give to my Faith, give greater Strength,
And take from me all Doubts away;
What I have pray'd for give me, Lord.
In thy great Name my Soul hath pray'd,
And now her joyful *Amen* ſings.

Aſk, and ye ſhall have.

The Confeſſion of George Borodzycz, *the* Polonian, *ſigned with his own Hand, in Priſon, before his Execution.*

I, *George Borodzycz*, do here, in few Words, intend to make known to the World, how I came into the Service of Count *Coningſmark*. About eighteen Months ago, I was recommended, by Letters, to the Quarter-maſter General *Kemp* at *Staden*, and from thence I was to be ſent to the Count at *Tangier*; but, by Reaſon of the hard Winter, I was ſtopped, for the Ship, in which I was to go, ſtuck in the Ice in the River *Elbe*; this made me ſtay till farther Orders. In *March* laſt I received a Letter, which ordered me to go, and ſtay in a Mannor, belonging to the Count, in the Biſhoprick of *Bremen*, and there expect new Orders from the Count: At laſt I received a Letter, with Orders to come by Land for *Holland*; but, deſtitute of an Opportunity, I ſtaid till the Twelfth of *November*, 1681, and then new Orders came, that I ſhould come for *England* to the Count's Brother, where I ſhould fetch Horſes, and convey them to *Straſburgh*; and, accordingly, I left *Hamburgh* the Twenty-fourth of *December*, 1681, and was at Sea till the Fourth of *February*, 1682. When I came to *London*, I lay the firſt Night in the City, hard by the *Royal Exchange*, at one *Block*'s, and from thence I was conducted to the Count's Brother, and from thence to the Count himſelf, who was to be my Maſter: When I came to him, Captain *Vrats* being with him, my Lord told me, I ſhould be with Captain *Vrats* three Days, till his, *i. e.* the Count's, Baggage and Goods, he had on Shipboard, came. Whereupon the Captain ſaid, he would ſend his Man for me the next Day, which was *Sunday*, which he did accordingly. I went with his Man, and my Lord charged me, I ſhould do what Captain *Vrats* ſhould order me to do. I went thereupon to my Chamber, and ſaid the Lord's Prayer. On *Sunday*, about One of the Clock, came up the Captain's Man for me, and brought me to the Captain. When I ſaw him, he told me, It is well you are come, for I have a Quarrel with an *Engliſh* Gentleman; I did formerly ſend him two Chal-

Challenges, but he anſwered them not; whereupon Count *Coningſmark*, and myſelf, went for *France*; but that Gentleman ſent ſix Fellows after us, who were to kill the Count and me. Accordingly they came on us, the Count received two Wounds, we killed two of them, and I am now come hither to attack that Gentleman, in the open Streets, as a Murderer; and, as he hath begun, ſo I will make an End of it. Whereupon he gave me the Gun, which I ſhould make Uſe of to kill him. When hereupon I pleaded with Captain *Vrats*, and ſhewed myſelf unwilling, ſaying, That, if we were taken, we ſhould come to a very ill End; He anſwered, I need not trouble myſelf about that, if we ſhould be taken Priſoners; it was he that muſt ſuffer for it, not I; and, for my Service, he would recommend me to Count *Coningſmark*; whereupon I thought with myſelf, that it might be here, as it is in *Poland*, viz. Where a Servant doth a Thing, by his Maſter's Order, the Maſter is to ſuffer for it, and not the Servant.

We went, therefore, ſoon after, for our Horſes, and rid towards the *Pall-Mall*. The Captain told me, I will ſtop the Coach, and do you fire upon the Gentleman; which was done accordingly. Lord have Mercy upon me.

I am heartily ſorry, that my honeſt Parents muſt receive this unwelcome News of me; the Almighty God take Care of my Soul. I have great Confidence in Almighty God, and know that he hath offered his Son upon the Croſs for the Sins of all Mankind; therefore I believe, that Satisfaction was alſo made for my Sins; and in this Faith, in the Name of God, I will live and die. Lord *Jeſu*, give me a happy End, for thy bitter Death and Paſſion-ſake. *Amen.*

What Pity is it, that I ſhould be, about the Space of ſeven Weeks, upon the Sea, betwixt *Hamburgh* and *London*, and in great Danger, Day and Night, and yet ſhould fall at laſt into this unexpected Misfortune! I can bear witneſs, with a good Conſcience, that I knew nothing of the Buſineſs aforehand. The great God pardon thoſe Men that have brought me to this Fall; God keep every Mother's Child from all ſuch Diſaſters, for Chriſt's Sake. *Amen.*

And I deſire the Doctor to pray for me, and to let all the World know my Innocence after I am dead, that Men may ſee and fear.

George Borodzycz.

A Conference between the two great Monarchs of *France* and *Spain*, concerning theſe our preſent Proceedings in *England*. Wherein is diſcourſed of the Being of our Runaways under their Dominions, with a Conſideration of their Dangers paſt, in the Wars betwixt *England* and them. Printed in the Year 1641. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

France.

HOW now, Brother *Spain*? How run the cheating Dice of this inconſtant World?

Spain. Sometimes Fives, ſometimes Sevens, ſometimes Nines, all upon odd Numbers; but if you will but give me the Hearing of it, I will tell you ſuch a Sackful of News from *England*, that will make you laugh; hold, Buttons, hold.

F. Prithee be brief, I long to hear the News.

S. Then thus: There is a Thing held there at this Time, which is called a *Parliament*, in which, as it ſeems, they uſe to chide Offenders; now there were ſome which favour-

ed our Religion ſomewhat more than others, and Faith, for Fear of Chiding, they are run for it, and lie now ſome under the Covert of thy Wings, and ſome under mine; and, on the other Side, for they are, a many of them, in the Extremes; ſome are ſo puffed up with Pride, that Honeſty hath got the upper Hand; the Cobblers and Weavers, Sow-gelders and Tinkers, Chimney-ſweepers and Butchers, do not ſtick to ſay, but that the Spirit moves them to preach; nay, they do do it as jealouſly, as our ancient Sex hath done at *Amſterdam* over a Hotchpotch.

F. Faith, this News makes me ſmile, indeed; but, prithee, tell me, haſt thou not ſome Armada intended againſt that little Iſland, that Temple of Delight, that Paradiſe, in Compariſon of all the World again? Have the Jeſuits no Brains left, to invent a ſecond Powder-plot, or one as bad, or elſe worſe? Doth the Dragon always wake that keeps theſe golden Apples, the Tree of *Minerva?*

S. Yes, they have Brains enough, and Courage enough, in ſetting ſuch Plots on Foot, but, a Pox on it, it takes no Effect; for one had as good ſhoot Arrows at the Stars, and have a cracked Coxcomb for one's Labour, as any Ways meddle with them; for God doth overlook them, and keep them ſafe, elſe could they never have eſcaped all thoſe Plots which I, and mine, had laid for them.

F. Why, ſure, they are as wicked as any Nation under the Sun, How then ſhould God be ſaid to protect them?

S. For the Love he bears to ſome; for there are very honeſt-meaning Men amongſt them, which do make a Conſcience of their Ways, which Thing is moſt acceptable of any Thing in the Sight of God.

F. But, in Faith, now were the Time, whilſt the *Scots* are intrenched, and their Subjects diſtracted, ſome on this Side, ſome on that Side, to come with ſome Armada, or forward ſome Gunpowder-plot, or ſome ſuch grand Treaſon. Oh the Fruition of that ſame little ſweet Garden-plot would make *France* and *Spain* flouriſh.

S. Hark a While, and you will ſoon grant how ridiculous this childiſh Folly of yours is; a wiſe Man will never attempt Impoſſibilities; for, certainly, it is as eaſy for any ſingle Arm to equal a whole Troop of Men, as for you or I to effect our Wiſhes in this Thing; for, certainly, they have borrowed from *Jupiter*, the heathen God, *Argus* with his hundred Eyes, to overlook all our Actions.

F. Tuſh, tuſh, thou art juſt like a Coward, who, if he be once beaten, will hardly come on to the Combate again; becauſe your *invincible Armada*, as you termed it, was bumbaſted by the Subjects of a maiden Queen, therefore it is impoſſible for us to do any Good upon the ſame Land; come, thou talkeſt idly for Want of Sleep.

S. Why, Brother of *France*, Did you never feel the Force of *England?* Look you but back to the *Black Prince*, where you ſhall find that the then Predeceſſor ſent him a Ton of Tennis-balls, inſtead of his Right he held by the *Salick* Law; but he turned his Balls into Gun-ſtones, and kept ſuch a Racket about *France*, that he made the whole Court of *Gallia* ſhake.

F. I do not deny, but that we have both ſmarted enough, and that is the Reaſon I am ſo willing to take an Advantage againſt it.

S. I tell thee what, Brother, I can compare *England* more commodiouſly to nothing than a Lion which lay ſleeping by the Way-Side; the Traveller, coming by, would needs make Sport with the Lion, as he ſaid, by hollowing in his Ear to awake him, which he did; the Lion, being not uſed to ſuch unaccuſtomed Noiſe, roſe, not quite awaked, and tore this Traveller in Pieces. Juſt thus it fareth with us at this Time, for *England* is aſleep, and unleſs it be awaked, we need not fear any Thing; but if we compel it to draw its Sword once, it is not all our Intreaties will ſheathe it again.

F. Well, thou haſt given me ſuch an *Item*, that I will look before I will leap; I will ſurely have ſome great Occaſion, before I will meddle with them.

S. Faith, we have Buſineſs enough of our own, if we would but look after it.

F. True, yet I thank God I am in Peace with the whole World.

S. I would that I could ſay ſo too, for I proteſt ingenuouſly, I can ſcarce tell, which Way to turn myſelf, for on one Side of me the great *Turk* lies like ſome unſeen Monſter, devouring all which ſhall come before him; on the other Side, the *Hollander* is as a Devil to me, for I cannot have a Ship on the Seas, but

if

eſpied by him, he is ſure to ſink for it. And, again, I look every Day when the *Portugueſe* will faſten on me; and, above all Things, I fear them, becauſe they have been for Men in *England*.

F. Why, I prithee, whither wilt thou fly in this Diſtreſs?

S. I know not whither, unleſs I ſhall do, as the Fool ſaid he would, put on a clean Shirt and drown myſelf.

F. Then what will become of thy Soul?

S. Pſha, I will have a Pardon from the Pope before I do it.

F. That was well thought on indeed; but hark, I prithee, What doſt thou think of the Pope's imperious Government? Doſt thou think it to be lawful according to the Commands of God?

S. Faith, I cannot tell; but I had a little Pity and Compunction roſe the other Day in my Stomach towards the Proteſtants, but they were preſently down again; I hope it is the right Way.

F. I hope ſo too; for, if it be not, I proteſt we are in the wrong Way, and a wrong Way will lead us to a wrong Place, and that wrong Place will not yield us half the Delight we expect; wherefore it behoves us to take Heed what we do, and, for all the Pox, look to ourſelves.

S. As you think, ſo think I; for certainly we are guided by ſome wandering Planet; for ſuch ſudden Changes in ſuch great Perſonages, as I have ſeen many, ſtand for Example to confirm their Aſſertion to be true. But, Faith, methinks I could even love the *Engliſh* Heretical Religion; What Muſick hath transformed me from myſelf? Where is now the Pride of our ancient Religion, that it is thus turned topſy-turvey? What, have we loſt our boaſted Freedom? What unknown Deſires are theſe which invade and take Poſſeſſion of my frighted Soul? Are all thoſe virtuous Objects, which I heretofore perceived in our *Roman* Religion, vaniſhed? Have I ſtood the Shocks of ſo many fierce Wars for Religion Sake, ſtopped mine Ear againſt all *Syren* Notes that Hereſy ever ſung? To draw my Barque of Faith (that with Wonder hath kept a conſtant and honoured Courſe in this Channel of my Religion) to be carried into the Gulf of a continual Hereſy: But now, methinks, I feel my Soul return again, and anſwer: I will firſt with mine own Hands dig up a Grave to bury the momental Heap of all my Years, before I will change my plighted Faith unto the Church of *Rome*.

F. Well ſaid at laſt; in Troth, I was afraid that the Beaſt of *Rome* had been ſome Kin to a Stag, and had uſed to ſhed her Horns; but thank God it is no worſe.

S. If I have offended, at the worſt, to die is a full Period to Calamity.

F. But is there nothing to be felt after Death? Doſt thou think that thou thus fingeſt a *Requiem* to thy Soul before thou dieſt? I prithee, conſider, and tell me what thou thinkeſt on it?

S. Why, I have heard, that there is a Place called the *Elyſian* Fields, where thoſe that have done well ſhall reſt in Peace. I have heard again, that our *Engliſh* Hereticks hold, that there is only a Heaven and a Hell: Thoſe that do well ſhall enjoy the Joys of Heaven, and thoſe that do ill ſhall feel the Torments of Hell: But our Pope makes us believe that there is a Purgatory; but, Faith, I cannot tell what to think of it.

F. Well, farewel, Brother, I proteſt, I perſuade myſelf that the World is almoſt at its End, for I hear it is buzzed Abroad in *England*, that the Monuments of the Kingdom ſhall all be pulled down, and Croſſes, of which, I have heard, that *Abington* and *Cheapſide* Croſſes excel all: Alſo, there muſt be no Organs, to the utter Undoing of all Singing Men. But, Brother, farewel; the News you hear, I pray, inform me of.

S. I will; farewel, farewel.

The Character of a certain great Ducheſs deceaſed, by a certain great Poet lately deceaſed. *MS.*

BUT what are theſe to great *Atoſſa*'s Mind?
Scarce once herſelf, by Turns all Womankind.
Who with herſelf, or others, from her Birth,
Finds all her Life one Warfare upon Earth:
Shines in expoſing Knaves, or painting Fools,
Yet is whate'er ſhe hates or ridicules:
No Thought advances, but her eddy Brain
Whiſks it about, and down it goes again.
Full ſixty Years, the World has been her Trade,
The wiſeſt Fool that Time has ever made.
From loveleſs Youth, to unreſpected Age,
No Paſſion gratify'd, except her Rage:
So much the Fury ſtill out-ran the Wit,
The Pleaſure miſs'd her, and the Scandal hit.
Who breaks with her, provokes Revenge from Hell,
But he's a bolder Man, who dares be well:
Her ev'ry Turn, with Violence purſu'd,
Nor more a Storm her Hate, than Gratitude.
To that each Paſſion turns, or ſoon or late,
Love, if it makes her yield, muſt make her hate;
Superiors, Death; — if Equals, what a Curſe?
But an Inferior, not dependent, worſe.
Offend her, and ſhe knows not to forgive;
Oblige her, and ſhe'll hate you while you live.
But die, and ſhe'll adore you, -- then the Buſt,
And Temple too, — then fall again to Duſt.
Laſt Night her Lord was all that's good and great,
A Knave this Morning, and his Will a Cheat.
Strange! by the Means, defeated of the Ends,
By Spirit robb'd of Power, by Warmth of Friends:
By Wealth of Followers; without one Diſtreſs,
Sick of herſelf, thro' very Selfiſhneſs:
Atoſſa curs'd with ev'ry granted Prayer,
Childleſs with all her Children, wants an Heir;
To Heirs unknown, deſcends th' unguarded Store,
Or wanders, Heaven-directed, to the Poor.

The Concluſion of the Travels of three *Engliſh* Gentlemen, &c. MS.

To the Readers of the HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

Gentlemen,

BEING *obliged, by neceſſary Buſineſs, to reſide, a great Part of the Summer, in a Village, above an hundred Miles from* Oxford, *where all my Books and Papers have for many Years been depoſited, I found it abſolutely impoſſible to attempt Preparing for the Preſs the following Sections, before the Beginning of* September. *Neither would a ſevere Cold and Feveriſh Indiſpoſition, under which I have laboured ſince the Middle of* October, *with little Intermiſſion, permit me to put the finiſhing Hand to them before the Beginning of this Month. However, this Delay will be abundantly compenſated*

ſtated by the preſent Situation of Affairs in thoſe Parts of Bohemia, Saxony, *and* Brandenburg *here deſcribed; which renders the Publication of this Deſcription much more ſeaſonable and a propos now, than it would have been in* May, June, *or* July. *As many of you have expreſſed a great Deſire of ſeeing the Concluſion of* The Travels, *&c. and ſome Authors of Note have already had Recourſe to that Part of this Piece about a Year ago publiſhed, I thought it proper to communicate to You and the Publick the Reaſons why the Remainder could not ſooner ſee the Light. Theſe, it is hoped, will have their due Weight, and prove ſatisfactory to you; and conſequently clear Mr.* Osborne, *as in Juſtice they ought, from the Imputation of having, with ſiniſter Views, retarded the Publication of it. I am, with great Reſpect, Gentlemen,*

Your moſt faithful, and

Oxford, Dec. 5, 1745. Moſt obedient, humble Servant,

The AUTHOR, *&c.*

SECT. VI.

A Journey from Prague *to* Dreſden, *the Metropolis of the Electorate of* Saxony.

ABOUT two Hours and a Half after our Departure from *Prague*, we came to *Turſko*, or, as *Vidari* calls it, *Turſklo*, a ſmall Village, with a Church, between two and three *German* Miles from *Prague*. The greateſt Part of this Road was mountainous and bad. *Tebnitz*, *Podhaba*, and ſome other ſmall Places ſtand between the Extremities of this Poſt. The weſtern Bank of the *Moldau*, correſponding with it, is, for the moſt Part, mountainous. At *Podhaba*, not far from the *Moldau*, near a *German* Mile North of *Prague*, we paſſed a Rivulet, which is a ſmall Branch of the *Moldau*. As *Turſko* is a Place of little Note, we did not ſtay there much above Half an Hour. This Village is in the Circle of *Rakonitz*, though upon the Borders of that of *Gaurzim*.

The next Place we ſtopped at, in order to take freſh Horſes, was called *Welwarn*. This Poſt is a ſhort one, the Road good, and the Country appeared fertile and pleaſant. *Welwarn* is a ſmall walled Town of *Bohemia*, in the Circle of *Rakonitz*, about two *German* Miles North-weſt of *Turſko*. It is ſeated on a Rivulet that diſcharges itſelf into the *Moldau*, and conſiſts principally of one Street. The Houſes, of which it is compoſed, made a tolerable good Appearance, and the Inhabitants ſeemed clean and neat. We obſerved ſome Ponds, or ſtanding Waters, between *Turſko* and *Welwarn*, ſuch as thoſe formerly mentioned. The Villages we paſſed through this Poſt were *Minitz* and *Mikowitz*. *Minitz* ſtands upon the Bank of a Rivulet, but is a ſmall and obſcure Place. *Mikowitz* is ſeated at a ſmall Diſtance from the oppoſite Bank, and has a Caſtle; but, in other Reſpects, it is very inconſiderable.

The following Poſt, which is a fine verdant Plain, ends at *Budin*, *Budein*, or *Budyn*. *Budin* is a little walled Town of *Bohemia*, in the Circle of *Rakonitz*, two long *German* Miles North-weſt of *Welwarn*, and about the Size of that Town. It is not far from the Southern Bank of the River *Egra*, upon the Confines of the Circle of *Leitmeritz*. The Country, in which *Budin* ſtands, abounds with Corn, as the Poſtiglioni informed us; and indeed this ſufficiently appears from the preſent Face of it. The principal, if not only Villages that occurred this Poſt, were *Czernowitz* and *Martinowitz*; the firſt of which is ſituate upon a Rivulet that empties itſelf into the *Moldau*, and the other a little to the South of one that may be deemed a ſmall Branch of the *Egra*. The Road was good, but the Poſt ſomething longer than the preceding.

From

From *Budin*, we advanced to *Lowoſitz*, or, as ſome call it, *Labaſitz*, two good *German* Miles North-weſt of *Budin*. *Lowoſitz* is a pretty Town of *Bohemia*, in the Circle of *Leitmeritz*, at a ſmall Diſtance from the *Elbe*. This Poſt is good Road, and a fine open Country, throughout. There are two Villages between *Budin* and *Lowoſitz*, called *Brzeſan* and *Dolanek*; of which the former ſtands about a Quarter of a *German* Mile from *Budin*, and the latter in the Poſt-Road, at almoſt an equal Diſtance from *Brzeſan* and *Lowoſitz*. We paſſed the *Eger*, or *Egra*, one of the principal Rivers of *Bohemia*, this Poſt. This River runs between *Budin* and *Labaſitz*, which ſtands upon the Banks of it. We did not ſtay above an Hour here.

The Poſtiglioni next conducted us to *Auſſig*, a Poſt and a Half, or three *German* Miles, North of *Lowoſitz*. *Auſſig*, in *Latin Auſta*, or, as *Dreſſerus* will have it, *Auſtia*, is a conſiderable City of *Bohemia*, upon the *Elbe*, in the Circle of *Leitmeritz*, with a Caſtle of pretty great Antiquity. According to *Æneas Sylvius*, the Emperor *Sigiſmund* gave it to the Marquiſſes of *Miſnia* and the Dukes of *Saxony*, to be defended by them as a Frontier. It was beſieged by *Ziska*, who was repulſed with great Loſs, in an Aſſault he made upon it; notwithſtanding which, he continued the Siege, and defeated an Army of a hundred-thouſand Men, raiſed by the Elector *Frederic*, in *Franconia*, *Thuringia*, *Saxony*, *Miſnia*, *Voigtland*, and *Luſatia*. After which, it immediately ſurrendered to him. The *Auſtrian* and *Bohemian* Writers affirm, that Halberds were firſt uſed in this Engagement by the *Germans*; and a crooked Inſtrument, then of a new Invention, by the *Bohemian* Infantry, to ſtrip the Enemy's Cavalry of their Horſe-Harneſs and Accoutrements. After this Blow, *Auſſig* remained three Years in a ruinous Condition; but then revived, and was ranked amongſt the royal Cities of *Bohemia*. It was almoſt intirely laid in Aſhes, in the Year 1538. The *Saxons* made themſelves Maſters of it, in 1631, as did the *Swedes*, in 1639. The antient Monaſtery of the *Prædicants* here was deſtroyed by the *Huſſites*, but in the Room of it was ſubſtituted another, within the Walls, dedicated to St. *Adalbertus*, in 1618. At preſent, it ſeems to be no very conſiderable Town, though the Market-Place is a tolerable good Square, and the Town-Houſe new, and built upon Pilaſters. Here we lay all Night, but the Accommodations we met with were very indifferent, and the Bill handed to us in the Morning pretty extravagant. The Poſt-Houſe was the Inn we put up at, as do moſt other *Engliſh* Gentlemen who come this Way. We paſſed by *Czernuſek*, *Kwalen*, and ſome other ſmall Villages upon the *Elbe*, before our Arrival at *Auſſig*. There is a pretty high and extenſive Hill, a little to the Left, at a ſmall Diſtance from *Lowoſitz*; and another on the ſame Side, about a *German* Mile nearer *Auſſig*. The greateſt Part of this Poſt, we rode along the weſtern Bank of the *Elbe*, and found the Road therein, ſome Parts, mountainous and bad; beſides which, nothing remarkable occurred.

Peterſwalda, *Peterſwald*, or, as ſome call it, *Veiderſwalda*, terminates the following Poſt, which is a pretty long one, being near three *German* Miles. As the Road here is, for the moſt Part, mountainous and bad, we were above four Hours upon it. *Peterſwalda* is a ſmall inconſiderable Place, upon the Borders of *Saxony*, and the laſt Village in *Bohemia*. It ſtands in the Circle of *Leitmeritz*, on the Poſt-Road to *Dreſden*. Here is a Defile, which it is pretty difficult for a Body of Troops to paſs. Not far from *Auſſig*, on the Left-hand of the Poſt-Road, there is a Village upon a Hill, the Name of which we did not learn. We were very hungry, when we came to *Peterſwalda*; but could meet with nothing there, except a few Eggs and a little ſmall white Wine, which ſcarce deſerved that Name. The People here were clean and neat, and ſome of them talked *Latin*, though they appeared extremely poor. We muſt not omit obſerving, that the Air, through the two laſt Poſts, was very cold and piercing, and the Hills or Mountains in that Tract covered with Snow.

Soon after we left *Peterſwalda*, we entered the Marquiſate of *Miſnia*, and the Electorate of *Saxony*. The firſt Village we paſſed through in this Electorate was called *Hellenderf*; and this ſeemed to be but a poor inconſiderable Place. From thence we advanced to *Gishubel*, or *Giſhibel*, which is a Town that made a better Appearance. *Schiſt*, or *Ziehſt*, a Village only remarkable for being on the Poſt-Road, received us next. This is ſomething above two *German* Miles North of *Peterſwalda*, and ſupplied us with freſh Poſt-Horſes for *Dreſden*. We muſt here remark, that, from *Schiſt*, Travellers pay a Florin a Horſe, for every Poſt through

through the Empire, and that ſixteen Groſſe only in *Saxony* go to a Florin. The Imperial Poſtilions have Strings over their right Shoulders, ſtriped with Yellow and Black, and a Horn at the Bottom; whereas thoſe of the Elector of *Saxony* uſe Strings ſtriped with Yellow and Blue. In the Hereditary Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, three *Karantani* make a Groſs, and twenty Groſſe a Florin; but, in *Saxony*, a Florin conſiſts of ſixteen Groſſe, and a Groſs of four *Karantani*. In the Territories of the Emperor, an *Ungar*, or *Hungar*, is compoſed of four *Auſtrian* Florins and three Groſſe; but, in *Saxony*, an *Ungar* goes for four *Saxon* Florins and two Groſſe. After a ſhort Stay at *Sebiſt*, we reſumed our March for *Dreſden*, by the Route of *Pirna*.

Pirna is a large Town, containing four or five-hundred Houſes upon the *Elbe*, about Half a *German* Mile North of *Sebiſt*. Here is a fine Bridge over the *Elbe*, which is an Ornament and Advantage to the Place. Between this Place and *Dreſden*, at a ſmall Diſtance from the *Elbe*, is a Village called *Leuben*. This laſt Poſt, from *Sebiſt* to *Dreſden*, may be conſidered as three *German* Miles. The Road is, for the moſt Part good, but the latter Part of it indifferent. At Half a *German* Mile's Diſtance from *Dreſden*, a Traveller has a good Proſpect of the Town. The King of *Poland*'s Officers were very civil and obliging, and examined our Baggage with great Lenity. The Catalogue of Poſts between *Prague* and *Dreſden* ſtands thus:

From *Prague* to *Turſko*, two *German* Miles and a Half.

From *Turſko* to *Welwarn*, two *German* Miles.

From *Welwarn* to *Budin*, two *German* Miles.

From *Budin* to *Lowoſitz*, or *Labaſitz*, two *German* Miles.

From *Lowoſitz* to *Auſſig*, three *German* Miles.

From *Auſſig* to *Peterſwalda*, two *German* Miles and a Half.

From *Peterſwalda* to *Sebiſt*, or *Ziebſt*, two *German* Miles.

From *Sebiſt* to *Dreſden*, three *German* Miles.

Total eight Poſts, nineteen *German* Miles.

Dreſden, in *Latin Dreſda*, is a fair, large, and ſtrong City, in the Circle of *Upper Saxony*, the Metropolis of the Marquiſate of *Miſnia*, and the Seat of the Elector of *Saxony*. It is about nineteen *German*, or ſeventy-ſix *Engliſh* Miles, North-weſt, or rather al. North of *Prague*, in 51 Deg. 8 Min. North Lat. and 13 Deg. 40 Min. Eaſt of *London*: It conſiſts of two Parts, called the *Old Town*, and the *New Town*, which ſtand on the oppoſite Banks of the *Elbe*, and are joined together by a fine Stone-bridge ſupported by ſeventeen Arches. Though it ſeems to be well fortified, after the modern Way, yet many People doubt, whether it would be able to make a long Defence, if attacked by a powerful and well-diſciplined Army. Be that as it will, this whole Electorate found itſelf obliged to ſubmit, without making any Reſiſtance, to the victorious Arms of *Charles the Twelfth*, King of *Sweden*, in 1706. The Streets of *Dreſden* are wide and clean, and the Inhabitants extremely neat. The *New City*, in which is the Electoral Palace, is much ſtronger, better fortified, and more beautiful than the *Old Town*, or *Alt Dreſden*, as it is termed by the Natives. As this City was formerly denominated *Dreſen*, ſome imagine, that it derived its Name from three Lakes (in *High Dutch*, *von den dreyen Seen*) at a ſmall Diſtance from it; but this Etymon muſt be allowed to be a little precarious. Be that as it will, *Dreſden* is, undoubtedly, a Place of conſiderable Antiquity, and an exceeding fine Town. The Houſes appeared ſo neat and clean, that the Generality of them ſeemed to be new. Every Evening, upon the Approach of the Dusk, moſt of the Houſes have a Candle or Lamp lighted over their Doors; which renders it eaſy to walk in the Streets all Night, prevents many Diſorders that might otherwiſe happen, makes the City appear illuminated throughout, and conſequently enables it to exhibit as fine a nocturnal Appearance, as any City in *Europe*.

The *Saxons* are all *Lutherans*, and ſo ſtrict and rigid, that the *Roman* Catholick Religion, though the Religion of the Court, is ſcarcely tolerated amongſt them; the People of that Perſuaſion having no Place of Worſhip to reſort to, but the King of *Poland*'s Chapel, in *Dreſden*, and that of the Caſtle of *Pleiſſenburg*, at *Leipſick*. Near the Market place, which is large and ſpacious, and ſerves the Soldiers of the Garriſon, who are frequently exerciſed there, for a Parade, a fine new *Lutheran* Church is erecting, which has been a long Time in Building,

Building, and is not yet finiſhed. The principal Church here is fair and beautiful, and the others ſufficiently neat. We did not however obſerve many Pictures, or internal Decorations of that Kind, in them; the *Lutherans* not being ſo fond of ſuch Ornaments for Churches, as the *Roman* Catholicks are. The *Roman* Catholick Religion ſeems to be fixed in the Electoral Family, by the Union of that Family with the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

We were ſeveral Times at Court, whilſt at *Dreſden*, and found it brilliant and ſhining enough. The King of *Poland*, Elector of *Saxony*, was returned hither, ſome Time before our Arrival from *Cracow*, and that in ſo great a Hurry, that his Subjects here, as well as his Friends at *Vienna*, and the Imperial Court, were exceedingly alarmed at it, or at leaſt appeared ſo to be. The Queen of *Poland*, the Emperor *Joſeph*'s Daughter, is a little Woman, has a red Face, the *Auſtrian* Lip, a pretty large Mouth, and none of the fineſt Features; ſo that ſhe cannot be looked upon as a Beauty. However, ſhe has a piercing Eye, and by Reaſon of her good Qualities, though, of a different Perſuaſion, is beloved by the *Saxons*. The King is a tall luſty Man, pretty corpulent, and of a portly majeſtick Countenance. He has a florid Look, and is about thirty-eight Years of Age; he ſeemed to be very affable and gracious, even to ſome of the meaneſt of his Subjects, who were admitted to kiſs his Hand; and, to ſpeak the Truth, he is generally eſteemed as a Prince of a very humane and benevolent Diſpoſition. I had ſeen the King's Picture at *Rome*, in Cardinal *Albani*'s Palace, which being extremely like his Majeſty, I knew him at firſt Sight. He was dreſſed in red Cloath, covered with Gold Lace, and the Queen in black Velvet. We ſaw the whole Royal and Electoral Family performing their Devotions in the Chapel belonging to the Palace, where they appeared very devout. This Chapel ſeemed to have very few internal Ornaments and Decorations, which is agreeable enough to the Taſte and Genius of the *Saxons*, and which conſequently demonſtrates the King of *Poland* to be a wiſe Prince. The Palace is large, but, in our Opinion, neither grand nor elegant. However, the Court is very polite, and the King gives all Strangers of Diſtinction here a very gracious Reception.

In this Palace, however, there are many fine Apartments; but the moſt ſplendid Part of it, if we regard the Furniture it contains, is the Gallery, which is one of the greateſt Curioſities in *Dreſden*. This Furniture conſiſts of antique Buſts, Veſſels, Pictures, and other Curioſities. The Hall is noble and ſpacious, and adorned with many Draughts of Cities, &c. which have been more than once taken Notice of by Travellers. There are likewiſe here ſeveral Chambers full of Rarities and Treaſure, not in many Places to be parallelled. Theſe conſiſt of Images, and curious Devices cut in Ivory; a vaſt Quantity of Plate, and Veſſels adorned with Granates, Amethyſts, Topazes, Emeralds, &c. a great Variety of *Saxon* Porcellane, moſt beautiful to behold, and rich Snuff-Boxes ſet with Gems and precious Stones of various Kinds, &c. Some of the Rooms, where theſe are depoſited, ſeem, if one may uſe the Term, to be wainſcotted with a ſuperfine large Glaſs; and one of them has three or four Glaſs Pilaſters in it, which make a very beautiful and grand Appearance. Amongſt other Curioſities in theſe Chambers, we ſaw two exceeding large Onyxes, of an oval Figure, extremely beautiful, which, according to the Perſon who attended us, coſt the Elector ſeveral thouſand Florins. We likewiſe met here with Swords, Scimitars, Watches, &c. adorned with Diamonds, Emeralds, Rubies, Opals, Sapphires, Topazes, and other Kinds of precious Stones; as alſo with a vaſt Number of Diamond Buttons for Coats, Waiſt-Coats, Breeches, &c. and ſeveral Rubies, Emeralds, Sapphires, &c. of an uncommon Size; ſo that, with Regard to his perſonal Eſtate, the Elector of *Saxony* may be conſidered as one of the richeſt Princes in *Chriſtendom*. In one of theſe Chambers, is a Piece of the great *Mogul*, walking in State, with all his Attendants, which, we were aſſured, coſt King *Auguſtus the Second* Thirty-thouſand Florins. The Chambers, or Apartments, above-mentioned, ſhining with Jewels, and Things ornamented with them, are called *the Treaſury*.

The *Turkiſh* Palace, or *Turkiſh* Houſe, ſo called from the Furniture within it, is ſeen, with great Pleaſure, by every Foreigner of Taſte who comes to *Dreſden*. This is adorned with Pictures repreſenting the Civil, Military, and Eccleſiaſtical Officers of the *Turks*, all in their proper Habits. Here are likewiſe Portraits of the *Turkiſh*, *Greek*, *Armenian*, *Perſian*, *Georgian*, *Circaſſian*, &c. Women in theirs. In one Room of this Houſe, or Palace, we ſaw

Part

Part of a Tea-Equipage, ſet with ſeveral Kinds of precious Stones, made, as we were told, at *Iſpahan* in *Perſia*; and others that came from *Conſtantinople*, according to the Information we received, which were exceedingly curious. Here we likewiſe ſaw a Variety of *Turkiſh*, *Barbarian*, and *Perſian* Pipes, of different Forms, one of which went upon Wheels, that a Perſon might make Uſe of, either walking, ſtanding, or in any Attitude whatſoever. We were likewiſe ſhewn here a *Perſian* ſmall Veſſel, holding about a Quart, which the late King of *Poland* frequently drank off to the Friend he introduced into this Place, and obliged that Friend to pledge him in the ſame. This he did in Order to welcome him; but we were told, that this Practice had, for ſome Years, been diſcontinued.

The new Bridge over the *Elbe* is extremely curious, as is likewiſe the *Palais d'Hollande*, where the Porcelane is kept. The Garden belonging to the *Palais d'Hollande* is adorned with many fine Statues of white Marble, and extends as far as the *Elbe*. The Arſenal alſo contains a great Number of Curioſities, but, as a Catalogue of theſe has been publiſhed, it would be impertinent here to give a Detail of them.

We muſt not omit taking Notice of the King of *Poland's* wild Beaſts, which are numerous and various. Amongſt others, we ſaw ſeveral Monkies and Baboons, which ſeemed to have ſomething very peculiar in them. One of the Baboons was of a very large Size, laughed or grinned at us, in a remarkable Manner, and frequently farted whilſt we ſtood gazing upon them. One of the young Lions here was ſo tame, that the Keeper played with him, as if he had been a Puppy. The *Hungarian* wild Cats appeared to be the fierceſt Creatures here, though Leopards, Lions, Tigers, *&c.* made up Part of the Collection. This Collection has been inriched by the Gentlemen ſent by the late King *Auguſtus the Second* to *Africa*, who brought with them Home to *Dreſden* ſeveral *African* Foxes, and other Creatures, before unknown in *Germany*. The two principal Perſons attending Dr. *Hebenſtreit* into *Africa* were M. *Ludowick* and M. *Eversbach*. We were told that theſe Gentlemen, whom we had not the Honour to ſee, made honourable Mention of Mr. *Shaw*, Chaplain to the *Engliſh* Factory at *Algiers*, from whom they had received great Civilities. This Gentleman I had the Honour to be acquainted with, above a Year ago, in *Italy*.

The People of *Dreſden* are very polite, and ſeem to have much of the *French* Taſte. They have a vaſt Regard for their Prince, and royal Family, though of a different Perſuaſion. The King of *Poland*, Elector of *Saxony*, has at preſent ſix Children: 1. *Frederic Chriſtian*, the Prince Royal and Electoral, born *September* the 5th, 1722. 2. *Maria Amelia*, born *September* the 13th, 1727. 3. *Maria Anna*, born *Auguſt* the 29th, 1728. 4. *Xavier Auguſtus*, born *Auguſt* the 25th, 1730. 5. *Maria Joſepha*, born *November* the 4th, 1731. 6. *Charles Chriſtian*, born *July* the 13th, 1733. The King of *Poland's* eldeſt Son has the Title of *Royal Highneſs*, and his Royal Highneſs's eldeſt Son, as we were informed, that of *Piaſt*, which, we were likewiſe told, deſcended to all future Generations.

According to the moſt celebrated Authors, who have treated of the Affairs of *Germany*, the beſt *High Dutch* is ſpoke in *Saxony*. The Women here are likewiſe reckoned, for the Generality, to be more beautiful than thoſe in any other Part of the Empire. But, with Regard to the laſt Article, we muſt own ourſelves to differ from the moſt common and received Opinion. The Women of *Auſtria* and *Bohemia*, both in their Perſons and Diſpoſitions, come up at leaſt, as we imagine, to thoſe of *Saxony*.

It is well known, that the Elector of *Saxony* is one of the moſt potent Princes of the Empire. He has now on Foot an Army of twenty-eight-thouſand Men, Nineteen-thouſand of which are in *Poland*. The Troops we ſaw were in exceeding good Condition, and perfectly well verſed in the military Art. His *Poliſh* Majeſty, however, in Caſe of Need, can make a conſiderable Augmentation to his Forces; and this, it is ſaid, he will do, as finding it abſolutely neceſſary, in the preſent Conjuncture.

We lodged at *Zimmerman's* in the Market-Place, an Inn frequented by the *Engliſh* Gentlemen that travel through *Saxony*, and one of the beſt in *Dreſden*. Here we lived elegantly enough, but, at our Departure, were preſented with a moſt enormous Bill. But this we were not ſurpriſed at, ſince moſt Countries, even our own, love to prey upon Foreigners. The Landlord, however, to do him Juſtice in all

Reſpects, was very complaiſant and obliging. Having gratified our Curioſity in *Dreſden*, we made the neceſſary Preparations for our Journey to *Berlin*, where we propoſed ſome Time to ſtay.

SECT. VII.

A Journey from Dreſden *to* Berlin, *the Reſidence of the King of* Pruſſia, *Elector of* Brandenburg.

THE firſt Place we ſtopped at, after our Departure from *Dreſden*, was the Town of *Meiſſen*, in *Latin Miſna*, or *Miſnia*, which gives Name to the Marquiſate in which it ſtands. It is about a Poſt and an Half, or three *German* Miles, North-Weſt off *Dreſden*, and was formerly the Capital of the Marquiſate of *Miſnia*, though it now makes no great Figure. It is ſeated on a ſmall River of its own Name, on the Weſtern Bank of the *Elbe*, over which it has a very good Bridge. Its Situation is partly in a Valley, and partly on the Deceniſion of a Hill, on the Top of which are the antient Palace, or Caſtle, and the Cathedral. Here was formerly a Monaſtery, which, ſince its becoming ſubject to the Elector of *Saxony*, in 1581, has been converted into a publick School. We were told, that there were formerly here ſome indecent Pieces of Painting, repreſenting the Intrigues and Debaucheries of the Monks. The Manufacture of Porcelane at *Meiſſen* renders that Place famous all over *Europe*. This Porcelane is much more beautifully painted and enamelled than that of *China* and *Japan*; and a *Suite* of it, as we were told, ſometimes went off at Auctions in *Holland* for above twelve hundred Florins. The Elector, into whoſe Coffers this Porcelane brings very conſiderable Sums, frequently makes Preſents of great Quantities of it to foreign Princes in Alliance with him. Some People here affirm, that the Art of making this fine and beautiful Ware was accidentally diſcovered by an Adept, in his Attempts to find out the Philoſopher's Stone. Be that as it will, we were aſſured, that the Artificers, or Operators, were a Sort of Priſoners, being confined to this Place, for Fear this Art, ſo advantageous to *Saxony*, ſhould be communicated to other Nations. The Road, this Poſt, we found mountainous and bad. There are many fine Vineyards on the Banks of the *Elbe*, between *Dreſden* and *Meiſſen*. The chief Villages between thoſe two Places are *Niderwarte* and *Scharfenberg* on the Weſtern, and *Ketzchen* on the Eaſtern Bank of the *Elbe*. The Place where the Porcelane is made at *Meiſſen* cannot be ſeen without an expreſs Order from the Veldt Marſhal Count *de Wackerbarth*.

From *Meiſſen* our Poſtiglioni conducted us to *Stauchitz*, or *Stoſchitz*, where we were ſupplied with freſh Horſes. *Stauchitz* is about two *German* Miles and an Half almoſt Weſt of *Meiſſen*. This is a Village of no great Note. Here we ſtopped about Half an Hour, and refreſhed ourſelves. The Wine was very indifferent, and the other Accommodations bad; ſo that, including the Greaſing of the Wheels, we did not ſpend here two Florins. The Country made much the ſame Appearance this as the preceding Poſt.

Hubertſburg, or *Huberiſberg*, the next Place we arrived at, and which terminated the following Poſt, is a Village that makes no conſiderable Figure. However, the King of *Poland* has a Palace, or Hunting-Houſe, here, which he viſits ſeveral Times in a Year, and particularly when he goes to the Fair of *Leipſick*; and this a little diſtinguiſhes the Place. *Huberiſburg* ſtands about two *German* Miles from *Stauchitz*. The Tract between theſe two Villages is, for the moſt Part, a Corn-Country, though Woods ſometimes occur.

From *Hubertſburg* we advanced to *Wurtzen*, which is a long Poſt, conſiſting of about two and a Half *German* Miles. This Poſt throughout we found good, and met with a Village or two in it. The Country appeared open, and had ſeveral young Woods. *Wurtzen* is a ſmall Village, though ſeated in a pleaſant Country. The Inhabitants ſeemed to be very neat and clean. Here we ſaw a Stork's Neſt, with four young ones, and were told, that theſe Birds were pretty numerous in this Part of *Saxony*. We took up our Lodging at the Poſt-Houſe in *Wurtzen*, where we met with very good Accommodations.

The

The Diſtance between *Wurtzen* and *Leipſick*, or, as the *Germans* call it, *Leipzig*, is about three *German* Miles. The Road we found very indifferent. The Country, however, appeared agreeable enough, eſpecially as the Spring was now pretty far advanced. The King of *Poland*, Elector of *Saxony*, keeps his Roads in very good Order and Condition; and Travellers, to their great Satisfaction, frequently meet with a Sort of Column, having an Inſcription upon it, exhibiting the Number of Miles to the next conſiderable Town, as in many Parts of *England*. Many of theſe, that we met with, were erected in the Years 1722 and 1723. About two *Engliſh* Miles, or Half a *German* League, from *Leipſick*, we had a good Proſpect of the Town, and thought it made a very fine Appearance. *Leipſick* being one of the moſt celebrated Cities in *Germany*, our Readers will expect a ſhort Deſcription of it here.

Leipſick, or *Leipzig*, in *Latin Lipſia*, or, according to ſome, *Lipſurdum*, is the Capital of a Circle, or Diſtrict, of the ſame Name, in the Marquiſate of *Miſnia*, and Electorate of *Saxony*. It ſtands about ten *German* Miles North-Weſt of *Meiſſen*, and Thirteen almoſt Weſt of *Dreſden*, 51 Deg. 21. Min. North Lat. and 12 Deg 48. Min. Eaſt of *London*. As the Country round it is a charming, beautiful, and fertile Plain, diverſified with Woods, Orchards, Corn-Fields, Meadows, *&c.* and it ſtands at the Conflux of the *Elſter*, *Pleiſſa*, and *Barde*, its Situation muſt be allowed very delightful; eſpecially, as it is at no great Diſtance from the *Saal* and the *Moldau*, two extremely fine Rivers, and the Tract appertaining to it abounds with all the Neceſſaries, and many of the Elegancies, of Life. Some aſſert it to have been built by the *Vandals*, about the Year 700, and to have derived its Name from *Lipzk*, a *Lime-Tree*, with which Sort of Trees the ſame Perſons ſuppoſe the Country it ſtands in to have formerly abounded.

It has been already obſerved, that the Univerſity of *Leipſick* owes its Origin to the Departure of a great Body of *German* Students from *Prague*, about the Year 1408, or 1409; ſo that it may juſtly be looked upon as a Colony of the Univerſity of *Prague*. The four Colleges, of which it conſiſts, are adorned with twenty-four Profeſſors, who are generally very learned Men. The Nations, of which this Univerſity is compoſed, are the *Miſnians*, *Bavarians*, *Saxons*, and *Poles*; though under ſome one of theſe they will admit, as we were told, the Students of moſt other Nations. The Univerſity is ſaid to be ſubject to the Town, and not to the Elector; which we thought pretty extraordinary.

The Library of the Univerſity, or rather of the Senate, of *Leipſick*, which muſt be allowed to be a very good one, is inriched with a great Variety of MSS. taken out of the Monaſteries at the Reformation. Here is likewiſe a conſiderable Collection of Curioſities, a Catalogue of ſome of the principal of which, as well as of the moſt valuable MSS. we may perhaps hereafter oblige our Readers with. The very worthy and learned Librarian, Dr. *Maſcou*, made me a preſent of a ſmall Piece, containing the Catalogue abovementioned, and an elegant Deſcription of this Library, wrote in *Latin*; which has prefixed to it the following Title:

Q. D. B. V.
BIBLIOTHECAM
MAGNIFICI. AMPLISSIMI. QVE
SENATVS. LIPSIENSIS
EX. DECRETO. EIVS
BONAE. MENTI
IAM
DEDICANDAM. ATQVE. APERIENDAM. FORE
INDICIT
GOTTFRIDVS. CHRISTIANVS. GOETZIVS
PRAETOR. ET. BIBLIOTHECARIVS.
LIPSIÆ,
MDCCXI.

The City of *Leipſick* is very populous, and the Houſes therein, eſpecially thoſe about the Market-place, very ſtately and grand, and built of Free-Stone. Some of theſe are, at leaſt, ſix or ſeven Stories high. The Roofs of ſome of the Houſes are exceeding ſteep, and even approaching to a Perpendicular to the Horizon. The Streets appear beautiful enough, being broad, clean, and well paved. Near the Market-place are two extremely fine Houſes belonging to M. *Appel* and M. *Heuman*, both Merchants, as we were told. M. *Boſen* and M. *Appel*, both Merchants, have likewiſe moſt beautiful Gardens near the Gates of *Leipſick*. That of M. *Boſen* is full of exotic Plants, and managed by M. *Hebenſtreit*, or *Hebenſtreet*, one of the Gentlemen ſent by King *Auguſtus the Second* into *Africa*, who is the Director of this Garden. M. *Boſen* has likewiſe a very fine Collection of natural Curioſities, he being a

Man of great Subſtance, and having a paſſionate Fondneſs for every Thing rare and uncommon in this Branch of Literature. The Number of Students here, as we were informed, amounted to above a Thouſand.

I muſt not omit obſerving here, that I was extremely obliged to M. *Maurice George Weidmann*, Bookſeller in *Leipſick*, and Counſellor, as he informed me, to the late King of *Poland*. He was ſo good as to give me a full and ample Account of the Town and Univerſity of *Leipſick*; and to introduce me to the very learned and famous Dr. *Maſcou*, whom I found a Gentleman of uncommon Erudition and Politeneſs. Dr. *Baudiſius* and Dr. *Gebauer* gave me the Meeting one Evening at Dr. *Maſcou*'s, where, in all Reſpects, I was entertained very agreeably. All theſe Gentlemen, to do them Juſtice, expreſſed the higheſt Regard for the *Engliſh* Nation, and allowed it to be inferior to none in the World, in Point of Literature. However, they ſeemed a little too much prejudiced in Favour of M. *Leibnitz*, and ſpoke, in my Opinion, rather too coldly of Sir *Iſaac Newton*, of whom yet their Character ran in a very high Strain. This a little warmed me, ſo that I could not forbear ſaying ſome Things, which I found the Company did not perfectly reliſh. But, by mutual Agreement, we dropped this Subject; and ſpent the Evening, not only in perfect Harmony, but in perfect Friendſhip, neither did I ever in my Life meet with any Company that appeared to me more agreeable.

Dr. *Maſcou* is certainly a Gentleman of moſt profound Erudition, and intimately acquainted with the whole Circle of Literature; though he ſeems to ſhine moſt in antient Hiſtory, particularly that Branch of it relating to his Native Country. All the other Gentlemen of this Univerſity, that I had the Honour to be in Company with, I found likewiſe to be very learned, polite, and ingenious Men. In ſhort, no one can wiſh better to the learned Univerſity of *Leipſick* than I do, as no one can be more fully convinced of their Learning and Politeneſs. Neither can any one more heartily deſire, that a good Underſtanding between the Members of the Univerſities of *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, and *Leipſick* may be always preſerved; and that they may always, if any Diſputes betwixt ſome of them ſhould happen to ariſe, behave towards one another with Candour, Charity, and Good-Nature; which, I am firmly perſuaded, will be for their mutual Intereſt and Advantage.

The Literary Journal publiſhed here, intituled at preſent, *Nova Acta Eruditorum publicata Lipſiæ*, is the moſt famous and moſt univerſal Literary Journal in *Europe*. It firſt began to be publiſhed, under the Auſpices of M. *L. Otto Menckenius*, in 1682; and was continued by his Son, M. *Joannes Burchardus Menckenius*, who died in *April* 1731. Its Title, from the Beginning to the Death of this Polyhiſtorian, as the Gentlemen of *Leipſick* ſtile him, was *Acta Eruditorum*, &c. But his Son, M. *Frid. Otto Menckenius*, who ſucceeded him in the Direction of this Monthly Paper, has given it the Title of *Nova Acta Eruditorum*. 'Tis publiſhed the firſt Day of every Month, and diſperſed over every Part of the learned World. The Title of *Nova Acta Eruditorum* commenced in *January* 1732. This Journal comprehends all Subjects, gives an Account of the Productions of the moſt celebrated Authors of every Nation, and contains a conſiderable Number of ſmall polemical Pieces not elſewhere to be found. I bought here the *Nova Acta Eruditorum* for the Months of the Year 1734, elapſed before we arrived at *Leipſick*, the laſt of which firſt ſaw the Light, juſt before our Arrival there. Not only the Editors of theſe *Acta*, but all the other Academicians of the Univerſity of *Leipſick*, that I had the Honour to be in Company with, expreſſed a great Deſire to keep up an Epiſtolary Correſpondence with me. The principal of theſe were Dr. *Maſcou*, Dr. *Baudiſius*, Dr. *Gebauer*, Dr. *Rechenberg*, and M. *Jöcher*, Profeſſor of Philoſophy. I was told likewiſe, that M. *Plattner* and M. *Walther*, whom I had not the Honour to ſee, were very learned Men.

We were informed, that there is here a High-Court of Judicature independent on the Elector, and before which he himſelf, if ſummoned, is obliged to appear. This ſeemed to us very ſtrange, conſidering that the Elector is generally looked upon, in *England*, as an abſolute and deſpotic Prince. But, as ſeveral *German* Authors have ſet this Affair in a true Light, we muſt beg Leave to refer our Readers to them for a farther Account of it.

The Fairs at *Leipſick*, towards the Beginning of the *New Year*, at *Eaſter*, and *Michaelmas*, are very celebrated and remarkable. Such vaſt Quantities of valuable Merchandize, and rich Curioſities, are then brought hither by

by the principal Merchants of all Nations, that perhaps the like is not to be ſeen in any other City. This induces ſometimes a great Number of Perſons of Diſtinction, and even many Princes and Princeſſes of ſovereign Families, to honour the City of *Leipſick* with their Preſence on theſe Occaſions.

Leipſick is a Place of no great Strength, though fortified with Ramparts and a Ditch. The Caſtle of *Pleiſſenburg*, however, ſeems capable of ſuſtaining, at leaſt, a ſhort Siege. Notwithſtanding which, it ſurrendered to *Charles the Twelfth*, King of *Sweden*, without making any Defence.

Though the Town is not large, the Streets are very regular, and ſome of them even grand. The Town-Houſe is a noble Structure; as is likewiſe St. *Nicholas*'s Church, abounding more with internal Ornaments and Decorations, than perhaps any *Lutheran* Church in the Empire. The Ground-Floors of moſt of the Merchants-Houſes are Warehouſes, as in the Cities of *Lisbon*, *Genoa*, *Leghorn*, &c. It muſt not here be forgot, that the Merchants, who frequent the Fairs of *Leipſick*, are, by the Elector's Order, exempted from Tolls.

Moſt of the young Women here have fine Complexions, and appeared to us extremely beautiful. Such vaſt Numbers of them walking in the Streets ſeemed to be pregnant, that we remember not to have ſeen any where the like. We heard a Miniſter preach at St. *Nicholas*'s Church, who had an Hour-Glaſs placed by him, and ſaw it near twice out. The Congregation, during the Time of Divine Service, appeared very devout.

M. *Linckius*, an Apothecary here, Fellow of the Royal Society of *London*, has a noble Collection of Curioſities, and is a very great Virtuoſo. We did not ſee him, but take him to be a Man of Note, as he bears a high Character amongſt the principal Members of the Univerſity of *Leipſick*. In the Garden of M. *Boſen* may be ſeen a Plant, ſuppoſed to be a Species of the *Muſa* of the *Arabs*, the *Pala* of *Pliny*, and the *Piſang* of the *Javaneſe*. This Plant, being then three Years old, and ſix Feet and a Half high, in ten Weeks Time, arrived at the Stature of ſixteen Feet, and had a conſiderable Quantity of Fruit upon it, in 1733.

The chief Inn in *Leipſick* is *Joachim*'s *Stall*, which is a Houſe of very good Note. Here we met with exceeding good Accommodations, though the Bill handed to us, at our Departure, was pretty extravagant. The Phyſic-Garden of *Leipſick* is full of exotic Plants, ſome of which are of a very extraordinary Nature. Having taken a View of every Thing worthy of Obſervation here, we ſet out for *Berlin*, which was the next Place we propoſed to viſit.

From *Leipſick* we advanced to *Hogelheim*, a Village of no great Note, where we took freſh Horſes. This Poſt conſiſted of about two ſhort *German* Miles. The Country, through which we paſſed, appeared open and pleaſant, and, as we were told by the Poſtiglioni, is very fertile. We ſtaid about an Hour here.

The next Place we arrived at was called *Duben*, and ſtands, at leaſt, two exceeding long *German* Miles almoſt North of *Hogelheim*. *Duben* is ſituate in ſuch a Country as that juſt mentioned, and may be conſidered as a very pretty Town. We did not ſtop above Half an Hour here. Both *Duben* and *Hogelheim* appertain to the Electorate of *Saxony*.

Gamberg, or *Kemberg*, which terminates the next Poſt, is three good *German* Miles North of *Duben*. It is a Place of no Manner of Note, conſiſting, as we ſuppoſed, of not above fifty Houſes. The Tract between *Duben* and *Kemberg* ſeems to abound with Firs. As nothing curious preſented itſelf to our View here, as ſoon as we could be accommodated with freſh Horſes, we ſet out for *Wittenberg*, which is not above a *German* Mile from hence.

Wittenberg, or *Wirtenberg*, in *Latin Witemberga*, *Witeberga*, *Wittemberga*, *Vitemberga*, *Vittemberga*, *Vitenberga*, *Viteberga*, or *Viturum Mons*, ſtands on the Eaſtern Bank of the *Elbe*, in 51 Deg. 58 Min. North Latitude, and 13 Deg. 10 Min. Eaſt of *London*, about thirty-eight *German* Miles North-eaſt of *Leipſick*. It was formerly the Seat of the Electors of *Saxony*, and is at preſent very well fortified both by Nature and Art. We obſerved that *Wittenberg* conſiſts chiefly of one large Street. There is a ſtrong Caſtle here, built by the Elector *Frederic the Third*, who likewiſe founded here an Univerſity, in 1502. St. *Urſula*'s Church, the principal one in *Wittenberg*, in the Caſtle, was founded by the Elector *John Frederic*, in 1518. The Caſtle itſelf likewiſe, and the Bridge over the *Elbe*,

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are intirely owing to his Munificence. This Town and Univerſity are famous on many Accounts, as will appear to every one in the leaſt converſant with the *German* Hiſtorians. Before we entered *Wittenberg*, we paſſed the *Elbe*, which is very broad and rapid at this Place. The Streets are broad and clean, and the Houſes well built. We were told that the Univerſity at preſent does not make near ſo conſiderable a Figure as thoſe of *Halle* and *Leipſick*. The Poſt-Houſe here, where we lodged, is very much frequented by Travellers. The Elector of *Saxony*'s Garriſon in *Wittenberg* does not exceed Four-hundred.

Our Poſtiglioni conducted us from *Wittenberg* to *Crobſtadt*, a Village of no Repute. This Poſt is two eaſy *German* Miles. The Road is good, and in it we met with a tolerable Plenty of Fir-Trees. *Crobſtadt* does not ſeem to conſiſt of above thirty Houſes.

The next Poſt, terminated by *Trevenbrietz*, or *Treuenbritzen*, is an exceeding ſhort one, and the Road very good. Though the Tract is a little mountainous, yet it ſeems pretty open. Some Woods of Firs likewiſe here occured. *Trevenbrietz* is the firſt Town, on the Borders of *Saxony*, in the Electorate of *Brandenbourg*, and, as we imagined, is compoſed, at leaſt, of three-hundred Houſes. The Inhabitants ſeemed more robuſt and large than the *Saxons*; eſpecially the Women, who were very maſculine and ſtrong. *Treuenbritzen* ſtands upon the River *Niepelitz*, and not far from its Source.

From *Trevenbrietz* we went to *Belitz*, a conſiderable walled Town on the River *Ada*, two *German* Miles North of the former Place. We found the Road this Poſt exceeding good. The Women here appeared extremely handſome. We were told, that the King of *Pruſſia*'s Garriſon in *Belitz* did not exceed two-hundred Men.

Our Poſtiglioni carried us from *Belitz* to *Potſdam*, a Place, at preſent, of great Note. *Potſdam* is a fine new City of the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg*, on the River *Havel*, about four *German* Miles almoſt North of *Belitz*, and above three almoſt Weſt of *Berlin*. This City, in a Manner, owes its Being to the preſent King of *Pruſſia*, ſince before his Time it was a poor inconſiderable Town. He has a noble Palace here, lately built, that has a fine Saloon, which, for its extraordinary Height, is ſcarce to be parallelled in *Europe*. The King, when here, entertains the foreign Ambaſſadors, and other Perſons of the firſt Diſtinction, in this Saloon. In the Middle of the Town is a new beautiful Canal, on both Sides of which ſtand ſeveral magnificent and ſuperb Houſes, belonging to ſome of the *Pruſſian* Generals, and other Perſons of Quality. We ſaw the King exerciſe two Battalions of his Tall Grenadiers in the Gardens of his Palace, and afterwards in a Plain at a little Diſtance from the Town. They made a ſurprizingly fine Appearance, and performed their Exerciſe with the utmoſt Regularity and Exactneſs. In Fine, they are the fineſt Troops we ever ſaw. The third Battalion of theſe Grenadiers is quartered at *Brandenbourg*. We put up at the *City* of *Hanover*, which is a very good Inn, where we were very well uſed. Since the Beginning of the preſent King's Reign, the Inhabitants of *Potſdam* have received an Augmentation of ſome Thouſands of Families. The King is a ſhort ſquat Man, very fat, and extremely bloated. All his *Ritrats* that we have ſeen are very much like him. His Face ſeemed almoſt as blue as his Coat; he, as well as the Prince Royal, and all his Generals and Officers, wearing the Uniform of the Tall Grenadiers. As we made ſome ſhort Stay at *Potſdam*, we picked up a great many curious Particulars relating to the King, the Royal Family, the Court, the Army, and the Place; all of which we hope to have an Opportunity of communicating to the Public in a ſhort Time.

From *Potſdam* to *Berlin*, the Road was fine and pleaſant. We met with many Fir-Trees this Poſt, ſeveral of which had been blown down by tempeſtuous Weather. The ſame Thing we obſerved between *Belitz* and *Potſdam*; as we had before done, in the Tract between *Biſtritz* and *Dneſpeck*, in *Bohemia*. The Proſpect of *Berlin*, at about the Diſtance of an *Engliſh* Mile, is noble and grand. The principal Villages, in the Poſt-Road, between *Potſdam* and *Berlin* are *Stolpe*, near the Point where the *Saar* diſchargeth itſelf into the *Havel*, *Zehlendorff*, *Steglitz*, and *Schoneberg*; none of which can be deemed very conſiderable. But *Charlottenburg*, which ſtands between thoſe two Places, not far from the Point where the *Havel* and the *Spree* unite their Streams, is a fine Town, and, on many

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Accounts, not a little remarkable. There is a fine Palace here, called at firſt *Lutzenburg*, from the little Village of *Lutzen*, near which it ſtands. *Frederick the Firſt* denominated it *Charlottenburg*, in Honour of his Queen, Mother to the preſent King; and built a Town near it, which has always gone by the ſame Name. Of this that Prince was pleaſed to declare himſelf Burgomaſter, or Mayor, and the Margraves, or Princes of the Blood, principal Miniſters of State, and Generals, Aldermen and Common-Council. He alſo appointed two Noblemen of the Court to execute the Office of Bailies. His Majeſty expended immenſe Sums, in beautifying and increaſing the Buildings of the Palace, which contains ſeveral Wings, grand Apartments, and a fine Orangery. Before the *Dorotheaſtadt-Gate*, there is a Park, through which a fine Road has been made from *Berlin* to *Charlottenburg*; and contiguous to that End of this Park, near the latter Place, a charming Pleaſure-Garden, appertaining to the Palace there. In the late King's Time, the Road between *Berlin* and *Charlottenburg* was adorned with two Rows of Lamps on each Side, which appeared like two Columns of Fire. We ſtopped, this Poſt, at a ſmall Village called *Seldano*.

The Catalogue of Poſts between *Dreſden* and *Berlin* ſtands thus:

From *Dreſden* to *Meiſſen*, one Poſt and a Half, three *German* Miles.

From *Meiſſen* to *Stauchitz*, one Poſt, two *German* Miles.

From *Stauchitz* to *Hubertsburg*, one Poſt, two *German* Miles.

From *Hubertsburg* to *Wurtzen*, one long Poſt, two *German* Miles and a Half.

From *Wurtzen* to *Leipſick*, one Poſt and a Half, three *German* Miles.

From *Leipſick* to *Hogelheim*, one ſhort Poſt, two ſhort *German* Miles.

From *Hogelheim* to *Duben*, one long Poſt, two exceeding long *German* Miles.

From *Duben* to *Kemberg*, one Poſt and a Half, three *German* Miles.

From *Kemberg* to *Wittenberg*, half a Poſt, one *German* Mile.

From *Wittenberg* to *Crobſtadt*, one ſhort Poſt, two eaſy *German* Miles.

From *Crobſtadt* to *Treuenbrizen*, one ſhort Poſt, one *German* Mile and a Half.

From *Treuenbrizen* to *Belitz*, one Poſt, two *German* Miles.

From *Belitz* to *Potſdam*, two Poſts, four *German* Miles.

From *Potſdam* to *Berlin*, two Poſts, four *German* Miles.

Total, Seventeen Poſts, thirty-four *German* Miles.

Berlin, the Reſidence of the King of *Pruſſia*, is one of the largeſt Towns in *Germany*. It ſtands upon the River *Spree*, in 52 Deg. 28 Min. North Lat. and 33 Deg. 48 Min. Long. Though this City now makes the greateſt Figure of any in the King of *Pruſſia*'s Dominions, *Brandenburg* has always been eſteemed the Capital of the Marquiſate and Electorate of the ſame Name. *Berlin* was built by the Margrave *Albert*, in the Year 1163, but has, ſince that Time, been greatly enlarged, and conſiſts at preſent of eight Parts: 1. The City of *Berlin*, properly ſo called, on the eaſtern Bank of the *Spree*. 2. *Coln* on the oppoſite Bank, where the Margraves had formerly a Palace. 3. *Frederick's-Werder*, built by the Elector *Frederick William the Great*. 4. The *Dorothean Town*, or *New Town*, erected likewiſe by the ſame Elector, in Honour of his ſecond Wife *Dorothea*, of the Houſe of *Holſtein Glucksberg*. 5. The *King's Town*, formerly called the *Town* of St. *George*, terminated by the *King's Gate*, known anticently by the Name of St. *George's Gate*. 6. *New Coln*, into which Travellers enter by the *Copenick-Gate*. Adjoining to *New Coln* is a Suburb, which has the Appearance of a pretty handſome Town, and a Church of conſiderable Note. 7. The *Sophian Town*, or *Sophiaſtadt*, formerly called the *Spandau* Suburb, becauſe fronting the *Spandau-Gate*. It was greatly augmented and enlarged by *Frederick the Firſt*, King of *Pruſſia*, in 1712, and then denominated *Sophiaſtadt*, in Honour of that Prince's third Wife, and the preſent Queen, then Princeſs Royal, whoſe Name was *Sophia*. 8. *Frederick's-Street*, or *Frederickſtadt*, bounded, on the Side of *Saxony*, by the *Leipſick-Gate*. This Street, which ſeems to be one of the moſt famous in *Europe*, was begun by the preſent King in 1730, and has now, though unfiniſhed, above eight-hundred Houſes, many of which are Palaces, appertaining to Lieutenant-General *Schwerin*, Lieutenant-General

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Schulenburg, the Privy-Councellors M. *de Happe*, M. *de Marſhal*, &c. *Frederickſtadt* is ſaid to be at preſent above a *German* Mile long. The Houſes, for the moſt Part, are built of Free-Stone, but ſome of them of Brick. This Street is likewiſe very broad, and makes an exceeding fine Appearance. The King being now at *Potſdam*, there is no Court at preſent there.

Though every one, in the leaſt acquainted with the preſent State of *Europe*, muſt have a tolerable good Idea of the Royal Family of *Pruſſia*, we believe our Readers will not be diſpleaſed to find the following brief Account of it here: 1. *Frederick William*, King of *Pruſſia* and Elector of *Brandenbourg*, was born *Auguſt* the Fourteenth, 1688, married *Sophia Dorothea* of *Brunſwick-Lunenbourg*, *November* the Twenty-eighth, 1706, and ſucceeded his Father, as King and Elector, in 1713. 2. *Sophia Dorothea*, Queen of *Pruſſia*, was Daughter to *George Lewis*, Elector of *Hanover*, and afterwards King of *Great-Britain*, born *March* the Sixteenth, 1687, and married, as aforeſaid, *November* the Twenty-ſixth, 1706. 3. *Charles Frederick*, Prince Royal of *Pruſſia*, and Electoral of *Brandenbourg*, Prince of *Orange*, &c. was born *January* the Twenty-fourth, 1712, and married *Elizabetha Chriſtina* of *Brunſwick-Bevern*, *March* the Tenth, 1732. 3. *Elizabetha Chriſtina*, Spouſe to the Hereditary Prince, *&c.* was born *November* the Eighth, 1715. 4. *William Auguſtus*, Prince of *Brandenbourg*, born *Auguſt* the Eleventh, 1722. 5. *Frederick Henry*, Prince of *Brandenbourg*, born *January* the Eighteenth, 1726. 6. *Auguſtus Ferdinand*, Prince of *Brandenbourg*, born *May* the Twenty-third, 1730. 7. *Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina*, married to the Hereditary Prince of *Brandenbourg-Bareith*, was born *September* the Twenty-eighth, 1709. 8. *Philippina Charlotta*, Princeſs of *Brandenbourg*, married to the Hereditary Prince of *Brunſwick-Bevern*, was born *March* the Thirteenth, 1716. 9. *Dorothea Sophia*, Princeſs of *Brandenbourg*, born *January* the Twenty-fifth, 1719. 10. *Louiſa Ulrica*, Princeſs of *Brandenbourg*, born *June* the Twentieth, 1720. 11. *Anna Amelia*, Princeſs of *Brandenbourg*, born *November* the Ninth, 1723. 12. *Sophia Louiſa* of *Mecklenbourg*, Dowager of *Frederick William the Firſt*, born *May* the Sixth, 1685. To enumerate all the Princes and Princeſſes of the different Branches of the Houſe of *Brandenbourg* would render us too prolix.

The King's Character is not to be eaſily deſcribed, as containing a Contraſt of good and bad Qualities; and the odd Stories we heard of him in *Berlin*, his Metropolis, however abſolute he may be, were almoſt innumerable. Some of the principal of theſe we have an Intention to publiſh hereafter. At preſent it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that he is ſhort in Stature, has a ſtern martial Look, is very fat and bloated, eats much, and drinks to great Exceſs. All the Accounts we received of him agree in this, that he has ſomething extremely brutal in his Deportment; which may be attributed to the vaſt Quantity of *Engliſh* Strong-beer he daily drinks, as well as to the Ferocity of his Nature. The higheſt Pleaſure he ſeems capable of, as we were told by ſome of his own Subjects, is to get drunk with his General Officers, and to vent his Spleen and Reſentment againſt a Prince, with whom he ought to be in the ſtricteſt Manner united. The Difference betwixt theſe two Princes is certainly a very melancholy Affair, if we conſider the Proteſtant Intereſt in general, but particularly in the Empire; and this Difference, it is ſaid, has been greatly increaſed and fomented by Count *Seckendorf*, the Imperial Miniſter. That Gentleman, though a Proteſtant, being a Favourite of the King of *Pruſſia's*, has created a thorough Averſion betwixt the Houſes of *Brandenbourg* and *Hanover*, in Order, at the Inſtigation of the Jeſuits at the Imperial Court, to weaken the Proteſtant Intereſt in the Empire. This, if we may be allowed to give our Opinion, is a very impolitic Point of Conduct in the Court of *Vienna*, and may hereafter prove of very ill Conſequence to the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

The Queen is a Lady poſſeſſed of many amiable Qualities, and greatly beloved by the *Pruſſians*, but ſaid to meet frequently with ill Treatment from her Huſband, of which, were it proper, we could produce ſeveral Inſtances. She has a good Affection and Eſteem for her Brother, the King of *Great-Britain*; but of late Years has not dared to expreſs it. Her Spouſe was ſo polite as to tell her, in the Year 1729, when he had aſſembled an Army of forty-thouſand Men, to invade the Electorate of *Hanover*, that, before his Return to *Berlin*, he intended to lay in Aſhes the City where ſhe was born. Neither the many Children ſhe has

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had by him, nor the Sweetneſs of her Diſpoſition, nor her dutiful Deportment towards him, have been able thoroughly to engage to her the King's Affection.

The Prince Royal and Electoral was neither at *Berlin*, nor *Potſdam*, when we were there; but with his Regiment, according to the Information we received, at *Cuſtrin*. He is ſaid to have been a moſt charming and amiable Prince till of late, when, in Order to recover his Father's Favour, he found himſelf obliged to comply with the moſt diſagreeable Foibles, the worſt and moſt vitious Inclinations, of that Prince. This has ſo altered him, that many of the *Pruſſians* fear he will one Day turn out a moſt ambitious, perfidious, avaritious, and cruel Tyrant; though others, it muſt be owned, expect and hope for much better Things from him.

With Regard to the King's other Children, the People we converſed with were almoſt intirely ſilent; though ſeveral Perſons ſeemed to promiſe themſelves no great Matters from them, eſpecially the Princes, on Account of the bad Example ſhewn them daily by the King, who very frequently, as was ſaid, whilſt we were at *Berlin*, both by his Words and Actions, expreſſed little Regard either to Virtue, Decency, or Religion. Notwithſtanding which, we were told, that he had given frequent Proofs of his Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and of his Averſion to Popery; as alſo, that ſometimes he ſeemed to be acted by a true Spirit of Devotion. He is likewiſe ſaid ſometimes to be very impartial in the Adminiſtration and Diſtribution of Juſtice; though it is notorious, that he has, on many Occaſions, demonſtrated himſelf capable of the greateſt Partiality in this Particular.

It is well known, that the King of *Pruſſia* has on Foot an Army of, at leaſt, ſeventy-thouſand effective Men; and theſe, perhaps, the beſt Troops in the World. They are undoubtedly better diſciplined, and more frequently exerciſed, than the Forces of any other Potentate; and made by much the fineſt Appearance of any Troops we have hitherto ſeen. The King is extremely fond of his tall Grenadiers, which he has collected out of almoſt all Parts of *Europe*. Theſe, or rather two Battalions of theſe at a Time, he reviews moſt Days, whilſt at *Potſdam*, in his Gardens there, from Five till Nine of the Clock in the Morning; and afterwards on a Plain, on the other Side the *Havel*, till Eleven. Though theſe Grenadiers are the King's greateſt Favourites, yet, as moſt of them have been either forced or decoyed into the Service, they take all Opportunities to deſert; neither are his other Forces over cloſely attached to him. This Diſpoſition of the *Pruſſian* Soldiery enabled a certain *French* Miniſter, at the Court of *Berlin*, to rally the Baron *D' Ilgen*, with a good Deal of Poignancy. That Miniſter having expoſtulated with the Baron, on Account of the King of *Pruſſia*'s Failing in the Execution of a certain Treaty, and expreſſed his Maſter's Diſapprobation of that Prince's Conduct with ſome Warmth; the Latter ſaid, That more decent Terms ought to be uſed in a Conference with the Prime Miniſter of a Monarch, who kept on Foot an Army of ſeventy-thouſand Men: To which the *Frenchman* replied, That theſe Men were not Soldiers, but Slaves, and required an Army of at leaſt ſeventy-thouſand Soldiers to keep them firm in their Duty. The King, every Time we ſaw him, appeared in the Uniform of his tall Grenadiers, eſteeming it the greateſt Honour to be conſidered as the Head of that Corps.

His *Pruſſian* Majeſty ſometimes takes Delight in Hunting, though he is rather too corpulent and unweildy for that Sort of Exerciſe. He has a very ſhort Neck, his Face is often of the Colour of Gun-powder, and, with Regard to his Features, moſt of his *Ritrats* pretty much reſemble him. He is capable of ſuſtaining Toil and Fatigue to a tolerable Degree, and of uſing rather more than moderate Exerciſe; which he actually does, and which, with Riſing early in a Morning, probably keeps him alive. But, as he is dropſical, eats and drinks immoderately, is fond of the ſtrongeſt Kinds of Liquors, which he frequently intoxicates himſelf with, has of late had repeated Twitchings and Convulſive Motions, cannot ſleep in any other Poſture than Sitting, is lethargic, and, upon the leaſt Ceſſation of Exercife, often falls aſleep, it is generally believed, that he will not be long-lived. And this ſeems the more probable, as he has already been attacked once by an Apoplectic Fit, which had like to have carried him off.

We met with no wild Beaſts, appertaining to the Royal Palace at *Berlin*, as at *Vienna* and *Dreſden*, the King not having a Taſte for ſuch Creatures. However, we ſaw at *Potſdam* an Eagle, and ſeven or eight Vultures, of a very

large and uncommon ſize. In Lieu of wild Beaſts, his *Pruſſian* Majeſty keeps ſeveral Jeſters, or Buffoons, who, on many Occaſions, afford him a moſt agreeable Entertainment.

The principal Places, in and about *Berlin*, worthy the Attention of a curious Traveller, are the Royal Palace, the Arſenal, and *Monbijou*. Every Gentleman of Taſte, who peruſes this Narrative, will expect a ſhort Deſcription of theſe.

The Royal Palace ſtands in the *Frederickſtadt*, and conſiſts of two large Courts. Every Thing belonging to it, particularly, the Windows and Entries, appear ſufficiently grand. It has a noble Proſpect towards the grand Parade, where formerly were the Royal Gardens. That Part of the Palace, to the Right of the Parade, contains the Royal Library, the Royal Apothecary's Apartments, the Royal Confectionary, the Royal Laundry, and ſeveral other Rooms occupied by the Domeſticks of the Court. To this adjoins the Grotto-work, made of Shells; contiguous to which, is the fine Orangery, in Form of a Half-Moon. The Library contains a noble Collection of printed Books, all bound in red *Morocco*, and gilt on the Backs. Near to this, is a large Chamber, full of MSS, and Books that may paſs for exceeding great Curioſities. Some of the principal of the latter are ſeveral *Chineſe* Books, and the *Koran* in the Original, ſent, as we were told, about a Century ago, by the Grand Signior to *Mecca*. This, according to the ſame Perſons, was ſeized by the wild *Arabs*, and ſold by them to ſome Merchants, from whom it came into the Hands of the Elector of *Brandenburg*. It is rolled round a pretty large Piece of ſolid Gold, reſembling a ſhort Stick, or Staff. It is adorned with precious Stones of various Kinds, and has two Knobs of Gold, at each End; but the Workmanſhip ſeems clumſy and rude, at leaſt, far from being elegant. The Library of the late learned Baron *Spanheim* was purchaſed by *Frederick the Firſt*, and annexed by him to the Royal Library, though it ſtands in a Room by itſelf. It is opened only once or twice a Week; though the King's Library is opened twice every Day, once in the Forenoon, and once in the Afternoon, except in the *Dog days*, when it is ſhut every Afternoon. In the Palace, we likewiſe meet with a Bed adorned with Pearls, which is much admired. We ſaw many Things in the Chamber of Rarities, which were extremely curious. The principal of which were a Figure in Wax of *Frederick the Firſt* in an eaſy Chair, adorned with a red Coat, Star, and Order of the Garter; many Tables, Bureaus, *&c.* of Amber, with the Figures of Leaves, Inſects, *&c.* upon them; a Piece of Amber weighing an hundred Pounds; a Piece of Amber, with the Fiſh, called *Barbatula*, in *High Dutch*, *Schmerling*, in it; other Pieces of Amber, with Beetles, Horſe-Flies, Fiſh-Bones, Shells, Sea-Weeds, Moſs, *&c.* in them; and laſtly, a moſt invaluable Collection of ancient *Egyptian*, *Perſian*, *Phœnician*, *Punic*, *Greek*, and *Roman* Medals, of which M. *de la Croze*, the King's Librarian, has publiſhed a complete Catalogue in *Quarto*, with a great Number of Plates exceedingly well done. Other Chambers of the Palace are remarkable for the great Number of large Tables, Locks, and almoſt all Sorts of Furniture of maſſy Silver, they contain. In the Royal Chapel there is an Organ likewiſe, whoſe Pipes conſiſt of Silver. The greateſt Part of the Amber-Curioſities above-mentioned came from *Pruſſia*, particularly, the Diſtrict of *Koningsberg*, the Capital City; though ſeveral of them were the Produce of his Majeſty's *German* Dominions.

In that Part of *Berlin*, called *Frederick's-Werder*, the King has two Armories, or Arſenals, known by the Names of the *Old Arſenal* and the *New Arſenal*. The *Old Arſenal* is contiguous to the Wall, between the *Leipſick* or *Frederickſtadt-Gate* and the *New Town* or *Dorotheaſtadt-Gate*. It is a long low Building, that makes no grand Appearance; but it contains a vaſt Quantity of Arms, and has always two Centinels poſted before the Door. The *New Arſenal*, by Way of Eminence, called the *Arſenal*, ſtands near the *Dorotheaſtadt-Gate*, oppoſite to the Palace, which formerly was the Governor's Houſe, but now belongs to the Prince Royal; and is one of the moſt ſuperb and magnificent Buildings in *Europe*. It forms a Square, is built of Free-ſtone, has large Saſh-Windows, and on the Top a Stone-Gallery. This Gallery is adorned with Statues, Trophies, and ſeveral Hiſtorical Figures, all of Stone. Several Statues, Trophies, and Figures of the ſame Kind are likewiſe placed in Nitches round the Building, all done in an elegant Taſte. From the *New Arſenal*, you have a

delightful

delightful Proſpect of the Royal Palace. Before this Edifice, oppoſite to the grand Parade abovementioned, at the Diſtance of about ten Paces, may be ſeen an immenſely large Cannon, carrying a Ball of an hundred Pounds Weight, and called *Europa*. The Reaſon given by ſome for this Name is, becauſe the Cannon is the largeſt Piece of Artillery in *Europe*; but this does not appear to us altogether ſatisfactory. Round this Arſenal are placed immenſe Quantities of Bombs, Cannon-balls, and Grenadoes in a Pyramidal Form. Here are Arms more than ſufficient for an Army of two hundred Thouſand Men, all beautifully poliſhed, and kept in the niceſt Order. Cannons likewiſe, of various Sizes, Mortars, *&c.* it is moſt plentifully furniſhed with. In the Reign of *Frederick the Firſt*, this Arſenal was looked upon to be the largeſt in *Europe*, and ſince that Time it has been continually increaſing. In the Year 1717, the preſent King caſt a new Train of Artillery, conſiſting of ninety Pieces of Cannon and twenty-four Mortars, and placed it here; and many additional Trains of Field-Artillery have ſince been caſt. An Infinity of Cuiraſſes, Helmets, and all other offenſive and defenſive Inſtruments of War, and, in Fine, all Kinds of Military Accoutrements, are likewiſe to be met with in this Arſenal. Parties of the Artillery Company keep Guard here alternately. They are beſides employed in filling the *Patronen*, or Charges, and in caſting leaden Balls for Carbines, Muſquets, Piſtols, *&c.*

Monbijou is a ſmall delightful Summer-Palace, with very beautiful and magnificent Gardens, and ſeveral Buildings round it, appertaining to the Queen. It can ſcarce be deemed an *Engliſh* Mile from the *Spandau-Gate*, and is viſited by all Travellers that come to *Berlin*. The Name is *French*, and equivalent to *my Jewel*, or *my Delight*, in *Engliſh*; the Reaſon of which no one, who has ſeen this Palace, will be at a Loſs to diſcover. The Czar *Peter the Great*, with his Conſort *Catharina*, had the Curioſity to ſee the Palace and Gardens of *Monbijou*, and was moſt magnificently entertained there, by the *Pruſſian* Court, in 1717.

The King has no Taſte for Literature, nor is he an Encourager or Patron of learned Men. There are, however, at *Berlin* ſeveral Perſons of great Erudition, of whom M. *Chriſtfried Kirch*, the King's Aſtronomer, and Member of the Academy of Sciences, M. *Alphonſe des-Vignoles*, and M. *Maturin Veyſſiere la Croze*, the Royal Antiquary and Librarian, are the moſt celebrated and conſiderable. M. *Kirch* I was not in Company with above once or twice; but his Character is ſo well known, and eſtabliſhed, in the learned World, that it would ſavour of Vanity to attempt it here. Mr. *des-Vignoles* is a moſt venerable old Gentleman, being, as he informed me, eighty-four Years of Age. I was ſeveral Times in Company with him, at M. *La Croze's*, when he diſcovered an immenſe Fund of Learning. He is now publiſhing a learned and curious Piece, intitled, *Chronologie de Hiſtoire Sainte & des Hiſtoires Etrangeres qui la concernent, depuis la Sortie d'Ægypte, juſqu' a la Captivite de* Babylone, to which he did me the Honour to invite me to be a Subſcriber. M. *La Croze* is a very great Critic in antient Learning, and the Oriental Languages, particularly *Coptic* and *Armenian*. The celebrated Pieces he has obliged the Republick of Letters with will eternize his Name. He entertained me ſeveral Times with his curious Reſearches into Antiquity and Diſcoveries, for which I held myſelf greatly obliged to him. He affirmed, that Dr. *Wilkins* was a Novice in the *Coptic* Language, and that no *European* had ſufficiently applied himſelf to the *Armenian* Tongue. The *Armenian*, he ſaid, was nearly related to the old *Perſic*, as he had found by comparing Dr. *Hyde's* Piece, *de Religione veterum Perſarum*, with all the beſt Authors treating of the Subject, and his own Obſervations. He affirmed, that he had drawn up a Diſſertation, which proved this to Demonſtration; and that he had compoſed *Coptic-Latin Latin-Coptic*, and *Armenian-Latin Latin-Armenian* Lexicons, that formed two very large Volumes in *Quarto*, which, as he ſaid, he never intended to publiſh. This ſo excited my Curioſity, that I could not be eaſy till I had ſeen them; and, upon his ſhewing them me, I uſed all the Arguments I could think of to perſuade him to make them publick, but without Effect; he perſiſting in his Reſolution to the contrary. He told me, the King of *Pruſſia* had the fineſt Collection of Bibles, in different Languages, to be met with in the World, and that his Majeſty was ſtill augmenting this Collection. He was turned of ſeventy-ſix Years of Age, and in a very infirm Condition. He aſſured me, that he wiſhed for Nothing more than that we

ſhould keep up a conſtant and regular Correſpondence, and that he ſhould always retain a great Regard and Friendſhip for me.

Though we have poſtponed ſeveral odd and unaccountable Stories of the King of *Pruſſia* to another Opportunity, yet we have been prevailed upon to inſert one or two of them here. Mr. *Guy Dickens*, the *Engliſh* Reſident, with whom we ſeveral Times dined, and who is a very obliging and accompliſhed Gentleman, aſſured us, that he had waited above ſix Weeks in vain for an Audience, though the King had granted Audiences to all the other foreign Miniſters, as ſoon as deſired; and that his Majeſty ſcarce ever uſed him as a Gentleman, much leſs as a publick Miniſter, though the King of *Great-Britain*, his Maſter, and that Monarch were in Friendſhip and Alliance. But Mr. *Dickens* added, that this happened to the extreme Regret of all his Subjects. We ourſelves likewiſe are Witneſſes of the ſavage and brutal Diſpoſition of this Prince. For, when we went one Morning at Five o'Clock, to ſee him exerciſe his tall Grenadiers, in his Gardens at *Potſdam*, juſt as he went off, he ſent an Officer to the Author of this Narrative, to enquire who we were; who anſwered, three *Engliſh* Gentlemen, on their Return to *England*, who, having frequently heard of this celebrated Body of his Majeſty's Troops, were extremely deſirous of ſeeing them. To which no Reply was made. But when we followed his Majeſty over the *Havel* to the Plain, where he conſtantly reviewed his Grenadiers after the Exerciſe at *Potſdam*, we were ſurprized to meet with an Officer, who told us, by his Majeſty's Order, that the King never ſuffered any Foreigners to attend him over the *Havel*, and therefore we were enjoined to return to our Inn at *Potſdam*. But as we were returning, in Compliance with this Order, Mr. *Wentworth*, a near Relation of the Earl of *Strafford*, in the King of *Pruſſia*'s Service, met us, and, upon hearing our Story, placed us behind a large overgrown Oak, where we could eaſily ſee the King exerciſe his Grenadiers. But the ſame Gentleman informed us, that we ran a conſiderable Riſk, ſince, if the King diſcovered us, he could not tell what might be the Conſequence of a Non-Compliance with the Order abovementioned.

The ſame Mr. *Dickens* informed us, that the King of *Pruſſia* and all his Miniſters drank extremely hard, and were frequently guilty of very odd Pranks. But the moſt unaccountable Inſtance of hard Drinking, according to this Gentleman, was General *Jagoſinſki*, the *Ruſſian* Ambaſſador. He once or twice a Week dined with Mr. *Dickens*, who went to Dinner about One o' Clock. From that Time till Twelve, the Bumper went inceſſantly round, and Mr. *Dickens*'s Company, except M. *Jagoſinski*, were generally twice overpowered before that Time, as a Half-Pint Glaſs of Wine was circulated without Intermiſſion. But M. *Jagoſinski* took his Bumpers, without Solicitation; foiled the reſt of the Gentlemen twice; and then left them, ſeemingly, as cool and unconcerned as when he firſt came amongſt them. What renders this the more ſtrange and ſurprizing is, that M. *Jagoſinski*, every Morning, as ſoon as he aroſe, drank off a full Half-Pint of Brandy, and ſometimes a much larger Quantity.

From what has been already obſerved, it muſt plainly appear, that *Berlin* is one of the largeſt, fineſt, and moſt populous Cities in *Germany*. Nay we may venture to affirm, that in ſome Reſpects no other Town of *Germany* can vye with it. Since the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantz*, vaſt Numbers of *French* Proteſtants have ſettled here, as well as in many other Parts of the King of *Pruſſia*'s Dominions. We were told, that they make up near one Third of the Inhabitants of this City. Theſe Inhabitants are ſaid to amount to Eighty-thouſand Souls.

The *Prince Royal*, where we put up, is an exceeding good Inn, neither was the Bill brought us by the Landlord at our Departure very extravagant; ſince the whole Expence we incurred, by Eating, Drinking, and Lodging, did not amount to above fifteen Florins *per Diem*. We gave as a Gratuity to the Servant, who ſhewed us the Palace, an Hungar or Ducat; to him who ſhewed us the Armory or Arſenal, ſix Florins; and to him who ſhewed us the Houſe and Gardens of *Monbijou*, two Florins. Having ſatisfied ourſelves with the Sight of every Thing curious at *Berlin*, we next propoſed Viſiting the City of *Hanover*, and Viewing whatever occurred to us worthy of Attention there.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

A Journey from Berlin, *the Reſidence of the King of* Pruſſia, *to* Hanover, *the Capital of the Electorate of* Brunſwick-Lunenburg.

THE Road to *Spandau*, the firſt Place we arrived at after our Departure from *Berlin*, appeared pleaſant and agreeable enough. There are, however, ſome Woods in this Tract. *Spandau* is a conſiderable walled Town of the Marquiſate of *Brandenbourg*, upon the Weſtern Bank of the *Havel*, about two *German* Miles North Weſt of *Berlin*. Priſoners of Diſtinction, as well as others of an inferior Rank, are frequently ſent to the Caſtle here; inſomuch that it is ſcarce ever without ſome of them. There are at preſent here, as we were told at *Berlin*, betwixt forty and fifty Soldiers, who ſome Time ſince came to a Reſolution to deſert in a Body, and, in Order to facilitate the Execution of this Deſign, propoſed to diſpatch every Perſon they met with in their Route. But one of the Party diſcovered the whole Affair to the King, who immediately ordered their Ears and Noſes to be cut off, and then ſent them to the Caſtle of *Spandau*, where they are to be confined with Chains about their Legs, for Life. At a ſmall Diſtance from the Town, we ſaw a Gallows, and ſome Wheels, erected for the Execution of Criminals and Malefactors. According to Information received from Perſons of good Authority at *Berlin*, the King is for the moſt Part his own Prime Miniſter. However, he permits his Miniſters of State and Privy-Councillors to deliver their Opinions upon any Scheme he forms, and even to offer to it whatever Objections they think proper twice; but, if any one of them preſumes to attempt invalidating the King's Anſwers to theſe, he is preſently ſent to the Caſtle of *Spandau*. Nay, as the ſame Perſons aſſured us, when his Majeſty is in an ill Humour, which pretty frequently happens, after he has anſwered the firſt Objections urged againſt his Project, he draws upon a Piece of Paper the Caſtle of *Spandau*, a Gallows, Gibbet, Wheel, or ſomething of that Kind, and orders it to be poſted over the Objector's Door. This is very well underſtood, and not one of the Miniſters of State dares afterwards offer any Arguments againſt what the King has been pleaſed to advance.

From *Berlin*, through the King of *Pruſſia*'s Territories, we paid three Groſſe *per* Poſt, for each of our Poſt-Chaiſes. This he allows the Poſt-Maſters, in Order to compenſate the Loſs they ſuſtain by their Poſt-Waggons, or Brouëttes, lying idle; which our Readers will allow to be a great Impoſition.

From *Spandau* we proceeded to *Wuſtermarck*, or *Wooſtermart*, a ſmall inconſiderable Village. *Wooſtermart* ſtands about two *German* Miles North-Weſt of *Spandau*. Nothing remarkable occurred this Poſt. The Road was ſandy, and for the moſt Part an Aſcent. We muſt not forget obſerving, that the People at *Wuſtermarck*, as well as at *Spandau*, were very civil and obliging. The Poſt-Office at *Spandau* ſeemed a tolerable good Houſe.

We found the following Poſt, terminated by *Barnovitz*, or *Barnewitz*, about the ſame Length as the preceding. The Road likewiſe betwixt *Barnewitz* and *Wooſtermart* continued ſandy. As *Barnewitz* is a Place of no Note, and nothing worthy of a Traveller's Attention preſented itſelf to our View, we did not ſtay above Half an Hour there.

The next Place we arrived at was *Ratenau*, or *Ratenou*, about three *German* Miles almoſt Weſt of *Barnovitz*. *Ratenau* is a pretty conſiderable Town upon the *Havel*. We found ſome *Pruſſian* Foot in Garriſon here. We took up our Lodging at *Ratenau*, and met there with very good Accommodations.

Setting out early the next Morning, we breakfaſted at *Tangermiinde*, or *Tangerminden*. *Tangerminden* is a large Town, on the weſtern Bank of the *Elbe*, about two *German* Miles Weſt of *Ratenau*. This Poſt we croſſed the *Havel* and the *Elbe*, and paſſed through a Sort of Moraſs. We found ſeveral *Pruſſian* Companies of Foot in Garriſon at *Tangerminden*.

Gardeleben, the Place we next viſited, ſtands about four *German* Miles almoſt Weſt of *Tangermiinde*. This Poſt the Road was ſandy and heavy. Between this Town and *Tangermiinde* we paſſed through a Village, called *Stendel*. There are at preſent two or three Companies

of

of Foot poſted here, but the worſt *Pruſſian* Infantry we have hitherto ſeen.

From *Gardeleben* we advanced to *Steincke*, upon the Frontiers of the Duchy of *Lunenburg*. This is a ſmall Village, about three *German* Miles almoſt Weſt of *Gardeleben*. The Road being very bad this Poſt, we found ourſelves a little fatigued, and therefore agreed to lodge at *Steincke*. The Accommodations here were very indifferent; but, as we ſet out very early in the Morning, this was no great Inconvenience to us.

Between *Steincke* and *Brunſwick*, or, as the *Germans* call it, *Braunſchweig*, the Road was very bad; inſomuch that we were frequently in Danger of being overturned. The Country, however, appeared very agreeable and delightful, and not unlike ſome Parts of *England*. *Steinkce* ſtands about five *German* Miles off *Brunſwick*, in a North-Eaſt Direction. We met with Nothing worth any Attention this Poſt.

Brunſwick is a very large, ſtrong, and antient City of *Germany*, upon the *Ocker*, about one and a Half *German* Miles North of *Wolfenbuttle*, and about ſeven *German* Miles Eaſt of *Hanover*. It is ſubject to the Duke of *Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttle*, and famous for a Liquor called *Mum*, which was formerly exported from hence into ſeveral Parts of *Europe*, and particularly *England*, but is not now in very great Vogue. The *Latin* Names of *Brunſwick* are *Brunopolis*, *Brunſwiga*, and *Brunſviga*. According to the *German* Hiſtorians, this City was built by *Bruno*, a Duke of *Saxony*, *A. D.* 861. It is two Miles in Compaſs, and ſurrounded with double Walls and Ditches. Each of the five Corporations, into which it is divided, has its proper Megiſtrates, publick Hall, and Courts of Judicature; but in Matters relating to the common Intereſt, they all unite. It was formerly a noble Hans Town, and then in a much more flouriſhing Condition than at preſent; though it may be conſidered now as a rich and populous City. The principal Curioſities to be ſeen here are the following: 1. The Duke of *Blanckenburg*'s Palace, a Fabric of very conſiderable Antiquity, and, for the Time when it was built, ſufficiently grand. 2. The new Palace built by the preſent Duke *Lewis Adolph*, which is magnificent enough, and of a very large Extent. 3. The Town-Houſe, which merits the Attention of every curious Traveller. 4. The Church of St. *Blaiſe*, which is the principal one of the Town. Here ſeveral of the Dukes are interred. 5. The Lion of Braſs, in a Square oppoſite to the Church of St. *Blaiſe*, repreſenting the Animal of that Name, which followed Duke *Henry*, ſurnamed *the Lion*, where-ever he went. 6. The Fortifications of the City, which are ſo complete, that it cannot be beſieged without a numerous Army. 7. The rich Furniture, fine Pictures, Cabinet of Curioſities, *&c.* in the new Palace. 8. The Citadel, which is a Place of great Strength. The Duke of *Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttle* always keeps a good Garriſon here.

We put up at the *Golden Eagle*, which is looked upon by moſt *Engliſh* Gentlemen, that have travelled of late through this Part of *Germany*, to be the beſt Inn in *Brunſwick*. The Women here did not ſeem ſo modeſt and reſerved in their Behaviour, as we found them in the Dominions of the Emperor, the King of *Poland* (Elector of *Saxony*) and the King of *Pruſſia*. The Mum we met with here was much inferior, in Fineneſs of Flavour, to the Liquor of the ſame Kind we had drank in *London*. But this is not to be wondered at; ſince the Mum ſent to *London* is not only, as our Landlord informed us, the beſt brewed here, but the Flavour of the Liquor itſelf is likewiſe vaſtly improved by its Paſſage to *London*. Though *Brunſwick* is a Place of conſiderable Note, the Entertainment we met with in it was by no Means elegant. They have an exceeding good Coffee-Houſe here. The Duke of *Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttle*'s Poſtilions have Strings over their right Shoulder ſtriped with *Red* and *White*. *Brunſwick* ſtands in 52 Deg. 14 Min. North Lat. and 10 Deg. 44 Min. Eaſt of *London*. This Poſt we traverſed Part of the Biſhoprick of *Hildeſheim*.

The next Place we arrived at was called *Payn*, *Pein*, or *Peina*. *Peina* is a conſiderable Town near the Borders of the Electorate of *Hanover*, about three *German* Miles Weſt of *Brunſwick*. It ſtands upon the River *Fuhſe*, in the Biſhoprick of *Hildeſheim*. *Peina* being a Place of ſome Strength, there was a Garriſon in it, which the Poſtmaſter informed us was a Detachment of the *Hanoverian* Forces. We were extremely hungry upon our Arrival

at

at *Peina*; but could meet with Nothing, except a few Eggs and a little Bread, there.

From *Peina* to *Hanover*, we found it four long *German* Miles. There are ſeveral conſiderable Woods in this Tract, which may be deemed Part of the *Silva Hercynia* of the Antients. That this Foreſt, which was of ſuch a prodigious Extent, conſiſted chiefly of Firs, ſeems probable, not only from what we have obſerved of the Woods in the Hereditary Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, but likewiſe from *Hartz-Foreſt*, the modern Name of Part of the Remains of the *Silva Hercynia*. For *Hartz*, in the *High Dutch*, or *German* Language, ſignifies the Juice, Sap, or Exſudation of Fir-Trees. The latter Part of this Poſt was ſandy, and, conſequently, the Road tolerably good. The Number of Poſts between *Berlin* and *Hanover* ſtands thus:

From *Berlin* to *Spandau*, one Poſt, two *German* Miles.

From *Spandau* to *Wuſtermarck*, one Poſt, two *German* Miles.

From *Wuſtermarck* to *Barnewitz*, one Poſt, two *German* Miles.

From *Barnewitz* to *Ratenau*, one and a Half Poſts, three *German* Miles.

From *Ratenau* to *Tangerminden*, one Poſt, two *German* Miles.

From *Tangerminden* to *Gardeleben*, two Poſts, four *German* Miles.

From *Gardeleben* to *Steincke*, one and a Half Poſts, three *German* Miles.

From *Steincke* to *Brunſwick*, two and a Half Poſts, five *German* Miles.

From *Brunſwick* to *Peina*, one and a Half Poſts, three *German* Miles.

From *Peina* to *Hanover*, two and a Half Poſts, five *German* Miles.

Total, fifteen Poſts, thirty-one *German* Miles.

Hanover, in *Latin*, *Hanovera*, the Capital of the Duchy and Electorate of the ſame Name, is ſituate on the River *Leine*, in a ſandy Soil, about eight *German* Miles Weſt of *Brunſwick*, and ſeven South-Weſt of *Zell*. It is a Place of conſiderable Strength, and the Seat of the Elector, our preſent moſt gracious Sovereign. The River *Leine* divides it into two Parts, known by the Names of the *New* and *Old Town*. Though it cannot be deemed a very grand and ſtately City, yet the Streets are regular, broad, and well-paved, as well as extremely clean and neat. There is, properly ſpeaking, no Court here, in the Abſence of the King of *Great-Britain*. But the States of the Electorate are governed by a Council of Regency; ſome Members of which reſide in *London*, as long as his *Britannick* Majeſty remains in *England*, and the reſt at *Hanover*. For this Reaſon, ſcarce any Thing very magnificent preſented itſelf to our View here. The Houſes in general make no very grand Appearance, moſt of them conſiſting of Timber and Clay; though there are many likewiſe of Brick and Stone. The *Leine*, that runs through *Hanover*, being a delightful River, gives the Town a pleaſant Aſpect, and renders the Situation much more charming and agreeable. The Streets are finely illuminated every dark Night, during the Winter-Seaſon. We were told, that the Air here is very ſalubrious, that the Citizens are ſeldom viſited by any Epidemical Diſeaſe, and that many of them arrive at a good old Age.

Proviſions of all Kinds the City is ſupplied with in great Plenty, and the Inns, if we may form a Judgment of them from the *City* of *London*, where we lodged, as good as any in *Germany*. That Inn we take to be as polite a one as ever we ſaw; though we have traverſed the beſt Part of *Europe*. The Landlord was extremely civil, and did what he could to oblige us. We had our Diſhes ſerved up both in the *Engliſh* and *French* Way, with the utmoſt Elegance. One Article the Cook was reſolved to oblige us in, whether we were *Engliſh* or *French*, for we did not at firſt diſcover to what Country we belonged; and that was the Dreſſing of a Hare. That we might not fail of being pleaſed, the Hare was roaſted, one Half larded, and the other plain. We met likewiſe here with a conſiderable Variety of Wines, every Species of which, that we taſted, was extremely good. And our Landlord, civil and obliging as he was, in order to be conſiſtent with himſelf by his Bill at our Departure, treated us as Perſons of the firſt Diſtinction.

The principal Things worthy of a Foreigner's Notice in *Hanover* are the following: 1. The Elector's Palace, founded upon the Ruins of a Monaſtery, and adorned with a vaſt Quantity of rich Furniture. The Tapeſtry

peſtry and Paintings here are extremely fine. Much of the Furniture, as Tables, *&c.* conſiſts intirely of Silver; with which valuable Metal the Elector is ſupplied moſt copiouſly from the rich Silver-Mines in the Duchy of *Lunenburg*. Here is likewiſe a Cabinet of Curioſities, and a noble Collection of antient and modern Medals. This Palace is of a large Extent, has ſeveral Courts, and a very fine Chapel. In this Chapel, under the Communion-Table, as we were informed, the Body of King *George the Firſt* lies interred. We muſt not omit obſerving, that the whole is a Structure of Free-Stone. 2. The Church of *Santa Croce*, or the *Holy Croſs*, which has a double Row of Galleries round it from the Altar, and upon the firſt the Hiſtory of the Goſpel in fifty-three Parts, painted with exquiſite Art. 3. The Church of St. *James*, which is adorned with many fine Pictures of Apoſtles and Saints, all done by very able Maſters. 4. The *Roman* Catholick Church, which the Emperor *Leopold* obliged the preſent King of *Great-Britain*'s Grandfather to grant to thoſe of his Communion, when he inveſted him with the Electoral Dignity, in 1692. 5. The Church built by the Princeſs *Sophia* for the *French* Refugees, to which King *William the Third* was a Benefactor. 6. The Churches of St. *George* and St. *Giles*, *&c.* 7. The Printing-Preſs, from whence Pieces of Erudition are now and then ſent out into the learned World; as alſo the Hoſpital, and *Orphanotrophium*, every one of which deſerves to be ſeen.

When the King of *Great-Britain* reſides here, the Court is very brilliant and polite. Beſides the frequent Concerts, Balls, Aſſemblies, *Feſtins*, *&c.* they have, as we were informed, for the moſt Part, *French* Comedies acted ſeveral Times a Week, in the Theatre appertaining to the Palace. And as People of all Ranks and Degrees are admitted *gratis* to this laſt Diverſion, of which they are very fond, the Arrival of his *Britannick* Majeſty at *Hanover* always occaſions great Feſtivity and Rejoycing. Indeed, that Monarch is extremely well beloved, and even almoſt adored by all his Electoral Subjects; inſomuch that they never part with him, but with the utmoſt Regret. Operas, we were told, of late Years, have not been ſo much in Vogue here; though the Elector has a fine Opera-Houſe, adorned with Paintings, *&c.* that render it a real Curioſity. Perhaps, in ſome Reſpects, it is not inferiour to any Thing of the ſame Kind in *Europe*.

Hanover was formerly a Hans Town, and enjoyed a very flouriſhing Commerce. It has at preſent four Fairs a Year, to which many foreign Merchants reſort. This brings conſiderable Wealth to the Place, which is increaſed by the Produce of the Silver-Mines of *Lunenburg*. In Fine, we ſaw no Signs of Poverty here: On the contrary, a Plenty of Money is viſible, and all Kinds of Proviſions, tho' by no Means ſcarce, fetch a pretty high Price; both indiſputable Indications of a very conſiderable Share of Wealth. *Hanover* ſtands in 52 Deg. 23 Min. North Lat. and 10 Deg. 16. Min. Eaſt of *London*.

The Elector of *Hanover* is one of the moſt potent Princes of the Empire. He has at preſent on Foot an Army of twenty-two-thouſand Men, all regular Troops; and can augment his Forces with a Body of thirteen or fourteen-thouſand Men, without burthening his Subjects. The Acceſſion of the Duchies of *Lunenburg*, *Saxe-Lawenburg*, *Zell*, *Bremen*, &c. to the *Patrimonial* Eſtates of the Elector, render him above twice as powerful as he was about forty Years ago. His Revenues ariſe not only from the Silver-Mines abovementioned, but likewiſe from ſeveral others of Iron and Copper; from Taxes on Land, Cattle, Merchandize (particularly from *Brewhan*, a thick ſweet Liquor brewed at *Hanover*, and exported from thence into all the neighbouring Parts) Publick Houſes, and Inns; and from the Salt-Pits, or Springs, that riſe within the Walls of *Lunenburg*. Theſe Revenues at preſent are ſaid to amount to above five hundred-thouſand Pounds Sterling *per Annum*.

The King of *Great-Britain*, as Elector of *Hanover*, is thought to be one of the richeſt Princes in *Germany*. He has ſome Troops of Life-Guards, and two Regiments of Foot-Guards, of one Battalion each, clothed in Red lined with Blue; which made an exceeding fine Appearance. He has alſo five or ſix Courts, or Councils; and Officers of State, uſual in Courts of crowned Heads. But, for a particular Account of theſe Councils and Officers, we muſt beg Leave to refer our Readers to ſeveral modern Writers, who have treated of the *German* Affairs, and given us a minute and circumſtantial Deſcription of them.

Lutheraniſm

Lutheraniſm is the eſtabliſhed Religion in this Electorate, though both *Roman*-Catholicks and *Jews* are tolerated here. The latter have a Synagogue at *Hanover*; and the former are pretty numerous there. Theſe are, however, People of low Rank; almoſt all the Nobility and Gentry being *Lutherans*. Before the Emperor *Leopold* would grant Duke *Erneſt* the Inveſtiture of the Electoral Dignity in 1692, he obliged him to admit of an Apoſtolical Vicar in his Dominions, and to permit him to reſide at *Hanover*. A Toleration is not only granted to the *Calviniſts* here, but likewiſe to People of all other Perſuaſions. We did not hear of many learned Men at *Hanover*, though, we doubt not, many are there to be found. However, the Fame of M. *Heumannus* ſoon reached us, as it will many future Travellers who viſit this Place. That Gentleman has a vaſt Fund of Erudition, as clearly appears from the numerous learned Treatiſes he has already publiſhed. A Liſt of theſe Treatiſes is inſerted in the Preface to a learned Piece of his, the third Edition of which was printed the laſt Year at *Hanover*, with the following Title:

CONSPECTUS REIPUBLICÆ LITERARIAE,
SIVE
VIA AD
HISTORIAM LITERARIAM
JUVENTUTI STUDIOSAE
APERTA
A
CHRISTOPHORO HEVMANNO D.
Editio tertia locupletior.
HANOVERAE,
APUD JO. JACOBUM FOERSTERUM.
MDCCXXXIII.

This Piece is dedicated to the famous Dr. *John Burchard Menckenius*, Aulick Councillor and Hiſtoriographer to *Auguſtus the Second*, King of *Poland*, Fellow of the Royal Society at *London*, and Publick Profeſſor of Hiſtory in the Univerſity of *Leipſick*. Mr. *Heuman* was born in the Year 1682, and, from the Liſt abovementioned, it appears, that the Books, Tracts, Diſſertations, &c. he publiſhed between 1701 and 1730, amount to One-hundred-forty-four.

The two elegant Seats in the Neighbourhood of *Hanover*, called the *Fantaſy*, or the *Whim*; and *Montbrillant*, or *Mount Pleaſant*, are viewed by all Foreigners that traverſe this Part of *Germany*. They were built by Madame the Baroneſs *de Kilmanſeck*, and the Counteſs *de Platen*. But the nobleſt Seat, or Palace, out of Town, is *Herenhauſen*, on the *Leine*, about one and an Half *Engliſh* Miles, as we gueſſed, North of *Hanover*. The Gardens here are moſt charming and delightful, and the Wilderneſs of Ever-greens ſcarce to be parallelled. The Orangery likewiſe, and Theatre cut out into green Seats, with Arbours and Summer-houſes on both Sides of it, for the Actors to dreſs in, are juſtly celebrated all over *Germany*. But the greateſt Ornament of theſe delicious Gardens are the large Baſons, beautiful Caſcades, and Water-works here, which, by all good Judges, are looked upon to be the fineſt in *Europe*. We found a *Yorkſhire* Man, who, as he ſaid, came hither in the Beginning of King *George the Firſt*'s Reign, and had the Management and Direction of the Water-works committed to his Care. He gave the higheſt Character of that excellent Prince; as, indeed, did all the People we converſed with at *Hanover*, but more eſpecially his Domeſticks. His Majeſty, for the moſt Part, held his Reſidence in the Caſtle of *Herenhauſen*, during the Time he found his Preſence neceſſary in his *German* Dominions.

When we went out of *Hanover*, in Order to take a View of *Herenhauſen*, ſome Soldiers, poſted at the Gate we paſſed through, ſeemed to look upon us with an evil and malicious Eye, the Reaſon of which we could never diſcover. The Poſt-Maſter likewiſe, to whom we applied for Poſt Horſes the Day before we left the Place, inſiſted, at firſt, upon our taking an additional Horſe to each of our Chaiſes. But, upon our acquainting him, that we were *Engliſh* Gentlemen, and could not avoid thinking it hard, that People under the ſame Sovereign with ourſelves ſhould treat us more harſhly than the Subjects of the Emperor, the King of *Poland*, and the King of *Pruſſia* had done, he permitted us to purſue our Journey with the ſame Number of Horſes we brought with us to *Hanover*: And, in Palliation of what he had done, alledged that he had been informed we were *Frenchmen*, and conſequently belonged to a Nation then at War with the Empire. Whether this was the real Cauſe of his unpolite Behaviour, or only a Pretext, we will not take upon us to determine; be that, however, as it will, it was ſome Matter of Comfort to us to find, that, of all Nations in the World, the *French*, at this Juncture, were the moſt diſagreeable to the *Hanoverians*.

Having ſeen every Thing worthy of a curious Traveller's Attention at *Hanover*, we made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for our Departure from that Place; propoſing to finiſh our Travels in the Empire, by continuing them to *Hamburg*. To that famous *Emporium* therefore we reſolved next to direct our March, and, in Order to this, to take the Route of *Zell*.

SECT. IX.

A Journey from Hanover, *the Metropolis of the Electorate of* Brunſwick-Lunenburg, *to* Hamburg, *the ſecond of the Hans Towns.*

WE arrived at *Zell*, about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon. The Tract between *Hanover* and *Zell* is, for the moſt Part, heathy and ſandy; though Part of it is very well cultivated and manured. The Poſtiglioni told us, that it abounded with Hares, and we ourſelves ſaw two of thoſe Animals, as we paſſed the Road. There are likewiſe ſome Woods in this Tract, which may be looked upon as certain ſmall Remains of the *Silva Hercynia* of the Antients. The City of *Zell*, at about the Diſtance of an *Engliſh* Mile, has only the Appearance of a very large Village.

Zell, the Capital of the Duchy of the ſame Name, ſtands in 52 Deg. 43 Min. Lat. and 10 Deg. 17 Min. Eaſt of *London*, near the Conflux of the *Aller* and the *Euhſe*, about ſeven *German* Miles North-Eaſt of *Hanover*. It is ſituated in a ſandy Plain, and has ſome large Woods at a ſmall Diſtance from it. The City has a very rural Aſpect, and nothing very remarkable in it, but the Ducal Palace. The Terraſs round the Town is, however, curious enough, as being adorned with Trees planted all along, and rendered more delightful by the fine Gardens, Orchards, and Grottoes adjacent to it. The Palace is very large; but, there having been no Court here ſince the Year 1705, when the late Duke died, the Furniture in the Rooms is gone greatly to Decay. None of theſe Rooms, except that in which King *William* lay, made any tolerable Figure. The Servants ſhewed us a Room, wherein was a Bed with Curtains of black Velvet lined with Damaſk, which they affirmed to be above two-hundred Years old. In this Bed, they ſaid, Lord *Harrington* lay, when he came with the King laſt into *Germany*. The Palace ſtands near the *Hanover*-Gate, and is a ſquare Building of a large Extent, with a Platform at each Corner moated round. The Houſes are all of Timber; but the Churches, which are very mean, of Brick. The ſeveral Rows of Trees planted in the Streets give *Zell* the Appearance of a large Country-Town, in which but little Buſineſs is ſtirring; and this is pretty much the Caſe with the Inhabitants, who ſeem much poorer than the People of *Hanover*. We put up at the *Wine-Cellar*, an Inn in great Repute amongſt the *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who have been at *Zell*; but met with an enormous Bill and very indifferent Accommodations. The Printing-Preſs here deſerves to be remembered, as ſending out into the Republick of Letters now and then a learned Piece. Though *Zell* has been in a Manner deſerted by the Court near thirty Years, and is not looked upon as a Place of any great Conſequence, it is tolerably well fortified, and has an *Hanoverian* Garriſon in it. The Terraſs abovementioned is ſo broad, that ſeveral Coaches may meet thereon abreaſt. There is a pretty little Theatre appertaining to the Palace here, which at preſent appears in a ruinous Condition.

From *Zell* we went to *Vitzendorf*, which is a Village of no great Note. The Country this Poſt was ſandy, and, for the moſt Part, a Heath, interſperſed with ſome Spots of cultivated Ground. Several large Woods are likewiſe to be found in this Tract. Theſe Woods conſiſt chiefly of Firs, as do moſt others in the Duchy of *Lunenburg*, though ſometimes Oaks and Elms are to be found. Several Hares, with which Animal this Country is ſaid to abound, appeared this Poſt, ſome of which our *Swiſs* Servant attempted to ſhoot. We lay at the Poſt-Office in *Vitzendorf*, and met with better Accommodations than at *Zell*. The Diſtance between theſe two Places is at leaſt four *German* Miles.

We advanced from *Vitzendorf* to *Sorenſdorf*, a ſmall inconſiderable Village. The Road and Country this Poſt agreed in all Particulars with the preceding. We could meet with nothing to dine upon at *Sorenſdorf*, but a Bit of cold *A-la-mode* Beef, which was very acceptable to us.

us. Both *Vitzendorf* and *Sorenſdorf* are in the Duchy of *Lunenburg*. That Duchy abounds in Heaths and Woods, ſome Remains of the *Silva Hercynia*; and more eſpecially the Northern Part of it. We might here mention many curious Particulars relating to *Hartz*-Foreſt, which would be entertaining enough; but, as we have already the Natural Hiſtory of that remarkable Foreſt in our own Language, our Readers will conſider this as altogether unneceſſary. *Sorenſdorf* is above four *German* Miles North of *Vitzendorf*. We ſaw laſt Night, about Half a *German* Mile from *Vitzendorf*, an infinite Number of Chafers, or Beetles, of a very large Size, a little after Sun-ſet.

The next Poſt was terminated by the Town and Port of *Harburg*, and conſiſted of, at leaſt, four *German* Miles. I was informed at *Berlin* and *Leipſick*, that ſome of the *Wenden*, or Poſterity of the antient *Venedi*, were ſeated in the Duchy of *Lunenburg*. Neither is this to be wondered at, ſince their chief Seats in this Duchy are *Danneberg* and *Luchow* or *Lochow* on the River *Tetze*; but we did not meet with any of them. The greateſt Part of the Remains of that antient Nation, to the Number of 10,000 Men, Women, and Children, is, as they told me at the Places juſt mentioned, ſettled in *Luſatia*. They have an Averſion to the *Germans*, are Half Catholicks and Half *Lutherans*, partly ſubject to the King of *Pruſſia*, and partly to the Elector of *Saxony*; and occupy the Tract between *Lubben* and *Budiſſin*. They are likewiſe a ſtrong hardy People, and will ſuſtain Toil and Fatigue to an uncommon Degree. They ſtill uſe their antient Language, have a Dreſs different from that of the *Germans*, retain many of their old Cuſtoms, and in ſeveral Points agree with their Anceſtors, who lived in the Time of * *Tacitus*. They are moſt of them Servants, and remarkable for their ſingular Fidelity to their Maſters. But, as we have ſome Years ſince received a very ample and particular Deſcription of this People from the reverend and learned Dr. *Jablonſki*, it would be intirely ſuperfluous to expatiate any further upon them here. The following Table exhibits the Number of *German* Miles between *Hanover* and *Hamburg*.

From *Hanover* to *Zell* ſeven *German* Miles.

From *Zell* to *Vitzendorf* four *German* Miles.

From *Vitzendorf* to *Sorenſdorf* four *German* Miles.

From *Sorenſdorf* to *Harburg* four *German* Miles and a Half.

From *Harburg* to *Hamburg*, about two *German* Miles.

Harburg, or *Harborg*, is a pretty ſtrong and flouriſhing Town of the Duchy of *Lunenburg*, upon the River *Loze* or *Lotze*, and near its Influx into the *Elbe*, almoſt oppoſite to *Hamburg*. The Streets are pretty broad, clean, and well-paved; and almoſt all the Houſes are built of Brick, moſt of them ſeeming perfectly new. It is a long Town, about twelve *German* Miles and a Half North of *Zell*, and has a *Hanoverian* Garriſon. It has a good Harbour, a handſome Church, and ſeveral elegant Squares. The People, in their Air, Behaviour, and Manner of Dreſs, are ſaid to reſemble the *Dutch* more than the *Germans*; as alſo in their Language. This is ſuppoſed to retain much more of the old *Saxon* in it than the *High Dutch*, though the Inhabitants and all the People of the adjacent Country write in *High Dutch*. The Caſtle is very ſtrong, both by Nature and Art, and has Sluices, which, in Caſe of Need, can drown a conſiderable Extent of the adjacent Territory. The Garriſon conſiſted of ſome of the beſt *Hanoverian* Troops we have ſeen. We ſaw a vaſt Number of pregnant Women here. The Town, which conſiſts principally of one long Street, is perfumed in every Part with Pitch and Tar, which to me was by no Means unpleaſant, or diſagreeable. The *King's Arms* is the beſt publick Houſe in *Harburg*.

In our Paſſage over the *Elbe* to *Hamburg*, we met with ſeveral Iſlands ſurrounded with Dikes, which were covered with a moſt beautiful Verdure. It is ſaid, that theſe Iſlands are ſo fertile that their Owners are amply paid for their Cultivation of them.

The City of *Hamburg* was reckoned the Metropolis of the Duchy of *Holſtein*, before it became a free State of the Empire. It is ſituate on the Northern Bank of the *Elbe*, in 53 Deg. 41 Min. North Lat. and 10 Deg. 11 Min. Eaſt of *London*, about fourteen *German* Miles and an half North of *Zell*. This famous City, according to the *German* Hiſto-

* *Tacit.* de Mor. *German.* ſub Fin.

rians, owes its Origin to *Charlemagne*, who built a Fort upon Part of the Ground on which *Hamburg* ſtands, before the Year 810. It was erected firſt into a Biſhoprick, and afterwards into an Archbiſhoprick, by *Ludovicus Pius*, that Prince's Son. It was formerly under the Juriſdiction of the *Saxons*, but became ſubject to the Empire in 1215. The *Danes* took it from the Empire in 1220, and ſold it to *Albert* Count of *Orlemund* and his Heirs; and he ſoon after ſold his Pretenſions to the Citizens, who then declared it a free and independent City. The Emperor *Charles the Fourth* took it under his ſpecial Protection in 1359; though, according to ſome, that Emperor enjoined the *Hamburghers* to acknowledge the immediate Sovereignty of the County of *Holſtein* in 1375. Others deny that Fact. The Kings of *Denmark*, ſucceeding the Counts of *Holſtein* in their Dominions, upon the Failure of the Male Line of thoſe Counts in 1459, ſucceeded them likewiſe in their Pretenſions to the Sovereignty of this City. Thoſe Pretenſions ſtill ſubſiſt. But the neighbouring Princes, not judging it conſiſtent with their Intereſt to permit the *Danes* to make themſelves Maſters of *Hamburg*, have hitherto preſerved its Independency. Notwithſtanding which, the *Hamburghers* have been ſeveral Times fleeced by the neighbouring Princes, ſince the Beginning of this Century. They are always, and particularly at preſent, extremely jealous of the *Danes*.

Hamburg, by its Situation, enjoys all poſſible Advantages of Trade, both foreign and domeſtick; and has actually a better inland Trade than any City in *Europe*, except *London* and *Amſterdam*. The *Engliſh* Merchants here are the great Support of the Place, and are very numerous. They have ſeveral extraordinary Privileges granted them, that are denied to the Merchants of other Nations. And this is not to be wondered at; ſince the greateſt, and almoſt only, Protection the *Hamburghers* have, notwithſtanding they pay eighty-thouſand Crowns a Year to the Emperor to protect them, is from the *Engliſh* Nation.

The Conſtitution and Polity of the City of *Hamburg* are ſo very well underſtood, and we have had of late ſuch full and ample Deſcriptions of them, that we ſhall not touch upon them here. Our Readers, we doubt not, will excuſe us, as the preſent Relation of our Travels has ſo far exceeded the Limits we at firſt propoſed confining it to, if we entertain them only with ſome ſimple Obſervations of our own, that we made, whilſt at *Hamburg*.

The *Hamburghers* are moſt fierce *Lutherans*, and almoſt as much addicted to Perſecution as the *Roman Catholicks*. That Incendiary *Erdman Nieumeiſter*, a *Lutheran* Preacher, ſo well known for his bitter, furious, and antichriſtian Spirit, is in the higheſt Repute amongſt them. They are ſaid to behave with as much Rancour to the *Calviniſts*, or Reformed, as to the *Jews*, *Roman Catholicks*, or *Mohammedans*.

The Cathedral, with the Chapter, and many Houſes belonging to it, are under the Protection of his *Britannick* Majeſty, as Duke of *Bremen*. It was built above nine-hundred Years ago. There are five very large Pariſh Churches here, and eight of a leſſer Size. A Branch of the *Elbe* ſeparates the *Old* from the *New Town*. *Hamburg* is very well fortified, but the Garriſon ſerves only for a Shew. We were told, that two Companies of Burghers guard the Walls every Night. The City of *Hamburg* contains about two-hundred Thouſand Souls. The Number of Coaches here amounts to above Three-hundred; which, in Proportion, exceeds that of any other City in *Europe*. The Cathedral goes generally by the Name of *the Dome*.

At preſent the Burghers keep Guard Day and Night in *Hamburg*. This is owing to the King of *Denmark*'s being encamped at *Ottenſee*, a ſmall Village of *Holſtein*, about four *Engliſh* Miles from *Hamburg*, with ſix-thouſand Men; which he is ſending, as his Contingent, to the Imperial Army upon the *Rhine*. We ſaw theſe Troops reviewed, by his *Daniſh* Majeſty; and they made a very fine Appearance. The King of *Denmark*, at preſent, reſides for the moſt Part in the Neighbourhood of *Altena*. He ſeems to be of a very thin Habit of Body. We were told, that General *Morner* commanded the abovementioned Corps.

There are ſix lofty Steeples in *Hamburg*, ſome of which are covered with Copper. St. *Catharine*'s, one of theſe, has a ſtately Front, and many Statues in Niches. Round the Middle of this Steeple is a Crown, richly gilt. In the Church of St. *Catharine* we ſaw a Piece of Painting, repreſenting the Crucifixion of our Bleſſed Saviour between two Thieves, one of whoſe Souls was carried by an Angel to Heaven,

ven, and the other by a Devil to Hell. This is tolerably well done, and ſeemed to me to be a Piece of conſiderable Antiquity.

All the Churches in *Hamburg*, except *New St. Michael*'s, are ſaid to be older than the Reformation. It is no Wonder, therefore, that they ſhould abound with Crucifix's, Statues of the Virgin *Mary*, &c. It is ſaid there is an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, in St. *Peter*'s, for which the *Roman* Catholicks have offered twenty-thouſand Rixdollars. The Spire of St. *Peter*'s is by much the higheſt of any in the City.

From the *Lombard* Bridge, over the River *Alſter*, a Perſon has a very good Proſpect of the Town. This River forms a fine Baſon within the Town, which to me ſeemed to be in the Form of an Amphitheatre. The Source of the *Alſter* is about thirty *Engliſh* Miles from *Hamburg*. This River, as it is called, does not ſeem to be a running Water, but to be ſupported by imperceptible ſubterraneous Springs.

The Walls of *Hamburg* are ſaid to be between five and ſix *Engliſh* Miles in Circumference. The Walk round them is very pleaſant and agreeable. The *New Town*, we were told, was built in the Year 1621. The Senate-Houſe is adorned, both within and without, with Statues of the modern *Roman* Emperors, the nine Worthies, &c. The Exchange is oppoſite to the Senate-Houſe, on one Side is adorned with ſeveral fine Trees, and has a moſt pleaſant Situation on a Branch or Canal of the *Elbe*. That River forms ſeveral Canals in the *Old Town*, by Means of which the Merchants have their Wares brought to the back Part of their own Houſes. At a ſmall Diſtance from *Hamburg* ſtands a *Fortezza*, called *Hornſchantz*, between which and *Hamburg* there is ſaid to be a ſubterraneous Communication. The Garriſon here does not conſiſt, as we were informed, of above thirty Men; but, according to the ſame Perſons, by Means of the abovementioned Communication, it may be continually reinforced, and ſupplied with Ammunition, Proviſions, &c. from *Hamburg*. The greateſt Part of the Garriſon in this City, if our Friends may be depended upon, is compoſed of the lower Kind of Mechanicks. The whole is ſaid to amount to above two-thouſand Men.

It is a common Maxim amongſt Merchants, that no Town can enjoy a flouriſhing Trade, except its Inhabitants permit the *Jews* to ſettle amongſt them. This Maxim, as it ſhould ſeem, has prevailed in *Hamburg*; ſince there are above thirty-five Thouſand *Jews* in that City. Many of theſe inhabit Part of the *New Town*, towards *Altona*. The Streets occupied by the *Jews* are pretty large, but conſiſt of very poor Houſes. They have here, as in other Places, ſeveral Marks of Diſtinction, by which they are eaſily known.

Our Friends here informed us, that every Perſon who walked the Streets of *Hamburg*, between *Michaelmas* and *Lady-Day*, after Ten o'Clock at Night, without a Lantern, ran a conſiderable Riſk of being arreſted. There is a fine Library belonging to the Town. In many of the Churches here, which are conſtantly open, we were ſurprized to meet with Bookſellers Shops. The *Lutheran* Nuns here marry whenever they pleaſe. We were told, that few were found amongſt them, but ſuch as have ſome Deformity, or Defect. Nay, ſome of our Acquaintance ſaid, that none but ſuch were qualified to live amongſt them. But, this we know not how to give Credit to.

The *Hamburghers* are the moſt charitable People in the World. All real Objects of Charity amongſt them are provided for; but the ſturdy Beggars, that in other Places infeſt the Streets, are ſent to the Workhouſe, that they may be thereby rendered ſerviceable to the Publick. Hence it comes to paſs, that a Beggar is ſcarce ever to be met with, in the Streets of *Hamburg*. But, as ſoon as we came into the King of *Denmark*'s Dominions, we were accoſted by ſeveral of them. The *Hamburghers* bear a great Antipathy to the *Danes*.

If a Native of *Hamburg* is found guilty of Fornication, he is obliged to pay a conſiderable Fine; but the *Engliſh* are exempted from this Mulct. We were told of an Apparition at St. *Peter*'s Church, that frequently alarmed the neighbouring Inhabitants. The Perſon, who mentioned this, is a Merchant of great Subſtance and Reputation. He aſſured us, that ſcarce any Body in *Hamburg* doubted of the Reality of it. But, notwithſtanding this is ſo well atteſted, we leave our Readers, as we have done upon a parallel Occaſion, to believe as much or as little of it as they pleaſe.

We

We saw once or twice Dr. *Nicmeiſter*, a *Lutheran* Clergyman of very intemperate Zeal. He has great Influence in *Hamburg*, though all Men of Senſe look upon him as a moſt furious Incendiary. We were told, that his Works, and thoſe of M. *Eſardus*, Profeſſor of Philoſophy here, had been burnt by the common Hangman at *Berlin*. M. *Eſardus* is a prodigious Bigot, and has wrote with great Acrimony againſt the *Reformed*. There is a Tun here, which is ſaid to contain ſeventy-ſix Hogſheads; and a Cellar containing above four-thouſand Tuns of Wine. The Academy, or *Gymnaſium*, here has produced many learned Men, and is at preſent adorned with ſome Perſons of great Erudition. Of theſe M. *Wolfius* and Dr. *Fabricius* are the chief.

Mr. *Thomas*, Chaplain to the *Britiſh* Factory, or *Hamburg* Company, here, a Gentleman that I can never ſufficiently praiſe for his great Capacity, Politeneſs, and Erudition, introduced me to Dr. *Fabricius*. That venerable and truly learned old Gentleman charmed me with his Converſation. The Scholar, the Gentleman, and the Chriſtian perfectly ſhone in him. He has a moſt noble and magnificent Library; and in it a vaſt Number of Literary Journals, in ſeveral Languages. His Librarian is a modeſt, worthy, and learned Gentleman; and intirely of the ſame Diſpoſition with himſelf. Dr. *Fabricius* expreſſed a great Deſire of keeping up a conſtant literary Correſpondence with me.

The Clocks in *Hamburg* ſtrike Half an Hour before the Hour expires. Thus for Example, at Half Hour paſt Ten the Clock ſtrikes Eleven, which the *Hamburghers* call Half Eleven; and at Eleven it ſtrikes again, which they call Eleven. The Sounds of theſe two Pulſations are ſo different, that a Perſon may eaſily diſtinguiſh the one from the other.

Hamburg is almoſt of a circular Form, and reckoned near ſix Miles in Circumference. It is a Place of conſiderable Strength, a great Part of it being ſituated upon Iſlands. It is divided into the *Old* and *New City*, by a Canal. Beſides the abovementioned Baſon within the Town, the *Alſter* forms another, much larger than the former, juſt without the Town; and then, paſſing by ſeveral Sluices and Canals through the whole City, falls into the *Elbe*. The Funeral Proceſſions at *Hamburg*, eſpecially of Perſons of Faſhion and Diſtinction, are very grand, attended by many of the Senators, principal Elders, Graduates in Law, Divines, regular Phyſicians, &c. The Bearers appear all in *Black*, and have a very particular Kind of Habit. The Body, as we were informed, is for the moſt Part thrown into the Grave, without any Service or Ceremony; though the *Sunday* following, if the ſame Authority may be depended upon, there is generally a Funeral Sermon. M. *Wolfius* here bears a very excellent Character; and M. *Eſardus*, Profeſſor of Philoſophy, is reported to be a Man of great Learning, but a moſt violent Enemy to the *Reformed*.

We were ſeveral Times at *Altena*, a large and populous Town, ſubject to the King of *Denmark*, and the Reſidence of the Governor of *Daniſh Holſtein*. It is joined by a Row of Houſes on the *Elbe*, to *Hamburg*, being a little to the North-weſt of that City. *Altena* was laid in Aſhes, by the *Swediſh* Army under Count *Steinboch*, in 1712; but has ſince been rebuilt, and makes now a finer Figure than ever. It has, at preſent, a very commodious Harbour, and enjoys a flouriſhing Trade. The *Roman Catholicks*, *Calviniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Quakers*, *Jews*, &c. are all tolerated here, the King of *Denmark* judging this a proper Expedient to extend and enlarge the Commerce of the Place. We were told, that the Town conſiſted of about two-thouſand Houſes, and contained near twelve-thouſand Inhabitants. The King of *Denmark*'s Palace here, or rather that of the *Daniſh* Governor, makes a very mean Appearance. The Streets are clean, neat, and well paved; and the Houſes, for the moſt Part, built of Brick. A ſmall Part of the Town is ſaid to belong to the *Hamburghers*. We ſaw ſeveral Ships in the Harbour here, appertaining to Merchants of different Nations. Our Friend that conducted us to *Altena*, who was a *Hamburg* Merchant, aſſured us, that, within the Space of fourteen or fifteen Years, a conſiderable Spot of Ground had been recovered from the *Elbe*, on which one of the beſt Streets in *Altena* at preſent ſtands. Some Pieces of Erudition, elegantly printed, are now and then emitted into the learned World, from the Printing-Preſs here. M. *Wilh. Ern. Ewaldus*, a Clergyman of *Altena*, has lately publiſhed a Book, which has gained him great Reputation in many Parts of *Germany*. Our learned Readers will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the Title

of

of it; which therefore we have thought proper to inſert in this Place.

WILH. ERN. EWALDI, V. D. M. ALTONAVIENSIS,
Emblemata ſacra miſcellanea.
Altonaviæ, apud Jonam Korte,
1732.

We heard this Treatiſe highly commended at *Hamburg*, where the Author is conſidered as an eminent Member of the Republick of Letters. *Altena* is, however, more properly a Seat of Merchants, than learned Men; as evidently appears from the great Number of *Jews* ſettled there. Beſides *Altena*, we ſaw ſeveral other Places in *Holſtein*, as *Relling*, *Stelling*, *Barnvelt*, &c. all in the Neighbourhood of *Hamburg*. The *White Swan* in *Altena* is a tolerable good Inn. The ſix-thouſand *Danes* abovementioned were aſſembled at *Relling*, whilſt we were at *Hamburg*.

The Cellar in *Hamburg* abovementioned is a Sort of Cave; and the Wine in it chiefly Old Hock. This Cellar may be conſidered as a Kind of Tavern, ſince it is kept by a ſelect Number of the Magiſtrates, under the Direction of a Deputy; and Strangers, as well as Natives, of the beſt Faſhion, frequently take a chearful Glaſs in it; it is ſaid to bring in a conſiderable Revenue to the State. The Merchants ſettled at *Hamburg*, and particularly thoſe of our own Nation, treat Strangers with great Elegance and Liberality. The Streets of this City are generally crooked, but pretty wide, and famous for their high and ſtately Houſes, moſt of which are built of Brick. Juſt out of Town, we ſaw a Gallows, with the Skeleton of a Woman hanging upon it intire, with all the Hair on the Skull reaching down almoſt to the Knees; which made a very gaſtly Appearance. The *Little Engliſh Arms* here is a very good Houſe. Several ingenious and learned Pieces are publiſhed every Year, in *Hamburg*; as ſufficiently appears from the foreign literary Journals, and particularly from the *Nova Acta Eruditorum Lipſiæ*, which we take to be more extenſive and univerſal, and conſequently better, than any of the reſt.

We had the Honour to be invited once or twice to dine with Sir *Cyril Wich*, Envoy Extraordinary of his *Britannick* Majeſty to this State. He ſeems to be a Gentleman of a good Political Capacity, and of great Affability and Politeneſs. The late *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, *Peter the Great*, as he informed us, did him the Honour once to dine with him: To which he added, That, ſome Time after Dinner, a *Ruſſian* Lieutenant-General, purſuant to former Orders, waited upon his *Czariſh* Majeſty, who took him to a Corner of the Room, and there had a ſhort Confabulation with him. Which being ended, his *Czariſh* Majeſty took the ſaid Lieutenant-General, who was a ſhort ſquat Man, with a black curled Head of Hair, by both his Ears, knocked his Head ſeveral Times againſt the Wall, and at laſt kicked him out of the Room. This Fact Sir *Cyril* urged, as an Argument of the abſolute and unlimited Power of the *Czar*, as well as the mean, ſlaviſh, and ſavage Diſpoſition of the *Muſcovites*. He likewiſe told us, that the Daughter of the *Czar*, that was married to the Duke of *Holſtein*, was the moſt amiable and beautiful Creature in the World. The Reverend Mr. *Thomas*, Chaplain to the Factory, was ſo good as to accompany us to the Envoy's. Sir *Cyril*'s Wife is a *Daniſh* Lady, and of a moſt amiable Diſpoſition. One *James Mac Geoghegan*, an old *Iriſh* Poetaſter, for ſome Time, perpetually infeſted us here. Though we at preſent conclude our Travels at *Hamburg*, we have an Intention to viſit *Holland* and *Flanders*, and that by the Way of *Bremen*.

England's

ERRATA.

SECT. II. P. 357, Col. 2, l. 2. For *advult*, read *adult*. SECT. IV. P. 429, Col. 2, l. 11. For *fifty thouſand Men*, read *an Army of* 50000 *Men*. Ibid. P. 437, Col. 2, l. 23. For *Nitions*, read *Nations*. Ibid. P. 439, Col. 1, l. 35. For *ten*, read *thirteen*. Ibid. P. 444, Col. 1, l. 7. For *of*, read *upon*. Ibid. P. 446, Col. 2, l. 44. For *Kinſkie*, read *Kinſki*. Ibid. P. 449, Col 2, l. 27. For *in Chief*, read *is Chief*. Ibid. P. 451, Col. 2, l. 2. For *Tranſdadubian*, read *Tranſdanubian*. Ibid. P. 451, Col. 2, l. 31. For *Sclavi*, read *Slavi*. Ibid. P. 453. Col. 1, l. 18. For *Radd and Hoſtui*, read *Rad and Hoſtin*. SECT. V, P. 324, Col. 1, l. 28. For *Taye*, read *Taya*. Ibid. P. 326, Col. 1, l. 20. For *Moravia*, read *Morava*. Ibid. P. 327, Col. 2, l. 47. For *ſtare upon us*, read *ſtare at us*. Ibid. P. 329, Col. 1, l. 9. For *Servants*, read *Servant*. Ibid. P. 329, Col. 2, l. 43. For *beg to add*, read *beg Leave to add*. Ibid. P. 331, Col. 1, l. 1. For *be*, read *ave*. Ibid. P. 331, Col. 1, l. 2. For *be*, read *ave*. Ibid. P. 337, Col. 1, l. 14. For *Hill or Diſtrict*, read *Diſtrict or Hill*. Ibid. P. 337. Col. 2, l. 34. expunge *even*. Ibid. P. 337, Col. 2, l. 55, 56. For *Hill or Diſtrict*, read *Diſtrict or Hill*. Ibid. P. 339, Col. 2, l. 46. For *in the Hill*, read *on the Hill*. Ibid. P. 343, Col. 2, l. 30. For *aſcended to it*, read *aſcended it*. Ibid. P. 344, Col. 1, l. 11. For *Climate, than myſelf*, read *Climate might then*. Ibid. P. 344. Col. 1, l. 12. For *this Time*, read *the Time*. Ibid. P. 344. Col. 2, l. 54. For *impoſing on*, read *impoſing upon*. Ibid. P. 345. Col. 2, l. 6. For *Palace*, read *Palaces*. Ibid. P. 345. Col. 2, l. 14, 15. For *the modern Terms made Uſe of in the* Bohemian *Language*, read *the modern Terms made Uſe of by the* Bohemian *in our Language*.

England's Tears, for the preſent Wars, which, for the Nature of the Quarrel, the Quality of Strength, the Diverſity of Battles, Skirmiſhes, Encounters, and Sieges, happened in ſo ſhort a Compaſs of Time, cannot be paralleled by any precedent Age.

Hei mihi, quàm miſerè rugit Leo, Lilia *languent*,
Heu, Lyra, *quàm mœſtos pulſat Hiberna ſonos.*

Printed at *London*, according to Order, by *Richard Heron*, 1644, *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages.

To my Imperial Chamber, the City of London.

Renowned City,

IF *any Showers of Adverſity fall on me, ſome of the Drops thereof muſt needs daſh on thy Streets. It is not a Shower, but a furious Storm, that pours upon me now, accompanied with Thunder, and unuſual Fulgurations. The fatal Cloud, wherein this Storm lay long ingendering, though, when it began to condenſe firſt, it appeared but as big as a Hand, yet by Degrees it hath ſpread to ſuch a vaſt Expanſion, that it hath diffuſed itſelf through all my Regions, and obſcured that fair Face of Heaven, which was uſed to ſhine upon me; if it laſt long, it is impoſſible but we both ſhould periſh. Peace may, but War muſt deſtroy. I ſee Poverty poſting a-pace, and ready to knock at thy Gates; that gaſtly Harbinger of Death, the Peſtilence, appears already within and without thy Walls; and methinks I ſpy meagre-faced Famine afar off, making towards thee; nor can all thy elaborate Circumvallations, and Trenches, or any Art of Enginery, keep him out of thy Line of Communication, if this hold. Therefore, my dear Daughter, think, oh think upon ſome timely Prevention, it is the Counſel, and Requeſt of*

Thy moſt afflicted Mother,

ENGLAND.

OH that my Head did flow with Waters! Oh that my Eyes were Limbecks, through which might diſtil Drops and Eſſences of Blood! Oh that I could melt away, and diſſolve into Tears, more brackiſh than thoſe Seas that ſurround me! Oh that I could weep myſelf blind, to prevent the Seeing of thoſe Mountains of Miſchiefs, that are like to fall down upon me! Oh that I could rend the Rocks that gird me about, and with my Ejaculations tear and diſſipate thoſe black diſmal Clouds, which hang over me! Oh that I could cleave the Air with my Cries, that they might find Paſſage

up

up to Heaven, and fetch down the Moon, that watry Planet, to weep and wail with me, or make old *Saturn* deſcend from his Sphere, to partake with me in my Melancholy, and bring along with him the mournful *Pleiades*, to make a full Concert, and ſing *Lachrymæ* with me, for that woeful Taking, that deſperate Caſe, that moſt deplorable Condition, I have plunged myſelf into unawares, by this unnatural ſelf-deſtroying War, by this intricate odd Kind of enigmatical War, wherein both Parties are ſo intangled, like a Skein of ravelled Silk, that they know not how to unwind and untwiſt themſelves, but by violent and deſtructive Ways, by tearing my Intrails, by exhauſting my vital Spirits, by breaking my very Heart-ſtrings to cure the Malady! Oh I am deadly ſick, and as that famous Chancellor of *France* ſpoke of the Civil Wars of his Country, that *France* was ſick of an unknown Diſeaſe; ſo, if *Hippocrates* himſelf were living, he could not be able to tell the true Symptoms of mine, though he felt my Pulſe, and made Inſpection into my Water, never ſo exactly; only in the general, he may diſcover a ſtrange Kind of Infection, that hath ſeized upon the Affections of my People; but for the Diſeaſe itſelf, it will gravel him to judge of it; nor can there be any Prediction made of it, it is ſo ſharp, which made ſome tell me, that I cannot grow better, but by growing yet worſe: That there is no Way to ſtanch this Flux of Blood, but by opening ſome of the Maſter Veins; that it is not enough for me to have drunk ſo deep of this Cup of Affliction, but I muſt ſwallow up the Dregs alſo!

Oh, Paſſenger, ſtop thy Pace, and if there be any Sparkles of human Compaſſion glowing in thy Boſom, ſtay a While, and hear my Plaints, and I know they will not only ſtrike a Reſentment, but a Horror into thee; for they are of ſuch a Nature, that they are able to penetrate a Breaſt of Braſs, to mollify a Heart hooped with Adamant, to wring Tears out of a Statue of Marble.

I that have been always accounted the *Queen of Iſles*, the *Darling of Nature*, and *Neptune's Minion*; I that have been ſtiled by the Character of *the firſt Daughter of the Church*, that have converted eight ſeveral Nations; I that made the Morning Beams of Chriſtianity ſhine upon *Scotland*, upon *Ireland*, and a good Part of *France*; I that did irradiate *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, with the Light thereof; I that brought the *Saxons*, with other *Germans*, High and Low, from Paganiſm, to the Knowledge of the Goſpel; I that had the firſt Chriſtian King that ever was (*Lucius*) and the firſt Reformed King, *Henry the Eighth*, to reign over me; I out of whoſe Bowels ſprung the firſt Chriſtian Emperor that ever was, *Conſtantine*, I that had five ſeveral Kings, *viz.* *John* King of *France*, *David* King of *Scotland*, *Peter* King of *Bohemia*, and two *Iriſh* Kings my Captives, in leſs than one Year; I under whoſe Banner that great Emperor *Maximilian* took it an Honour to ſerve in Perſon, and receive Pay from me, and quarter his Arms with mine; I that had the Lion rampant of *Scotland* lately added to fill up my Eſcutcheon, and had reduced *Ireland*, after ſo many intermiſſive Wars, to ſuch a perfect Paſs of Obedience; I that, to the Wonderment and Envy of all the World, preſerved my Dominions free, when all my neighbour Countries were a Fire; I that did ſo wonderfully flouriſh and improve in Commerce, Domeſtick and Foreign, by Land and Sea; I that did ſo abound with Bullion, with Buildings, with all Sort of Bravery that Heart could wiſh; in Sum, I that did live in that Heighth of Happineſs, in that Affluence of all earthly Felicity, that ſome thought I had yet remaining ſome Ingots of that Gold, whereof the firſt Age was made. Behold, I am now become the Object of Pity to ſome, of Scorn to others, of Laughter to all People; my Children Abroad are driven to diſavow me, for fear of being jeered; they dare not own me for their Mother, neither upon the *Rialto* of *Venice*, the *Berle* of *Augsburgh*, the new Bridge of *Paris*, the *Cambios* of *Spain*, or upon the *Quays* of *Holland*, for fear of being baffled. Methinks I ſee my next Neighbour, *France* (through whoſe Bowels my Gray-gooſe Wing flew ſo often) making Mouths at me, and ſaying, That whereas ſhe was wont to be the chief Theatre, where Fortune uſed to play her Pranks, ſhe hath now removed her Stage hither; ſhe laughs at me, that I ſhould let the common People, and now lately the Females, to know their Strength ſo much.

Methinks I ſee the *Spaniard* ſtanding at a Gaze, and croſſing himſelf to ſee me ſo fooliſh as to execute the Deſigns of my Enemies upon myſelf. The *Italian* admires to ſee a People argue themſelves thus into Arms, and to be ſo active in their own Ruin. The *German* drinks Carouſes, that he hath now a Co-partner in his

his Miſeries. The *Swede* rejoices, in a Manner, to ſee me bring my [illegible] Nation to be my Champion. The *Netherlander* ſtrikes his Hand upon his Breaſt, and proteſts, that he wiſheth me as well as once the Duke of *Burgundy* did *France*, when he ſware, He loved *France* ſo well, that for one King, he wiſhed ſhe had twenty.

Methinks I ſee the *Turk* nodding with his Turban, and telling me, that I ſhould thank Heaven for that Diſtance which is betwixt us, elſe he would ſwallow me up all at one Morſel: Only the *Hollander*, my Boſom-friend, ſeems to reſent my hard Condition; yet he thinks it no ill-favoured Sight to ſee his Shops and Lombards every-where full of my plundered Goods, to find my Trade caſt into his Hands, and that he can underſell me in my own native Commodities; to ſee my Gold brought over in ſuch Heaps, by thoſe that fly from me with all they have for their Security; in fine, methinks I hear my Neighbours about me bargaining very hotly for my Skin, while, like an unruly Horſe, I run headlong to daſh out my own Brains.

O curſed Jealouſy, the Source of all my Sorrows, the Ground of all my inexpreſſible Miſeries! Is it not enough for thee to creep in betwixt the Huſband and the Wife, betwixt the Lemon and his Mate, betwixt Parents and Children, betwixt Kindred and Friends? Haſt thou not Scope enough to ſway in private Families, in Staple Societies and Corporations, in Common-councils, but thou muſt get in betwixt King and Parliament, betwixt the Head and the Members, betwixt the Members amongſt themſelves? But thou muſt divide Prince and People, Sovereign and Subject. Avant, avant, thou hollow-eyed, Snake-haired Monſter; hence away into the Abyſs below, into the bottomleſs Gulf, thy proper Manſion; ſit there in the Chair, and preſide over the Councils of Hell, amongſt the Cacodæmons, and never aſcend again to turn my high Law-making Court into a Council of War, to turn my Cordials into Corroſives, and throw ſo many Scruples into that ſovereign Phyſick, which was uſed to cure me of all Diſtempers.

But when I well conſider the Conſtitution of this elementary World, when I find Man to be Part of it, when I think on thoſe light and changeable Ingredients that go to his Compoſition, I conclude, that Men will be Men while there is a World; and, as long as the Moon hath an influxive Power to make Impreſſions upon their Humours, they will be ever greedy and covetous of Novelties and Mutation: The common People will be ſtill common People, they will ſome Time or other ſhew what they are, and vent their inſtable Paſſions. And when I conſider further the Diſtractions, the Toſſings, the Turmoilings, and Tumblings of other Regions round about me, as well as mine own; I conclude alſo, that Kingdoms, and States, and Cities, and all Bodies Politick, are ſubject to Convulſions, to Calentures, and Conſumptions, as well as the frail Bodies of Men, and muſt have an Evacuation for their corrupt Humours, they muſt be phlebotomiſed; I have often felt this Kind of Phlebotomy, I have had alſo ſhrewd Purges and Pills given me, which did not only work upon my ſuperfluous Humours, but waſted ſometimes my very vital Spirits; yet I had Electuaries and Cordials given me afterwards, inſomuch that this preſent Tragedy is but *vetus fabula*, *novi Hiſtriones*; it is but an old Play repreſented by new Actors, I have often had the like. Therefore let no Man wonder at theſe Traverſes and Humour of Change in me. I remember there was as much Wondering at the Demoliſhing of my ſix-hundred and odd Monaſteries, Nunneries, and Abbies, for being held to be Hives of Drones, as there is now at the Pulling down of my Croſſes, Organs, and Windows. There was as much Wondering when the Pope fell here, as now that the Prelates are like to fall. The World wondered as much when the Maſs was diſliked, as Men wonder now the Liturgy ſhould be diſtaſted: And God grant that People do not take at laſt a Surfeit of that moſt divine Ordinance of Preaching, for no violent Thing laſts long. And, though there ſhould be no Satiety in holy Things, yet ſuch is the depraved Condition of Man, he is naturally ſuch a Changeling, that the Over-frequency and Commonneſs of any Thing, be it never ſo good, breeds, in Tract of Time, a Kind of Contempt in him, it breeds a Fulneſs and Nauſeouſneſs in him.

The firſt Reformation of my Church began at Court, and ſo was the more feaſeable, and it was brought to paſs without a War: The Scene is now otherwiſe, it is far more ſanguinary, and fuller of Actors; never had a Tragedy Acts of more Variety in ſo ſhort a Time: There was never ſuch a confuſed myſterious Civil War as this; there were never

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ſo many Bodies of Strength on Sea and Shore, never ſuch Choice of Arms and Artillery, never ſuch a numerous Cavalry on both Sides, never a greater Eagerneſs and Confidence, never ſuch an amphibolous Quarrel, both Parties declaring themſelves for the King, and making Uſe of his Name in all their Remonſtrances to juſtify their Actions: The Affection and Underſtandings of People were never ſo confounded and puzzled, not knowing where to acquieſce, by reaſon of ſuch Counter-commands. One Side calls the Reſiſting of Royal Commands, Loyalty; the other terms Loyalty, the Oppoſing of Parliamentary Orders and Ordinances. Both Parties would have Peace; the one would have it with Honour, the other with Truth (and God forbid but both ſhould go together) but, *Interea ringor Ego*, in the mean Time I ſuffer by both, the one taking away what the other leaves; inſomuch that whoſoever will be curious to read the future Story of this intricate War, if it be poſſible to compile a Story of it, he will find himſelf much ſtaggered, and put to a Kind of Riddle; for, touching the Intricacy of it, touching the ſtrange Nature, or rather the Unnaturalneſs of it, it cannot be paralleled by any precedent Example: For in my Chronicles I am ſure no Age can match it, as I will make it briefly appear, by comparing it with all the Wars that ever embroiled me, which I find to be of three Sorts, either by the Invaſion of Foreigners, the Inſurrection of my Commons, or by the Confederacy of my Peers and Princes of the Blood.

I will not rake the Aſhes of Antiquity ſo far as to ſpeak of that Deluge of Blood I ſpilt before I would take the *Roman* Legions for my Gariſon; I am loth to ſet down how the *Saxons* uſed me, and how the *Danes* uſed them, nor how I had one whole brave Race of People, the *Picts* I mean, quite extinguiſhed in me; I will begin with the *Norman* Expedition, and, indeed, to make Reſearches of Matters, before, is but to grope in the Dark, but I have authentick Annals and Records, for Things ſince. The *Norman* came in, with the Slaughter of near upon ſixty-eight Thouſand Combatants upon the Place, a Battle ſo memorable, that the very Ground, which ſucked in the Blood, retains the Name of it, to this Day. The *Dane* not long after ſtruck in to recover his Right, with the Sacking of my ſecond great City of *York*, and the Firing of her, with the Slaughter of three-thouſand of my Children, in one Afternoon; yet he was but [illegible] without his Errand. In the Reign of [illegible] made of his Colour, red with Blood [illegible] and the *Scot*, who loſt his [illegible] in the Battle of *Alnwick*. All my *Engliſh Henries* were infeſted with ſome Civil Broils, except my *Fifth Henry*, the greateſt of them, who had Work enough cut him out in *France*, and he plied his Work ſo well, that he put that Crown upon his Son's Head. All my *Edwards* alſo had ſome inteſtine Inſurrection or other; indeed, two of my *three Richards* had always Quietneſs at Home, though the *Firſt* did go the furtheſt off from me, and was longeſt abſent of any: And the *Third*, though he came in by Blood, yet the ſhort Time of his triennial Reign, he was without any, and proved one of my beſt Lawgivers, yet his Life ended in Blood. Touching my *Second Richard*, and *Second Edward*, there were never any of my Kings came to a more tragical End, and the greateſt Stains in my Story were the violent Deaths they ſuffered by the Hands of their own (Regicide) Subjects. The two Siſter Queens, that ſwayed my Scepter, had alſo ſome domeſtick Commotions; and now my *Charles* hath them to the Height, inſomuch that, of thoſe five and twenty Monarchs, who have worn my Diadems ſince the *Norman* entered, there were only four, *viz.* the forementioned *Henry*, and *Richards*, with King *James*, eſcaped free from all inteſtine Broils. Oh, how it torments my Soul to remember, how my Barons did tear my Bowels! What an Ocean of Blood the two Roſes coſt me before they were conjoined; for during the Time that I was a Monſter with two Heads (made ſo by their Diviſion) I mean, during the Time that I had two Kings at once, *Edward the Fourth*, and *Henry the Sixth*, within me; in five Years Space, I had twelve Battles fought within my Intrails, and I loſt near upon fourſcore Princes of the Royal Stem, and parted with more of my Spirits, than there were ſpent in Winning of *France*. The World knows how free and prodigal I have been of my Blood Abroad, in divers Places; I watered the Holy Land with much of it; againſt my Co-Iſlander the *Scot*, I had above two pitched Battles, took many, and killed ſome of their Kings in the Field; the Flower-de-luces coſt me dear, before I brought them over upon my Sword; and the Reduction of *Ireland*, from Time to Time,

to Civil[illegible] and to an exact Rule of Allegiance wasted my Children in [illegible] Numbers. I never grudged to venture my Blood this Way, for I ever had glorious [illegible] and my Sons died in the [illegible] them to glut themselves with [illegible] for them to lacerate and rip up (Viper-like) the Womb that brought them forth, to tear the Paps that gave them Suck; Can there be a greater Miracle against Nature? Can there be a more execrable and horrid Thing? If a Stranger had [illegible] me thus, it would not have grieved me half so much; it is better to be stung with a Nettle, than pricked by a Rose; I had rather suffer by an Enemy, than by my own natural born Offspring. Those former Home-waged Wars, whereof there happened above fourscore since the *Norman* came in, were but as Fires of Flax, in Comparison of this horrid Combustion, both in my Church and State. One may find these Wars epitomised in small Volumes, but a whole Library cannot contain this. They were but Scratches, being compared to these deep Wounds which Prince, Peer, and People have received by this; such Wounds, that it seems no gentle Cataplasms can cure them; they must be lanced and cauterised, and the huge Scars, they will leave behind them, will, I fear, make me appear deformed and ugly to all Posterity, so that I am half in Despair to recover my former Beauty ever again. The deep Stains, these Wars will leave behind, I fear all the Water of the *Severn*, *Trent*, or *Thames*, cannot wash away.

The twentieth Moon hath not yet run her Course, since the two-edged Sword of War hath raged and done many horrid Executions within me, since that Hellish Invention of Powder hath thundered in every Corner, since it hath darkened and torn my well-tempered Air, since I have weltered in my own Blood, and been made a Kind of Cockpit, a Theatre of Death; and, in so short a Circumvolution of Time, I may confidently affirm, take Battles, Rencounters, Sieges, and Skirmishes together, there never happened so many in any Country; nor do I see any Appearance (the more is my Misery) of any Period to be put to these Distractions. Every Day is Spectator of some new Tragedy, and the Relations, that are hourly blazed Abroad, sound sometimes well on the one Side, sometimes on the other, like a Peel of Bells in windy Weather (tho', oftentimes in a whole Volley of News, you shall hardly find one true Report) which makes me fear that the all disposing Deity of Heaven continueth the Successes of both Parties, in a Kind of Equality, to prolong my Punishment. *Ita ferior, ut diu me sentiam mori*; I am wounded with that Dexterity, that the Sense and Agonies of my Sufferings are like to be extended to the uttermost Length of Time, and Possibility of Nature.

But, O Passenger, if thou art desirous to know the Cause of these fatal Discomposures of this inextricable War; truly I must deal plainly, I cannot resolve thee herein to any full Satisfaction. Grievances there were, I must confess, and some Incongruities in my Civil Government (wherein, some say, the Crosier, some say, the Distaff was too busy) but I little thought, God knows, that those Grievances required a Redress this Way. Dost thou ask me, Whether Religion was the Cause? God forbid: That innocent and holy Matron had rather go clad in the snowy white Robes of Meekness and Longanimity, than in a Vest of sanguine Dye; her Practice hath been to overcome by a passive Fortitude without Reaction, and to triumph in the Milk-white Ivory Chariot of Innocency and Patience, not to be hurried away with the fiery Wheels of War; *les larmes* not *les armes* (as my next Neighbour hath it) Groans not Guns, were used to be her Weapons, unless in Case of open and impending Danger, of invincible Necessity, and visible actual Oppression; and then the Arms she useth most is the Target to shroud herself under, and fence away the Blow; she leaves all other Weapons to the *Alcharon*, to propagate and expand itself. This gentle grave Lady, though the Rubricks of her Service be in red Characters, yet she is no Lover of Blood; she is an Improver of Peace, and the sole Object of her Devotion is the God of Peace, in whose highest Name, in the Name *Jehovah*, as the *Rabbies* observe, all the Letters are *quiescent*. That sacred Comforter, which inspires her Ambassadors, uses to ascend in Form of a Dove, not in the Likeness of a devouring Vulture, and he that brings him down so may be said to sin against the Holy Ghost; to beat Religion into the Brains, with a Pole-ax, is to make a *Moloch* of the *Messias*, to offer him Victims of human Blood: Therefore, I should traduce and much wrong Religion, if I should cast this War upon her; yet methinks I hear this holy distressed Matron lament, that she is not also without her Grievances; some of her chiefest Governors, for Want of Moderation, could not be content to walk upon the Battlements of the Church, but they must put themselves

ſelves upon Stilts, and thence mount up to the Turrets of Civil Policy; ſome of her Preachers grew to be mere Paraſites, ſome to the Court, ſome to the Country; ſome would have nothing in their Mouths, but Prerogative, others, nothing but Privilege; ſome would give the Crown all, ſome nothing at all; ſome, to feed Zeal, would famiſh the Underſtanding; others to feaſt the Underſtanding, and tickle the outward Ear (with Eſſays and Flouriſhes of Rhetorick) would quite ſtarve the Soul of her true Food, &c.

But the principal Thing, that I hear that reverend Lady, that Queen of Souls, and Key of Heaven, make her Moan of, is, that, that ſeamleſs Garment of Unity and Love, which our Saviour left her for a Legacy, ſhould be torn and rent into ſo many Sciſſures and Sects, by thoſe that would make that Coat, which ſhe wore in her Infancy, to ſerve her in her riper Years. I hear her cry out at the monſtrous exorbitant Liberty, that almoſt every capricious Mechanick takes to himſelf, to ſhape and form what Religion he liſts; for the World is come now to that Paſs, that the Taylor and Shoemaker may cut out what Religion they pleaſe; The Vintner and Tapſter may broach what Religion they pleaſe; the Druggiſt and Apothecary may mingle her as they pleaſe; the Haberdaſher may put her upon what Block he pleaſes; the Armourer and Cutler may furbiſh her, as they pleaſe; the Dyer may put what Colour, the Painter may put what Face upon her he pleaſes; the Draper and Mercer may meaſure her as they pleaſe; the Weaver may caſt her upon what Loom he pleaſes; the Boatſwain and Mariner may bring her to what Dock they pleaſe; the Barber may trim her as he pleaſes; the Gardener may lop her as he pleaſes; the Blackſmith may forge what Religion he pleaſes, and ſo every Artiſan, according to his Profeſſion and Fancy, may form her as he pleaſes. Methinks I hear that venerable Matron complain further, how her Pulpits in ſome Places are become Beacons; how, in Lieu of Lights, her Churches up and down are full of Firebrands; how every Caprichio of the Brain is termed Tenderneſs of Conſcience, which well examined is nothing but ſome frantick Fancy, or Frenzy rather, of ſome ſhallow-brained Sciolift; and, whereas others have been uſed to run mad for Excels of Knowledge, ſome of my Children grow mad now-a Days, out of too much Ignorance. It ſtands upon Record in my Story, that when the *Norman* had taken firm Footing within me, he did demoliſh many Churches and Chapels in *New Foreſt*, to make it fitter for his Pleaſure and Venery; for amongſt other Judgments, which fell upon [illegible] Sacrilege, one was, That tame [illegible] wild: I fear God Almighty is more angry with me now than then, and that I am guilty of worſe Crimes; for not my Fowl, but my Folk and People, are grown half wild in many Places, they would not worry one another ſo in that wolviſh belluine Manner elſe; they would not precipitate themſelves elſe into ſuch a mixed mungrel War, a War that paſſeth all Underſtanding; they would not cut their own Throats, hang, drown, and do themſelves away in ſuch a deſperate Sort, which is now grown ſo common, that Self-murder is ſcarce accounted any News; which makes Strangers cry out, that I am all turned into a Kind of Great *Bedlam*, that *Barbary* is come into the Midſt of me; that my Children are grown ſo ſavage, ſo fleſhed in Blood, and become ſo inhuman and obdurate, that, with the ſame Tenderneſs of Senſe, they can ſee a Man fall, as a Horſe, or ſome other Brute Animal, they have ſo loſt all Reverence to the Image of their Creator, which was uſed to be more valued in me, than amongſt any other Nations.

But I hope my King and great Council will take a Courſe to bring them to their old *Engliſh* Temper again, to cure me of this Vertigo, and preſerve me from Ruin; for ſuch is my deſperate Caſe, that, as there is more Difficulty, ſo it would be a greater Honour for them to prevent my Deſtruction, and pull me out of this Plunge, than to add unto me a whole new Kingdom; for true Wiſdom hath always gloried as much in Conſervation, as in Conqueſt.

The *Roman*, though his Ambition of conquering had no Horizon, yet he uſed to triumph more (as Multitudes of Examples might be produced) at the Compoſing of an inteſtine War, than for any new Acqueſt, or foreign Atchievement whatſoever; and though he was a great martial Man, and loved Fighting as well as any other, yet his Maxim was, That no Peace could be ſo bad, but it was preferable to the beſt War. It ſeems the *Italian*, his Succeſſor, retains the ſame Genius to this Day, by the late Peace (notwithſtanding the many Knots that were in the Thing) which he concluded: For, although ſix abſolute Princes were intereſted in the Quarrel, and that they had all juſt Pretences, and were heated and height-

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ened in their Deſigns, yet, rather than they would diſmiſs the Intrails of their own Mother, fall in, and even ſelf-murther thereby, to be raviſhed by *Frenchmen*: they meet half Way, and comply with each other in a gallant Kind of Freedom; though [illegible] bore his Share in ſome Inconvenience. Oh! that my Children would be moved by this ſo ſeaſonable Example of the *Italian*, who, amongſt others of his Characters, is ſaid to be wiſe *a priori*, before the Blow is given. I deſire my gracious Sovereign to think, that it was never held inglorious or derogatory for a King to be guided, and to ſteer his Courſe, by the Compaſs of his great Council, and to make his Underſtanding deſcend, and condeſcend, to their Advice; nor was it ever held diſhonourable for Subjects to yield and bow to their King; to be Willows, not Oaks; and, if any Miſtake ſhould happen, to take it upon themſelves, rather than any ſhould reflect upon their Sovereign. And if, in Caſe of Difference, he be willing to meet them half Way, it were handſome they went three Parts thereof to prevent him. Therefore I conjure them both in the Name of the great Deity of Heaven, who tranſvolves Kingdoms, and tumbleth down Kings in his Indignation, that they would think of ſome ſpeedy Way to ſtop this Iſſue of Blood; for, to deal plainly with them, I ſee far greater Reaſon to conclude this War, than ever there was to commence it: Let them conſider well they are but outward Church Rites and Ceremonies they fight for, as the rigideſt Sort of *Reformers* confeſs: The *Lutheran*, the firſt Reformiſt, hath many more conformable to the Church of *Rome*, which he hath continued theſe hundred and twenty Years; yet is he as far from *Rome* as the firſt Day he left her, and as free from Danger of Relapſe into Popery, as *Amſterdam* herſelf: And muſt I, unhappy I, be lacerated and torn in Pieces thus for Shadows and Ceremonies? I know there is a Claſhing betwixt Prerogative and Privilege, but I muſt put them in Mind of the Misfortune that befel the Flock of Sheep and the Bell-wether, whereof the firſt fed in a Common, the latter in an Incloſure, and thinking to break into one another's Paſture (as all Creatures naturally deſire Change) and being to paſs over a narrow Bridge, which ſevered them, they met in the Middle, and joſtled one another ſo long, till both fell into the Ditch. And now that I have begun, I will warn them by another Fable of the *Spaniſh* Mule, who having, by Accident, gone out of the great Road, and carried her Rider thorough a bye Path upon the Top of a huge ſteep Rock, ſtopped upon a ſudden, and being not able to turn and go backward, by Reaſon of the Narrowneſs of the Path, nor forward, in Regard of a huge rocky Precipice, ſhe gently put one Foot behind the other, and recoiled in that Manner, until ſhe had found the great Road again.

I deſire my high Council to conſider, that the Royal Prerogative is like the Sea, which, as Navigators obſerve, what it loſeth at one Time, or in one Place, gets always in ſome other; I deſire my dear King to conſider, that the Privilege of Parliament, the Laws and Liberties of the Subject, is the firmeſt Support of his Crown; that his great Council is the trueſt Glaſs wherein he may diſcern his People's Love, and his own Happineſs; it were Wiſdom that both did ſtrike Sail in ſo dangerous a Storm, to avoid Shipwreck; I am loth to ſay, what Conſultations, what Plots and Machinations are fomenting and forging Abroad againſt me, by that Time I have enfeebled and waſted myſelf, and loſt the Flower of my beſt Children in theſe woeful Broils. Methinks I ſpie the Jeſuit ſitting in his Cell, and laughing in his Sleeve at me, and crying out, The Devil part the Fray, for they do but execute my Deſigns.

Oh! I feel a cold Qualm come over my Heart, that I faint, I can ſpeak no longer; yet I will ſtrain myſelf to breathe out this one Invocation, which ſhall be my Concluſion:

Sweet Peace, moſt benign and amiable Goddeſs, How comes it to paſs that thou haſt ſo abandoned Earth, and, taking thy Flight to Heaven, as once *Aſtræa* did, doſt reject the Sighs and Sacrifices of poor Mortals? Was that flaming Uſher of God's Vengeance, which appeared ſix and twenty Years ſince in the Heavens, the Herald that fetched thee away? For ever ſince poor *Europe* hath been harraſſed, and pitifully rent up and down with Wars, and now I am become the laſt Scene. Gentle Peace, thou which goeſt always attended on by Plenty and Pleaſure; thou which filleſt the Huſbandman's Barns, the Graſier's Folds, the Tradeſman's Shop, the Vintner's Cellars, the Lawyer's Deſk, the Merchant's Magazines, the Prince's Treaſury, How comes it to paſs that thou haſt given up thy Throne to *Bellona*, that all-deſtroying Fury? Behold how my plundered Yeoman wants Hinds and Horſes to plow

up

up my fertile Soil; the poor Labourer, who uſeth to mingle the Morning Dew with his anheled Sweat, ſhakes at his Work for Fear of Preſſing; the Tradeſman ſhuts up his Shop, and keeps more Holidays than willingly he would; the Merchant walks to the *Exchange* only to learn News, not to negotiate. Sweet Peace, thou which waſt uſed to make Princes Courts triumph with Tilt and Tournaments, and other Gallantries, to make them receive Luſtre by foreign Ambaſſadors; to make the Arts and Sciences flouriſh; to make Cities and Suburbs ſhine with goodly Structures; to make the Country ring with the Huntſman's Horn, and the Shepherd's Pipe: How comes it to paſs that blood-thirſty Diſcord now uſurps thy Place, and flings about her Snakes in every Corner? Behold my Prince's Court is now full of Nothing but Buff-coats, Spanners, and Muſquet-reſts; the Country ecchoes with Nothing but with the Sound of Drums and Trumpets. Hark how pitifully my Lions roar, how dejectedly my Roſes and Flower-de-luces hang down their Heads, what doleful Strains my Harp gives.

O conſider my Caſe, moſt bliſsful Queen; deſcend, deſcend again in thy Ivory Chariot; reſume thy Throne, crown thy Temples with thy wonted Laurel and Olive, bar up *Janus*'s Gates, and make new Halcyonian Days to ſhine in this Hemiſphere; diſpel thoſe Clouds which hover betwixt my King and his higheſt Council, chace away all Jealouſies and Umbrages of Miſtruſt, that my great Law-making Court be forced to turn no more to polemical Committees, and to a Council of War (unleſs it be for ſome foreign Conqueſt) but that they may come again to the old parliamentary Road, to the Path of their Predeceſſors, to conſult of Means how to ſweep away thoſe Cobwebs that hang in the Courts of Juſtice, and to make the Laws run in their right Channel; to retrench exceſſive Fees, and find Remedies, for the Future, that the poor Client be not ſo peeled by his Lawyer, and made to ſuffer by ſuch monſtrous Delays, that one may go from one Tropick to another, and croſs the Equinoctial twenty Times, before his Suit be done; that they may think on a Courſe to reſtrain Gold and Silver from travelling without Licenſe, with other Staple Commodities, and to puniſh thoſe that tranſport Hides for Calves Skins; to advance native Commodities and Manufactures; to balance and improve Trade, and ſettle it ſo, that it may ſtand upon its own Bottom, and not by any accidental Ways, as, of late Years, a Glut of Trade was caſt upon me by the Wars betwixt *France* and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and others.

That this Trade of mine, my chiefeſt Sinew, be not caſt into the Hands of Aliens, who eat me out, in many Places, my own Commodities; that it be prevented hereafter, that one be not permitted to ingroſs and ingulph all, but that my Trade and Wealth may, by ſome wholeſome Policy, be diffuſed up and down my Cities in a more equal Diſtribution; that they may adviſe of a Way to relieve the Orphan, who ſuffers more for his Minority in me, than any where elſe; that the poor Inſolvent Subject be not ſo buried alive, and made to rot in Priſon, notwithſtanding his apparent Diſability, whereas, were he Abroad, he might be uſeful to the Commonwealth ſome Way or other, and come haply, afterwards, to an Ability to pay; to regulate the Buſineſs of drained Lands, which, well managed, would tend very much both to inlarge and inrich my Quarters; to ſecure the Dominion of my Seas, the faireſt Flower of my Crown, which is now almoſt quite loſt; to preſerve my Woods, whereof, if this Courſe hold, there will hardly be found, in ſome Places, enough to make a Tooth-pick; to ſettle the Revenues, and ſupply the Wants of my Crown; for the Wants of the Crown, and the Grievances of the Subject, have been always uſed to go Hand in Hand in my Parliaments. And, now that my neighbour Princes, eſpecially *France* and *Spain*, have, of late Years, enhanced the Revenue Royal, at leaſt, to the third Part more than it was, it were a Diſparagement to me, that my King ſhould not bear up in equal Proportion, and Point of Greatneſs, this Way, conſidering that he hath more of the Royal Stem to maintain, than any of his Progenitors ever had. Laſtly, That they may ſettle a Way to regulate all exorbitant Fancies of Noveliſts, in the Exerciſe of holy Religion: Where there is no Obedience, Subordination, and reſtrictive Laws, to curb the changeable Humours and Extravagancies of Men, there can be no Peace or Piety: If the Fire be not kept within the Tunnel of the Chimney, and that ſome be appointed to ſweep down the Soot (which may be done otherwiſe than by Shooting up of Muſquets) the whole Houſe will be in Danger of Burning.

Oh me! I feel the Pangs of Death aſſail me, let ſome good Body go toll the Bell; and, as

one

one of my Kings [illegible] he was
ſlain in *New Forest*, for the Expiation of his
Father's Sacrilege, did [illegible] Wind
did paſs through his Bowels [illegible] methinks, I
feel a bleak cold Wind blowing upon
me, which [illegible] make an End of me:
It is a Mi[illegible] only the high
Hand of Providence can p[illegible]
my Monarchy miſcarry, I [illegible] that my Epi-
taph may be written (in [illegible] I know him
to have been, a long Time [illegible]
but a Sharer with me, in [illegible]
by my dearly beloved Child,

James Howell.

To the diſcerning Reader.

HE, that with a well-weighed Judgment obſerveth the Paſſions of this Diſcourſe, muſt needs conclude, that the Author, beſides his own hard Condition, hath a deep Senſe of the common Calamities of this Country in general, which makes him break out into ſuch pathetick Expreſſions. And, becauſe he might do it with more Freedom, and leſs Preſumption, he makes *England* herſelf to breathe out his diſordered Paſſions. We know a Mother hath a Prerogative by Nature to ſpeak Home unto her Children, and ſometimes in a chiding Way, though with Tears in her Eyes, to give them Advice. The ſame doth *England* in this Diſcourſe, but with all the Indulgence and Indifferency that may be to both Parties. Therefore the Author humbly hopes, that no Exception, much leſs any Offence, will be taken at her Complaints, or Counſel.

J. H.

Mock-Majeſty: Or, the Siege of *Munſter*, being a true Story of thoſe fine Things, wherewith King *John Becock*, at firſt a Botcher of *Leyden* by Profeſſion, and his Companions the Anabaptiſts, pleaſed themſelves, after they were become Maſters of that City. You ſhall here likewiſe have the Iſſue of the whole Mock-ſhow.

Quidam, ut imperium ſubvertant, libertatem proferunt; ſi ſubverterint, ipſam aggredientur. C. TACITUS.

Malignitati falſa ſpecies libertatis ineſt.

Idem, Hiſtor. Lib. i.

ELEUTHEROPOLI, *ANNO* ΄ΑΝΑΒΑΠΤΙΣΤΟΜΑΝΙ΄ΑΣ, C. XIIX.

Imprimatur, *James Cranford.*

London, printed for *J. S*, and *L. C.* 1644. *Quarto*, containing thirty-two Pages.

To

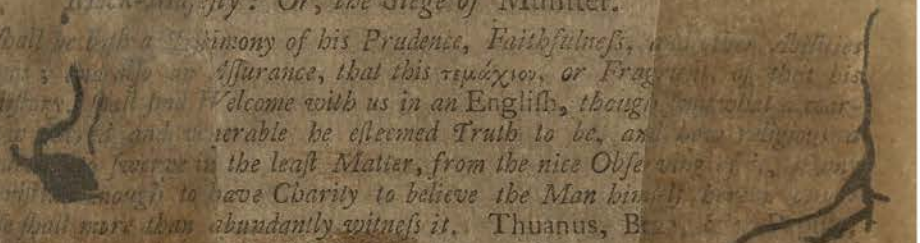
To the Worſhipful Mr. *Richard Lithgold* and Mr. *John Child*, Bailiffs of the ancient Corporation of *Kingſton* upon *Thames*: For their Endeavour for the publick Good: For their Vigilancy in their Place and Office: Eſpecially, for the Aſſiſtance and Encouragement of their Miniſter, in preaching the Word, and ſuppreſſing novel Fancies:

This is dedicated,

Willingly, Deſervedly.

To the Intelligent Reader, Baptiſed or Rantiſed.

THOU *muſt excuſe me for this pretty new ſtamped Word. It is Pity but it ſhould ſignify ſomething in* Engliſh. *Whether it do or no, it is not a Week ſince I firſt met with it, and that in a Way of Scorn, and Contempt, of the Baptiſm of our Church. He that goes about to naturaliſe it, and make it a* Denizen, *is one that takes upon him alſo to queſtion the Truth of that Relation, which we have in* Sleidan's *Commentaries, concerning the tumultuous Carriage of the Anabaptiſts in* Germany, *as himſelf ſpeaks; making the Author thereof, for differing Opinions Sake in Matter of Religion, to make no Conſcience of violating that ſacred Rule, which directs and binds every noble Hiſtorian. That he dare ſpeak nothing falſe, nor yet conceal any Thing that is true. Not a little troubled to ſee ſo injurious and falſe an Imputation laid upon the trueſt Hiſtory, that ever was written ſince the* Acts of the Apoſtles; *I was the more incited to communicate again to the publick View, and that in a Language which we all can underſtand, that Part thereof, which concerns thoſe Tumults more eſpecially; and I do look for better Grounds, for the Confuting thereof, than ſuch weak Surmiſes and Exceptions, that he was a contrary-minded Hiſtorian; or that it is not lawful to believe an Hiſtory, from the Mouth, or Pen, of an Enemy. More Chriſtian and rational Charity, I am ſure, hath been obſerved to direct the Souls and Actions, even of Heathen Men themſelves. And I forbear not to make Uſe of St.* Paul's *Queſtion therein: Is he therefore become your Enemy, becauſe he ſpeaks the Truth? As for our Author, he hath as faithfully, as ever did any, obſerved what the learneſt of the* Jews *requires in a good Hiſtorian: To relate nothing, which he could not maintain from his particular and certain Knowledge thereof, by perſonal Employment in the Action; or elſe had not received it from the Hands of ſuch, whoſe Truth ought not to be called into Queſtion. What, in this Reſpect, is objected againſt him by* Matthæus Dreſſerus, *upon the bare Word, and Aſſertion, of his Friend,* Chriſtoph. Carlevilius, *hath as much Weight in it, as Mr.* Blackwood's *Surmiſes. And of what Spirit* Dreſſerus *was, learned Men, who have peruſed his Books, certainly cannot be ignorant. Only I am ſorry to ſee any Reformer join, or, at leaſt, agree with ſo great a Stickler for the See of* Rome; *and that in a Cenſure againſt a Proteſtant, of ſuch known Piety and Integrity. It is hard to gainſay what the Noon-day looks upon and witneſſes: And now to deny what our Fore-fathers, and all* Chriſtendom, *well-near took Notice of, with no leſs Wonder than Shame, were to endeavour to ſwagger Truth out of the World. The great Reſpect and Entertainment, which* Sleidan *had here, when he was Ambaſſador to the Court of* England *in the general Name of all the Proteſtants*



of Germany, *shall be both a Testimony of his Prudence, Faithfulness, and other Abilities in publick Affairs; and also an Assurance, that this* τεμάχιον, *or Fragment, of that his most excellent History, shall find Welcome with us in an* English, *though [illegible] a coarser Dress. How [illegible] and venerable he esteemed Truth to be, and how religious a Thing he accounted [illegible] swerve in the least Matter, from the nice Observing [illegible] Man be not Christian enough to have Charity to believe the Man himself here [illegible] then in this Case shall more than abundantly witness it.* Thuanus, B[illegible] Calvinists, Lutherans, *and Men of what Religion soever, that are not [illegible] by Faction, than led by Reason, will give Satisfaction in this Behalf, [illegible] extremely scrupulous. And if all these will not work in Mr.* Blackwood *a Belief of* Sleidan's *Truth, in Respect of this Relation, then let his own Name-sake, and Countryman, and perhaps Kinsman,* Adam Blackwood, *a very learned Writer, tell the Story; and what both his Credit and Judgment was, concerning the same. Now you must pardon him, if he do perchance*

Auriculas teneras mordaci radere vero:

And here you have his own Words, rendered as nearly as Conveniency would permit: Lindenius quidam *(falsly printed for* Leydensis Sarcinator, *&c.) A certain Botcher, says he, of* Leyden *in* Holland, *having by his Sermons gotten to be King of the Anabaptists, stirred up a Rebellion of the common Sort of People, as formerly others had done, who for ten Years Space, destroyed and laid waste* Germany, *and occasioned the Death of many Thousands. But here I cannot sufficiently admire the Sottishness of those Men, who placed over themselves such a King, as preached nothing else to the People, but the Destruction of Kingdoms, the Abrogation of Magistrates, and that all Men were created by that great and powerful God, to a like Condition: Who either from those wild Conceits he had gathered out of the* Talmud, *or other* Judaical *Forgeries, or else, from Absurdities taken out of the* Alcoran, *did teach them, that the Enemies of their Religion, or rather indeed of their Rebellion and Treason, were to be dealt withal by Banishment and Imprisonment; by Bonds, and Stripes, and by Death itself. The Truth of the Matter procures itself Belief. And I could wish, that all were but Lyes, and merely feigned; and that the Truth of the Carriage of the whole Business otherwise might confute what I say. At first, when this Doctrine, newly raised from Hell, was scattered and spread among the People, nothing could seem more meek and simple, than these Kind of Men. They desired nothing, forsooth, but Reformation of the old Discipline, and Liberty of Conscience. But, I pray you, what Liberty of Conscience call you that, which breaking down all Pales and Boundaries, endeavours what it can to ruin Kingdoms, and Commonwealths, and to suppress all Manners and Laws? This Conscience is a Wolf, in a Sheep's Cloathing. And as the Sea-horse, according to* Plutarch, *kills the Sire, that he may more easily couple with the Dam; so these mad Men, that they may with more Freedom abuse the Commonwealth, which is the Mother of us all, to their own Lusts, they strive to disenthrone, and put down all Kings and Magistrates, who are the common Fathers of the People. And as the Viper is not born, but by eating out a Way to Life; so neither is this new Profession, but by the Destruction of the Commonwealth, our Mother. For, as* Macrobius *says of the* Epicures *Sect, this whole Faction, carried away from the Truth with a full Swing, cannot by any Means subsist, but by the Corruption of Manners and Laws, and the utter Ruin of States. For where good Laws are in Force, how possibly can any scoundrel Fellow, and dunghil*

Cobler,

Cobler, any talkative, ignorant, impudent Coxcomb aſpire, and aim at Principality, and a Kingdom, and Tyranny itſelf? They, that were firſt indeed miſled by this Way, might be ſomewhat excuſed, as being, through their Folly and Simplicity, inveigled under a fair Pretence, and Shew of Evangelical Truth. But now, if any one at this Day, and in ſo great a Light of the Goſpel, ſuffer himſelf at Noon-tide to be [illegible] and ſeduced, he ſhall not be conceived to offend out of Folly and Simplicity, but out of Stubbornneſs, and [illegible] Madneſs; and there foremuſt by no Means think to deprecate that Judgment, which he hath voluntarily, and with his own Hands, plucked upon his own Head. Thus far out of that learned Man, the contrary-minded Mr. Blackwood, *if I may borrow the Expreſſion, in his Book dedicated to the excellent Prince* Henry, *and inſcribed,* De Vinculo Religionis & Imperii. *A Writer, to ſay no more, for it is Teſtimony ſufficient, very highly eſteemed of, for his ſingular Learning, by that great and eminent Lawyer, Chancellor* Egerton, *Lord* Elleſmere.

Farewel.

And the Bramble ſaid unto the Trees, If in Truth ye anoint me King over you, then come, and put your Truſt in my Shadow; and if not, let Fire come out of the Bramble, and devour the Cedars of *Lebanon.*

Judg. ix. 15.

NOT far from *Munſter*, one of the chief Cities of *Weſtphalia*, is a Church, dedicated to St. *Maurice*, wherein one *Bernard Rotman*, in the Year 1532, preached the Goſpel to a very numerous Auditory; and, when the Citizens thought of ſome Courſe to bring him in among them, they were hindered by the Papiſts, who gave him a ſmall Piece of Money to go ſomewhere elſe and exerciſe his Talent: He hereupon goes his Way, and, having touched at ſeveral Places, caſting about for his beſt Profit and Advantage, after ſome Months Abſence, returns back to *Munſter*. They, that were not well pleaſed therewith, did what they could to keep him out of the Pulpit, but to no Purpoſe, the People were already ſo much taken with him. Therefore preſently ſome of the abler and wealthier Sort got him in among them into the City; and, finding the Church-doors ſhut up againſt him, they ſet him up a Pulpit without Doors in the Porch; and, being now become confident of their Strength, and preſuming on their Numbers, they make bold to demand the Keys of the Church from the Prieſts, threatening otherwiſe themſelves to break open the Doors. Not long after, *Rotman*, by the Counſel und Conſent of ſome who were Chief of his Party, ſends Letters into the Landgrave of *Heſſe*'s Country, being not far diſtant from thence, requeſting, that ſome able and learned Men might be ſent to aſſiſt him in the Plantation of the Goſpel. They of *Marpurg* ſent him two; who, with himſelf and three others, ſtraightway enter into Conſultation, how with beſt Speed they might rid all the Papiſts out of the City, that by this Means the Goſpel might be preached with more Freedom and Liberty. The beſt Way, they could think upon, was to ſum up all the Popiſh Errors; and ſo, digeſting them into thirty Heads, they delivered them to the Magiſtrates, aſſuring them all to be repugnant to the Word of God, offering to make it good out of the holy Scriptures, even with the Hazard of their own Lives. Hereupon, the Magiſtrates cite the Friars and Prieſts to appear before them in Publick, exhibiting the ſame Articles of their Errors alledged againſt them. Now, whereas they had ever borne the People in Hand, that their Doctrine was according to Purity, and grounded on the Word of God, which notwithſtanding thoſe Preachers denied, undertaking to maintain it with their utmoſt Peril; the Magiſtrates demanded of them, Whether they could confute, by Scripture, what was objected againſt them? This being in ſuch Manner propoſed unto them, as that they might well perceive thereby how the Magiſtrates ſtood affected, they anſwered in brief, That they had nothing to urge for their own Defence, but that, whereas hitherto they had made the People believe their Doctrine to be ſound and warrantable,

rantable, all proceeded either from Opinion, or Ignorance. Wherefore the Magiſtrates, upon Conviction of their falſhood, and Errors in Doctrine, having nothing to anſwer for themſelves, but the Confeſſion of their own Lewdneſs, commanded that, for the Time to come, they ſhould ceaſe Preaching to the People, and yield up their Rooms every where to theſe new Teachers, who had detected and laid open their Ignorance and Impoſtures. Afterwards, by a joint Agreement of the Magiſtrates and People, they had each of them particular Churches appointed to teach in, which the Friars in general took very ſcurvily, but they eſpecially of the Cathedral, being moſt of them deſcended of good Families. They, when they ſaw no other Remedy, departed in Anger, making their Addreſs to the Biſhop; the Reſult of their Conſultations with whom was, To beſet all the Ways and Paſſages, whereby Proviſion might be brought into the City. Which being done, the Biſhop, with the reſt, went to *Telget*, a ſmall Town about three Miles diſtant from the City, to take further Counſel there. At length they diſpatched a Meſſenger with Letters to the Magiſtrates, warning them to ceaſe from their intended Courſes, and to reſtore all Things to their former State and Condition; otherwiſe, that they ſhould be declared as Enemies. The Biſhop then was Count *Francis Waldeck*, and, before him, *Frederick*, Brother to the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*; but he, either for his Health's Sake, or foreſeeing the Storm that was like to fall, had, not long before, voluntarily quitted both Office and Place, contented to lead a private Life rather in his own Country, than to hazard his Quietneſs among a factious and ſeditious People.

They of *Munſter*, upon Deliberation, detained the Meſſenger; and, iſſuing out upon *Chriſtmas*-Eve, ſome nine-hundred of them came unexpectedly upon the Town, which inſtantly they took, beſetting every Way, that none might make Eſcape; but the Biſhop had departed thence the Day before. Thus they brought the Priſoners into the City, among whom were the Chief of the Clergy, and others of very noble Deſcent. The Magiſtrates demanded of them, What they intended to do? And whether they purpoſed any more to hinder the Preaching of the Goſpel, for the Time to come? They freely anſwered, They would do what in them lay to further it. By this Means they fell to an Agreement, a Copy whereof the Magiſtrates ſent to the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, withal intreating him, that, for the Goſpel's and Commonwealth's Sake, he would not be wanting to help on a Buſineſs of ſo great Moment.

Hereupon he diſpatcheth ſome to them, by whoſe Interceſſion a Reconcilement was made; but, all Wrongs and Injuries being forgotten, a firm Peace was concluded on. That, in the Churches, the Goſpel ſhould be taught. That whatſoever was unbeſeeming, or ſuperſtitious, in Matters of Religion, ſhould be aboliſhed: That, in the Cathedral, nothing ſhould be altered, that the Citizens ſhould not think that it any way belonged to them. Theſe Articles of Agreement were ſubſcribed, and ſigned with the Seals of the Landgrave, the Biſhop and his Officers, the Nobility, Gentry, and People in general, *February* the Fourteenth, 1533.

Things being ſettled in this Manner, there came to *Munſter* one *John* of *Leyden*, an *Hollander*, and a Botcher by Profeſſion, a ſtiff Anabaptiſt. He, having cunningly inſinuated himſelf into the Acquaintance of the Preachers there, began at firſt, in private Diſcourſe, to aſk them, Whether they thought it fit to baptiſe Infants? Which they affirming, he, wholly carried with the contrary Opinion, fell to Scoffing and Contemning of them: Whereupon *Bernard Rotman*, of whom there is former Mention, in a publick Aſſembly of the People, exhorted them all to pray to God, that they might enjoy the Doctrine of Chriſt in Purity, not polluted with the Corruptions of fanatical and hot-brained Men, eſpecially the Anabaptiſts, who ſecretly crept in among them, and frequented their Aſſemblies; whoſe Opinion, if it ſhould once but get the upper Hand, was like to prove deſtructive both to Church and Commonwealth. About the ſame Time came thither alſo one *Herman Stapel*, who, being appointed Colleague or Partner in the Miniſtry with *Rotman*, began publickly to inveigh againſt the Baptiſm of little Children.

This Fellow had been ſometime Diſciple to one *Henry Roll*, whom they of *Utrecht*, not long before this, put to Death for his Preaching of Anabaptiſm. And this was another Degree and Step, whereby to advance this new Doctrine; the Matter being already brought to ſuch a Paſs, that all the Talk of the Town was now concerning the Anabaptiſts. Yet what they did was all in Private; none being admitted

admitted into their Aſſemblies, but ſuch as were of their own Sect; their Teachers likewiſe forbearing to maintain any Thing in Publick, venting their Doctrines in the Night-time, when others were aſleep, then only performing their myſterious Works of Darkneſs: But Matters could not be carried ſo cloſe, but that the People muſt needs take Notice thereof, who took great Exceptions at it, and cried out Shame that new Doctrines ſhould be ſowed and ſcattered abroad by Night, as if they feared the Reproof and Confutation of the Day-light. Hereupon the Magiſtrates made an Ordinance, that the chief Authors thereof ſhould quit the City; which indeed they did, but were no ſooner gone forth, but they returned back by another Way, being now ſo bold as to give it out, that God had commanded them to continue there ſtill, and to play their Parts with a deal of Bravery and Confidence. This ſomewhat moved the Magiſtrates, and indeed ſtruck them with no ſmall Wonder: Therefore, to avoid greater Uproars, and Commotions in the City, as well the Miniſters of the Anabaptiſts as of the Goſpel are cited to appear in their Town-Hall, and a ſet Number of learned Men appointed beſides. Here *Rotman* bewrays of what Spirit and Temper he was, and having for ſo long together kept himſelf cloſe, he now in a general Concourſe publiſhes his Opinion; and, with a great deal of Bitterneſs, he declares the Baptiſm of Infants to be a Thing both ungodly and execrable: But *Herman Buſch*, a very learned Man, ſo ably maintained the contrary in Preſence of the Magiſtrates, that they, by a publick Decree, were ſtraightway commanded to forſake the City. They, finding no Remedy, pretended how unſafe it was for them to paſs the Biſhop's Country; whereupon the Magiſtrates gave them ſafe Conduct, and Proviſion for their Journey. But having formally reſolved never to change their Abode for any other, but to neſtle here ſtill, after a While returned privately to their Proſelytes here, lurking cloſely in their Houſes for a Time. The Magiſtrates in the mean While, before ſuch Time as they began to peep out of their Holes, ſhut up the Doors of all their Churches but one. For their Fear was, leſt the Anabaptiſts, whoſe Numbers daily increaſed, having once more got the Company of their Teachers there, might wholly ſhut out the Miniſters of the Goſpel.

Upon this, in *November*, the Landgrave, at the Requeſt of the Magiſtrates, ſent two Miniſters more to preach among them, *Theodorick Fabricius* and *John Melſinger*: But *Melſinger*, apprehending the Commotions in the City, and the Danger which might enſue thereon, returned Home again preſently. The other zealouſly exhorted the Citizens that they would heedfully beware of the Doctrine of the Anabaptiſts; in which Courſe likewiſe he held on courageouſly, and continued in it, till ſuch Time as the Anabaptiſts, getting the upper-hand, made all fly before them out of the City, as you ſhall hear anon. And, to make all ſure, as he thought, the Landgrave preſcribed a ſet Form of Doctrine and Adminiſtration of Diſcipline, and that by Conſent of the Magiſtrates and People: By whoſe Permiſſion alſo *Peter Wirtem* had Leave to begin again to preach; but after a few Sermons, by *Rotman*'s Inſtigation, he was expelled by the Anabaptiſts; who, being now become more inſolent and daring, took upon them to challenge *Fabricius* and others to diſpute with them. The Magiſtrates gave Way hereunto, ordering withal, that they ſhould uſe no Arguments or Authority, but ſuch as they brought out of Scripture, or the Writings of Orthodox Men; appointing ſome ſufficient and learned Men, who, as Judges, hearing and examining what could be alledged on both Sides, ſhould decide the Controverſy; and what they determined ſhould ſtand ratified, and acknowledged by all, for the ſpeedier Aboliſhing of Contentions and Quarrels, and the Reſtoring and Eſtabliſhing of Peace in the Church: But *Rotman* and his Fellows would not ſtand to theſe Conditions. When therefore they would not agree to this Ordering and Deciſion of the Matter in Hand, they came to be ſlighted generally, and ſcorned by the common Sort of People. To waſh away which Shame and Contempt, they deviſed a more effectual and compendious Courſe, and it was thus: One, who was ſufficiently inſtructed to act his Part, was ſuborned by the reſt to counterfeit himſelf inſpired on the ſudden by the Holy Ghoſt, and to run to and fro up and down the City, calling out upon the People, as he went along, to repent, and be baptiſed again; that, otherwiſe, the heavy Wrath of God would ſuddenly fall upon them all. What Tumults happened among the People hereupon, is eaſy to imagine, every

one

one that had been rebaptised among the same amain, and that too in the same Manner. Many thereby found the fierce Anger of God, so much threatned by them, were perſuaded, being otherwiſe Men of an honeſt Meaning, but ſeduced only by their own Simplicity and Weakneſs. Others alſo yielded to them; but to no other End, but to ſave what they had. For the Anabaptiſts handled them that ſtood out in a very rough Manner, turning them quite out of all. This happened about the End of *December*, whereupon their Teachers now began to look out again, having concealed themſelves, as I told you before, in their ſeveral Lurking-holes: And ſo, gathering a great Concourſe of People in the Market-place, they cried out amain to ſlay all ſuch as had not been rebaptiſed, eſteeming them in no better a Condition than Pagans and Infidels. Next they ſeized upon the publick Magazine of Arms, and the Court-Hall, beſides the Violence they offered to the Houſes of private Men, and thoſe of the beſt Quality. There were ſome, who, to ſave themſelves and theirs, had got them into a Place of the City, which was naturally diſpoſed for Defence, and by this Means they took many of them. This Bickering with the Anabaptiſts, who had fortified themſelves in the Market-houſe, laſted ſo long, till at length, giving Hoſtages on both Sides, they came to a Compoſition; wherein it was agreed upon, that every one ſhould enjoy their own Religion, depart to their own Houſes, and keep the Peace for the Time to come. *Rotman* in the mean While, and *Bernard Knipperdoling*, the Ringleaders of the Faction, although they ſeemed outwardly to advance the Compoſition, yet, underhand ſending Letters to the neighbouring Towns, they invited them of their own Sect, that, leaving all they had, they ſhould forthwith repair to *Munſter*; telling them withal, that what they loſt thereby they ſhould ſpeedily regain again with ten-fold Uſury. Moved by theſe large ſwelling Promiſes, they came thither in great Numbers, Women as well as Men, every one devouring great Matters in their Hopes, eſpecially they of meaner Condition. The Citizens, eſpecially they of the wealthier Sort, perceiving the City to fill with Strangers, withdrew themſelves as conveniently as they could, leaving the Anabaptiſts and promiſcuous Multitude behind them. This was in *February*, a little before *Shrovetide*, in the Year 1533.

The one Side being, by this Means, weakned, the Anabaptiſts fell to Chuſing a new Magiſtracy, all of their own Faction. They made likewiſe two new Burgomaſters, *Knipperdoling* being one of them. And, not long after, they ſet upon St. *Maurice*'s Church, *firing it, with all the Houſes near it.* Then they fell to Robbing and Spoiling all the other Churches, eſpecially the Cathedral. And after all this Miſchief, in the laſt Place, running through every Street of the City, they cried out upon the People to repent. Then changing their Note, they warned all the Wicked, as they termed them, *ſtraightway to quit the Place, except they had a Mind to run the Hazard of their Lives.* Then taking Arms, they preſently forced all ſuch as were not of their own Sect, out of the City, making no Reckoning of either Age or Sex; inſomuch that many Women great with Child miſcarried in this heady and tumultuary Flight. Next, they ſeized upon the Goods of them they had driven out. And, although this happened but the Day before the Biſhop beſieged the City, yet, ſome in their Flight thence, falling into the Biſhop's Hands, were treated no better than Enemies; and it coſt ſome of them their Lives, and, amongſt them, one or two were Miniſters of the Goſpel. *Peter Wirtem*, of whom I ſpoke before, being in ſome Danger, was delivered by Interceſſion of the Landgrave. The other Townſmen, warned with the Peril [illegible] ſeeing what Danger they that had left the City had run themſelves into, being well-meaning Men, were forced, in a Manner, against their Wills, to ſtay there ſtill. About this Time, *John Matthews*, a Prophet, for that Term of Uſe, of high Eſteem amongſt them, commanded that every one ſhould bring into the Publick what Gold, Silver, or other Moveables whatſoever they were poſſeſſed of, threatning Death to ſuch as ſhould fail thereof. [illegible] was publickly appointed for the [illegible] The People, [illegible] this Ordinance, were fain to obey it all, to avoid all Deceit herein, by keeping [illegible] Part of what they had, two Months [illegible] and they Prophetiſſes, were ſubſtituted, pretending to reveal whatſoever Offence any one ſhould commit therein. Neither [illegible] together only what was their own, but [illegible]

Goods alſo were brought in common, whom they had turned out of the City. In the next Place, the ſame Prophet commanded, that no Body ſhould have, or keep by him, any other Book, but the Bible; that all other Books ſhould be brought and burnt in Publick: This Commandment, he ſaid, he had received from God. Books, therefore, were brought together in great Numbers, and conſumed in the Flame. A certain Smith, by Chance, at the ſame Time, called *Hubert Truteling*, had caſt forth ſome jeſting Speeches againſt them they called their Prophets. This coming to be known, they called together the Multitude, and appointed others to be ready in Arms; here they accuſe and condemn the Fellow: This moved the People exceedingly. The firſt that laid Hands on him was the Prophet I told you of, throwing him down, and then running a Pike into him; yet the Wound proved not mortal, although he ran at him with his full Strength. Then he commanded him to be removed to another Place, where he ſhot him with a Muſquet, which he ſnatched out of a young Man's Hand that ſtood by. But, when this neither could diſpatch him, he ſaid, God had revealed it to him, that the Time was not yet come that he muſt die; and that, moreover, God had revealed his Grace unto him. However, he died within a few Days after. Hereupon the Prophet taking a long Spear, and, running violently through the City, cried out, That God the Father had commanded him to beat the Enemy off from the City; but, coming near the Enemy's Quarters, he was met by a common Soldier, who preſently ran him through. And, although his Predictions fell ſhort and failed him now in a ſecond Buſineſs, yet his fellow Prophets had ſo infatuated and bewitched the People, and ſet out the Matter in ſuch a Dreſs, that they much lamented the Loſs of him; fearing withal, that ſome heavy Judgment hung over their Heads, having ſo worthy and eminent a Man taken from amongſt them. But *John* of *Leyden* being alſo a Prophet, and of next Eſteem to him, bids them all be of good Chear, for that it had been long before revealed to him, that he ſhould come to ſuch an End; that he would take his Widow Home to himſelf, and make her his Wife.

Two Days before *Eaſter* they ran into the Churches, and there fell a Ringing all the Bells at once. Not long after, *Knipperdoling* propheſies, That they, who were now in high Place and Dignity, ſhould be brought low enough; and that others again ſhould be preferred and raiſed from an humble and mean Condition; and that he commands all the Churches ſhould be deſtroyed; maintaining, with a great Deal of Gravity, that this Commandment proceeded from God himſelf. Wherefore, upon this Aſſeveration, he was obeyed with a great Deal the more Chearfulneſs and Diligence. About the ſame Time, *John* of *Leyden* delivers a Sword to *Knipperdoling*, and orders him to be the common Headſman; for that it pleaſed God to have it ſo, that he, who had lately borne the higheſt Office, having been Burgomaſter, ſhould bear now the meaneſt, and be no better than a Hangman, he being ſo far from Refuſing it, that he ſeemed to entertain his new Place with a great Deal of Joy and Thankfulneſs.

The Biſhop of *Munſter* had, for ſome Months, maintained the War alone, upon his own Charges; but now *Herman*, the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and *John*, Duke of *Cleves*, ſent him Money, Ammunition, ſome Troops of Horſe, and Companies of Foot. The Archbiſhop alſo came to the Siege, to ſit in Council with them; and, not long after, they made ſome Aſſaults upon the City in ſeveral Places; but, ſeeing no Hopes of Storming it, they raiſed ſeven Forts about it, thereby to keep all Manner of Proviſion from coming to them; intending that ſome Companies of Horſe and Foot ſhould lie there all the Winter: The Biſhop of *Munſter*, in the mean Time, demanding Aids for the Continuance of the Siege, of all the Princes and Cities lying upon, or near the *Rhine*, as being his Neighbours, and whom the Hazard and Danger might, in ſome Sort, concern, as well as himſelf. Hereupon a Meeting was appointed at *Coblentz*, *December* 13, 1534.

After an Aſſault made upon the City to no Purpoſe, *John* of *Leyden* compoſes himſelf to a ſound Sleep, and there, forſooth, he dreams for three Days; Being wakened, he vouchſafes no Man a Word, but makes Signs for Paper, and therein he writes down the Names of twelve Men, and, amongſt them, ſome of the beſt Gentry that were left; theſe were now to govern the Commonwealth in Chief, and to have the Ruling of all in his *Iſrael*. Now, when, by Means of this reverend Jury, he had made Way to become King himſelf, he propoſes to the Teachers ſome certain Tenets of his own deviſing, which he requires to have confuted by them

them by Testimonies out of Scripture, which, if they could not do, he would then commend them to the Multitude to be approved of and established; the chief of them was this, That a Man is not bound to one Wife; and, That a Man may have in Marriage as many Wives as he pleased. But, when the Teachers seemed to oppugn this his Opinion, he calls them all into the Court, and that in Presence of his twelve Men; here in a general Assembly he plucks off his Cloke, and, flinging it upon the Ground, together with his New Testament, he swears, and bears Witness by these Tokens, that his Doctrine, that he had caused to be published, was revealed unto him from Heaven, and, in terrible Words, threatens them with the heavy Displeasure of God, in Case they consented not. At length they agreed, and the worthy Teachers, for three Days together, preached of Nothing but Matrimony. So he, on the sudden, got him three Wives, whereof one was the great Prophet's, *John Matthews*, whom we spoke of before. There were others, likewise, that followed his Example, so that at length it came to be a Matter of the greatest Credit, to have many Wives; but some of the Citizens were mightily displeased hereat; and, giving Notice one to another through the City, they called together all such as loved the Gospel, into the Market-place, where they apprehended the Prophet and *Knipperdoling*, and all the rest of the Teachers; which was no sooner known, but the common People broke in straight with Arms to their Rescue, killing out of Hand about fifty of the Citizens, with several Torments; some they bound to Trees, and others to Stakes, and so shot them, whilst the chief Prophet cried aloud, That they that made the first Shot at them did God very pleasing Service; the rest they put to other Manner of Deaths, but all savouring of exact Cruelty.

Towards the End of *June*, there arose another new Prophet, a Goldsmith; he, calling the whole Multitude together into the Market-place, acquaints them all, That it was the Will and Command of their heavenly Father, that *John* of *Leyden* should be made King of the whole World; and that, setting forth with mighty Forces, he should promiscuously slay all the Kings and Princes upon Earth, only he should spare the common People; that is, such as had loved Justice and Truth; and should, at length, sit on the Throne of his Father *David*, till such Time as the Father should again require the Kingdom at his Hands; that, in the mean While, the Ungodly being every where suppressed, and utterly destroyed, the righteous Generation only should reign in this Life. This was no sooner proclaimed in Publick, but *John* of *Leyden* straightway fell down upon his Knees, and, lifting up his Hands to Heaven, Men and Brethren, quoth he, I have had, these many Days since, all this revealed unto me, and was, myself, very unwilling to have it made known, but now, to confirm it, the heavenly Father hath made Use of another Minister. Thus he became King: The first Thing he did was, to abrogate the Authority of his twelve Men he had chosen; and, as the Fashion of Kings is, he makes Choice of his Peerage and Nobility to attend him: He commands, likewise, two Crowns to be made him, besides a Scabbard, Chain, and Scepter, and other Ornaments of royal Majesty, and all of the purest and choicest Gold. Then he appoints set Days, on which he would hear all Kinds of Suits and Complaints that should be brought before him. As often as he came Abroad, he was attended by his Officers and chosen Nobility; next unto him followed a couple of Youths, both on Horseback; he on the Right-hand carried the Crown and Bible, the other bore a naked Sword; his chief Wife went in the same Pomp and State, for I told you he had many at the same Time. In the Market-place he had a Throne raised for him, all covered with Cloth of Gold. All Actions and Complaints, which were brought before him, were, for the most Part, concerning Wives and Divorces, and these were wonderous often, insomuch that many, that had lived to a good Age one with another, came now to be parted for being Man and Wife. It happened, as the People stood in the Market-place, thick and close together in the Croud, to hear, that *Knipperdoling* getting up upon their Backs and Heads, and creeping on his Hands and Knees amongst them, and breathing in their Faces, would say to every one as he passed, The Father hath [illegible] thee; receive the Holy Ghost. On another Day, dancing [illegible] we must now call *John* of *Leyden*, as he wont, says he, in former Times, to dance my Whore; but now the Father hath commanded me to perform the [illegible] King. Being [illegible] to make an End, the King went [illegible] pleased: Then [illegible]

and plays the King too, till the other returning in the Interim quite turned him out of his Seat, and ſo into Priſon for three Days.

During the Siege they wrote a Book, and publiſhed it, calling it, *The* RESTITUTION. Among other Matters in this Book they maintain, That the Kingdom of Chriſt ſhall be ſuch here on Earth, before the final Day of Judgment, that the Godly and Elect ſhall reign, the Wicked every where being quite deſtroyed and conſumed. They ſay alſo, That it is lawful for the People to depoſe their Magiſtrates: Alſo, Although they had no expreſs Command from the Apoſtles, for the Uſurping ſuch Juriſdiction, yet they, who were now Miniſters of the Church, ought to aſſume to themſelves the Power of the Sword, and by Force to conſtitute a new Form of a Commonwealth. Moreover, That none, except he be a true Chriſtian indeed, ought to be endured in the Church. And more yet, That none can poſſibly be ſaved, that brings not in all he hath into the Publick, reſerving nothing for his private Poſſeſſion. *Luther* and the Pope of *Rome* they term to be *falſe Prophets*, but *Luther* to be far worſe than the other. Marriage alſo they eſteemed to be polluted and impure, where the Parties were not inlightened with true Faith, accounting it no better than Fornication, or flat Adultery. Theſe fond Opinions of theirs have ſpecially been confuted by *Melanchthon*, *Juſtus*, *Menius*, and *Urban King*, and that learnedly and at large, in their ſeveral Writings on this Subject.

After ſome Weeks, the falſe Prophet, that I told you of, blows a Trumpet through every Street of the City, and commands all the People to appear armed before the Cathedral Church-doors, for that they intended now to drive away the Enemy from before the City; and, being come thither, they found good Chear ready prepared and dreſſed: Whereupon they ſat down, as they were bid, ſome fourthouſand of them; and, after them, ſome Thouſand more feaſted, who had been in the mean while upon the Watch. The King and Queen, with their Followers, were the chief Waiters at this Feaſt. Having eaten their Meat, and almoſt made an End of their good Chear, the King comes and gives every one of them Bread, with theſe Words: *Take ye, eat ye, declare ye the Death of the Lord.* Then the Queen, taking the Cup, gave it about, ſaying, *Drink ye, and declare ye the Death of the Lord.* After this, the Prophet beforementioned gets up into a Pulpit, and thence he aſks the People, Whether they would obey the Word of God, or not? Then they all affirmed, They would. It is the Command, ſaid he then, of our Father, That ſome Teachers of the Word, about twenty-eight, ſhould be ſent Abroad, who, going forth to the four Corners of the World, ſhould preach the ſame Doctrine which is taught in this City. Upon this, he names ſuch as ſhould go, and appoints them which Way they ſhould ſteer their Courſe. To *Oſnabrug* were ſent ſix; as many to *Warendorf*; to *Luſatia* eight, and as many more to *Coſfield*. After this, the King and Queen ſupped with the reſt of their Officers, and them that were deſigned to be ſent Abroad. In the Midſt of Supper the King riſes, pretending he had forgotten ſome weighty Buſineſs given him in Charge by the Father. By Chance they had a Soldier in their Hands lately taken; to him the King goes, and accuſes him of Treaſon, as it were another *Judas*, and himſelf cuts off his Head; then he comes again to Supper, and here he relates his bloody Deed, paſſing it over with a Jeſt. After Supper, they that were appointed were ſent away about Shutting in of Night. Beſides Proviſion for their Journies, every one had a Piece of Gold given him, which they were commanded to leave in thoſe Places that would not admit of their Doctrine, as a Teſtimony of their enſuing Deſtruction, and everlaſting Perdition, for their Refuſal of Peace and ſo wholeſome Doctrine.

When they were come to the ſeveral Places whither they were directed, they firſt raiſed a great Cry every-where about the Town, warning all Men in general to repent, threatening Deſtruction to them otherwiſe in a ſhort Time. This plain Trick effecting nothing, they took their Clokes, and ſpread them on the Ground before the Magiſtrates, caſting thereon the Money which had been delivered to them; then, aſſuring them they were ſent by God the Father, they freely offered them Peace; which if they would entertain, they muſt bring together and communicate all their Poſſeſſions: If they refuſed this Proffer of theirs, that then the Piece of Money ſhould remain, as a Token to witneſs againſt their heinous Unthankfulneſs and Unbelief; for that now the Time was come, foretold by all the Prophets, wherein God would have Juſtice to be obſerved over the

whole Face of the Earth: And, when their King should, by the diligent Execution of his Office, have brought Matters to that Pass, that Justice might reign every-where, that then Christ would again deliver up the Kingdom to his Father. Upon this their wild Preaching they were apprehended, and at first dealt with in a friendly Manner; but, this doing no Good upon them, they were afterwards questioned upon the Rack concerning their Faith and Course of Life, as also concerning the Strength of the City. But their Answers were, That they only were the Men, whose Doctrine was true; which likewise they would make good with the very Hazard of their Lives; for that, since the Apostles Age hitherto, the Word of God was never taught aright, nor any Justice to be found among Men: That there had been but four Prophets in all since Christ; whereof two were just ones, *David* and *John* of *Leyden*; and the other two unjust ones, the Pope and *Luther*, but, of the two, *Luther* the worst. Being questioned, Why they forced innocent Men out of the City, and from their Estates, contrary to their Agreement, and Promise passed unto them, taking into their Possession their Wives, Children, and all they had? And by what Places of Scripture they could defend this Justice, forsooth, of theirs? To this they replied, That the Time was now come, wherein Christ had promised that the Meek should possess the Earth: That so of old God gave to the *Israelites* all the Goods of the *Egyptians*. Afterwards, being examined concerning the Forces and Store of Corn they had in the City, and withal about their Wives, they made several Answers, but, to the last, That most of them had above five. Moreover, that they daily expected fresh Forces from *Friesland* and *Holland*; that, as soon as they came, their King would issue forth with all his Army to conquer the whole World, and slay those Kings who had not administered Judgment and Justice. After their Trial, when as yet they would not acknowledge any other Magistrate, saving their own King, but persisted stubborn in their own wilful Humour, they were all of them beheaded, but one who by Chance made his Escape.

But now the City was so streightly besieged, that there was no Passage out left any where; therefore the Citizens, fearing a Famine, and apprehending the Danger they were in, entered into a Consultation of laying Hands upon the King, and delivering him up bound to the Bishop. But the King, having Notice given him thereof, chose out twelve from among all the Multitude, who, he imagined, would prove most faithful to him: To these he committed the chief Care and Charge of the City, assigning them every one their particular Place to defend; besides these, he appointed himself a Guard to suppress all Kinds of Commotions and Seditions, that might arise among them. Having done this, calling the whole Multitude before him, he promises them, they should be freed from the Siege, and all Kinds of Want which might ensue thereupon, before *Easter* next. But, for his twelve Commanders, to them he promises far greater Matters: They, forsooth, should be Marquisses, and Dukes, and Princes, and I know not what, assigning them every one their Provinces by Name, what Signiories and Castles they should be made Lords of, resolving only to spare the Landgrave, for that he hoped, as he told them, that he in Time should come to be one of themselves.

We told you before, that there was a Meeting ordered of the Princes and [illegible] the *Rhenish* Provinces at *Coblentz* in *D*[illegible] *John Frederick*, the Prince Elector of [illegible] came of his own Accord to this Assem[illegible] ter Deliberation, speedy Aids were as[illegible] the Bishop; three-hundred Horse, an[illegible] thousand Foot, for three Months. [illegible] Forces and the Managing of th[illegible] were commited to *Wirich*, C[illegible] General. Here also th[illegible] States of the Empire [illegible] for Aids; and, be[illegible] m-self in *Spain*, that [illegible] King of the [illegible] a publick D[illegible] appointed [illegible] sent [illegible] to yield themselves up, [illegible] Enterprise, than which the Sun [illegible] beheld a[illegible] red; withal, [illegible] obey, and [illegible] Magistrates, [illegible] ed them, and [illegible] should not want [illegible] Empire, for his just [illegible] his Losses. This was [illegible] *cember*.

They

They returned an Anſwer towards the Middle of *January*, 1535, and that in many Words, but nothing to the Purpoſe; yet ſo, that they ſtill juſtified and maintained what they did. As for what they were charged withal, about Setting up a King, they made no Anſwer at all to that. But in their private Letters to the Landgrave, they endeavour to excuſe it, adding moreover many Things elſe concerning the utter Deſtruction of all the Ungodly; and of the Deliverance and Kingdom of the Godly in this Life. Withal they ſent to him the Book I told you before they publiſhed, intitled, *The Reſtitution*, counſelling him to repent, and not, as the other ungodly Princes, to make War againſt them, who were innocent Men, and the very People of God. The Landgrave having peruſed, as well their Book as their Letters, and himſelf noting down with his own Hand what he conceived amiſs therein, he orders his own Divines to make Anſwer thereunto. And, becauſe themſelves had ſignified unto him in their Letters, although but in few Words, and that too, ſomewhat obſcurely, that their King was not ſo much ſet up by themſelves, as appointed and placed over by God himſelf, he demands of them, Why they urged not thoſe Places of Scripture, upon the Authority of which they imagined it lawful for them ſo to do; withal, What forerunning Signs and Prodigies they had to prove and make it good by? For that God by all his Prophets, long before-hand, foretold of the Coming of Chriſt; and that with that Evidence and Plainneſs, that not only the Tribe or Stock of which he ſhould be deſcended was manifeſtly expreſſed, but alſo the very Time and Place where he ſhould be born. They had deſired likewiſe in the ſame Letters, that their Cauſe might have a fair Hearing; whereunto the Landgrave anſwered, That there was now no Place left for that, ſeeing that they had aſſumed to themſelves the Power of the Sword, and had been the Authors of ſo much Miſchief and Calamity; that every Body began now plainly to perceive, what was their Aim, Drift and Aim, the Suppreſſing of all Laws, the Overthrow and utter Ruin of Commonwealths. And that as their Attempt, for the Main of it, was altogether ungodly and execrable; ſo this their Requeſt, to have a fair Hearing of their Cauſe, was wholly feigned and counterfeit. That for his Part, he had formerly ſent unto them faithful Miniſters of the Goſpel, by whom, without all Queſtion, they had been rightly inſtructed. But whereas they now, rejecting the wholeſome Doctrine of ſuch Teachers, had fallen from their Obedience to the Magiſtrate; had with violent Hands ſeized upon the Goods and Poſſeſſions of their Neighbours; had taken to themſelves Variety and Choice of Wives; had elected and ſet up a new King among them; had denied that Chriſt had taken on him human Nature, from the Virgin *Mary*; had maintained and aſſerted the Freedom of Man's Will; had forcibly conſtrained the People to a Communication of their Goods in Publick; had denied Pardon and Abſolution to lapſed Sinners; that in all theſe they had fouly violated the Laws, as well Human as Divine.

They having received this Anſwer from the Landgrave made their Reply, and withal ſent him a Book, compoſed and written in the *High Dutch*, concerning the Myſteries of Scripture. And in their Letter they ſet a fair and ſpecious Gloſs upon their own Cauſe, together with a Defence and Juſtification of their Opinions. But in their Book we ſpoke of, they made a Diviſion of the Courſe and Succeſſion of all Times, of the whole World, into three Parts or Ages: That the *firſt* World, from *Adam* to *Noah*, periſhed indeed by the Deluge of Waters: That the *Second*, which is that wherein we now live, ſhall be deſtroyed by Fire: But their *Third*, and new World, which they maintain ſhall be hereafter, is that, wherein Righteouſneſs and Juſtice ſhall bear the Sway; but before this laſt ſhall begin to dawn, and ſhed its Light in the Eyes of Men, it muſt neceſſarily be, that this old one, that now is, be firſt purged by Fire; which ſhall not be neither, before Antichriſt is revealed, and his Power utterly ſuppreſſed and trodden down under Foot. That then it ſhall come to paſs, that the Throne of *David*, which was caſt down, ſhall be reared up again and eſtabliſhed; and Chriſt ſhall again receive his Kingdom here upon Earth, and ſo ſhall all the Sayings of the Prophets be accompliſhed. That this preſent World is like the Age, wherein *Eſau* had the Power and Sway in his Hands; for that now Righteouſneſs and Equity are put to Silence, and the godly Ones only afflicted: But as from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, ſo from the great Miſeries and Calamities of this preſent Age,

there ſhall at length appear a Day of Ranſom and Reſtitution, a Day of Freedom and Liberty, for the Righteous; wherein the Wicked ſhall abundantly receive the Reward of all they have done malicioufly againſt the Saints of God, as is foretold and threatened in the *Revelation*. Now this Reſtitution is to happen immediately before this bleſſed Age of the World, which is yet to come; ſo that, all the ungodly and wicked Ones being ſuppreſſed all the World over, the Seat and Dwelling-place of Juſtice ſhall be adorned and beautified. The Landgrave, having peruſed this Book of theirs, employs ſome of his own Miniſters to write and publiſh an Anſwer againſt it.

There was a Meeting of ſome Cities of the Empire at *Eſſing*, who among themſelves made a Decree and Agreement, that thoſe who formerly met at *Coblentz* had no Power or Right to impoſe any Burthens upon them, for that the Conſent and Authority, or the Emperor and all the States of the Empire were to be required therein. Whereupon they wholly reject that Order, promiſing mutual Aid and Aſſiſtance among themſelves, in Caſe any one of them ſhould be called in Queſtion, or endangered hereby. Withal they make Remonſtrance, that whatſoever ſhould be ordered and decreed by the publick Convention of the Princes and States of the Empire, in a lawful Manner, in Behalf of the Commonwealth, that therein they would moſt readily expreſs their Duty.

Now in *February*, there happening a great Penury and Scarcity of Corn, inſomuch that many periſhed by Reaſon of Hunger and Want; one of the Queens, pitying the ſad Condition of the People, in her Diſcourſe to her Companions, expreſſed her Mind ſo far, that ſhe could not once think it, that it was the good Will and Pleaſure of God, that poor People ſhould daily be deſtroyed in this Manner, for Lack of Food. The King, who had his Storehouſes ſufficiently repleniſhed, not only for Neceſſity and Uſe, but even for Riot, having Notice given him hereof, brings her forth into the Market-place, together with his other Queens, and commanding her to kneel down, ſtraightway he ſtrikes off her Head, diſgracing her dead Body, as if ſhe had been ſome common Strumpet. The reſt of them applaud the Action, giving Thanks to their heavenly Father, upon which the King fell a Dancing, encouraging the People alſo, who had nothing left them, but Bread and Salt, to dance likewiſe, and to be merry.

Eaſter being now come, and no Sign of Deliverance yet appearing, the King who had made them many glorious Promiſes, to deviſe ſomething, whereby to excuſe himſelf to the People, for ſix Days together, counterfeits himſelf ſick: After this he comes Abroad into the Market-place, and there he tells them, how he had been riding upon a blind Aſs, and that the Father had laid upon him the heavy Burden of all their Sins; that now therefore they were become clean, waſhed and purified from all their Offences. And that this was that Deliverance, which he had promiſed them, and that herewith they ought all to remain contented.

Among other Things, which about this Time *Luther* publiſhed in the *High Dutch*: Alas! ſaith he, what, or how ſhall I complain, and bewail the ſad Condition of theſe wretched and forlorn Men? Moſt certain it is, that evil Spirits in Abundance have taken up here their Habitation and Reſidence. Howſoever, we ought deſervedly to praiſe the infinite Mercy and Goodneſs of God, [illegible] by Reaſon of the Contempt of the Goſpel, and the Reproach of God's Name, and the Effuſion of daily Men's Blood, *Germany* [illegible] ſuffer the fierce Wrath and Diſpleaſure of God; yet, for all that, he did reſiſt the Rage and furious Attempts of Satan, and ſuffered him not to go on with full Swing and Career; but, in Mercy, gave us gentle Warning and Admonition. And eſpecially by this Fall of *Munſter*, which had [illegible] Cunning in it, he ſubtilly inverted and [illegible] Amendment of our Life. [illegible] all Doubt, except God had held him in with a ſtrong Bridle, he being ſo ſubtile a Captain, and much his Craft-maſter, had certainly effected [illegible] Part, in a far more dangerous Manner. [illegible] now ſeeing the Goodneſs of God and [illegible] and abuſed his Power, he rages now [illegible] his Pranks, according to his [illegible] fire, but only to [illegible] had given him Leave. For this [illegible] whoſe Endeavour is to [illegible] Faith, would moſt likely make [illegible] as to perſuade the Marriage of [illegible] or [illegible], thereby to [illegible] he aimed at; becauſe he [illegible] neſs of the Thing itſelf [illegible]

Hands, he knew full well how all Men, not yet bereft of their right Reaſon, would abominate it, and cry it down with Shame. The Civil Polity indeed, and Government, may, in ſome Sort, be troubled and ſhaken hereby; but Chriſt's Kingdom muſt be aſſaulted by other Kind of Battery than this. He that will undertake to inveagle, and draw Men into Snares, muſt by no Means affect Empire and Command, much leſs act the Tyrant. This being deteſted alike by all Men, and all Eyes being broad open to obſerve and interpret, whereto ſuch Counſels tend; they muſt go to Work by more hidden Means, as it were By-way Paths, if they intend their Deſigns ſhall obtain the wiſhed for Iſſue, and take Effect. A ſordid and uncouth Attire; a Behaviour of the Countenance, to Compoſedneſs and Auſterity; a Hanging of the Head, with dejected Looks; frequent Faſtings, and an utter Refuſal of the very Touch of Money; Abſtinence from Fleſh-meats and Marriage; a Denial of Obedience to Magiſtrates, and a general Diſreſpect to all Kind of temporal, or civil Dominion, with an outward Profeſſion however, of extraordinary Humility in themſelves: By theſe Means indeed, and by ſuch cloſe Policy as this, even wiſe Men have been over-reached; and, by ſuch dark and myſterious Courſes, ſome have made a Way and Entrance to great Sway and Power. But, as here, by extreme Impudence, to arrogate and uſurp the Power of a King, and, according to the Unruline's of unbounded Luſt, to take away Wives; that this was the Trick of ſome ſhallow and untaught Devil, or elſe, if he had all his Cunning and Sleights about him, that he was ſo fettered and chained by an over-maſtering Power, that he could not make Uſe of his Tricks at his own Pleaſure. Which, no Doubt, God does to no other End, than that we ſhould entertain a more reverential Reſpect of the Divine Providence, and be the ſooner excited to Repentance, and Amendment of our Ways, before God give him Liberty for the full Exerciſe of his Practices; who certainly then will ſet upon us, with redoubled Forces. For what ſame poor and conſumptible Scribe-Devil can of himſelf raiſe ſuch Tumults and Uproars; What ſhall we do, when the great Devil himſelf, with all his Knowledge and Arts about him, ſhall come with full Sail againſt us, and give us a Broadſide, being both a cunning Lawyer, and a crafty Divine? Wherefore, no ſuch great Fear, or Thought, ought to be entertained concerning this ſo untrimmed and untutored a Devil. Beſides, I am fully perſuaded, that this Pageant and Mock-ſhow is not ſo well approved of by all in the City, but that it occaſions great Grief, and ſad Thoughts of Heart, to moſt there; who no Doubt, with Tears and Sighs, daily petition for, and expect a Deliverance from God's Hands, as formerly happened in that tumultuary Inſurrection of the Ruſticks, and ill-adviſed People, lately among us. And I could wiſh from my Heart, that there were no Spirit in the whole World more cunning and crafty than is this *Munſter* Devil: For, ſo long as God doth not quite take away his Word and Goſpel from among us, there can certainly be but few, and thoſe not very wiſe, who will ſuffer themſelves to be drawn away, by ſo ſottiſh and unſober a Maſter. Notwithſtanding, I muſt confeſs, that, when the Wrath and Anger of God is kindled againſt any People, there is no Error ſo unreaſonable or abſurd, which the Devil cannot eaſily perſuade them unto; as we plainly ſee, it happened in the Doctrine of *Mahomet*. For, though the whole Compoſition and Frame thereof be but a continued Piece of extreme Folly and Senſuality, yet upon the Removal, or rather putting out of the divine Light of God's Word among them, it aſſumed to itſelf that Strength and Vigour, and ſpread itſelf to that large Extent and Power, which, at this Day, *Chriſtendom* beholds and witneſſes, with no leſs Wonderment than Shame. And indeed, except God had, by his Goodneſs and Providence, repreſſed the Attempts and Inſolencies of *Munſter*, *Germany* had now been in no better a Condition. For although the Devil, by God's Permiſſion, can ſometimes blow a ſmall Spark into a general Flame, and Wild fire; however there is no more compendious Way of extinguiſhing it, than by the Word of God. For, ſeeing all the Armour of our Enemy is incorporeal and ſpiritual, it is not Troops of Horſes, or other warlike Preparations, that can quell and overcome him. Now, as for thoſe Books written, and publiſhed by them of *Munſter*, wherein in lively Colours, they paint, and ſet forth to View, their own Folly and Madneſs: In the firſt Place, their Doctrines contain in them extreme Fopperies and Abſurdities; and that in Matters of Faith. For ſpeaking of Chriſt, they ſay, he is not ſprung of the Seed of the Virgin *Mary*, to uſe their own Words; although

though they confess him to come of the Seed of *David*. Here they unfold not the Matter sufficiently, as it requires. And certainly the Devil herein conceals some monstrous Mystery, for his own Ends, intimating unto us, and that too not obscurely, that the Seed or Flesh of *Mary* cannot deliver and save us. But he loses his Labour: For the Scripture tells us, that Christ was born of the Virgin *Mary*, which Word, in all Languages, is understood of the Child, which, being conceived and fashioned of the Flesh of the Mother, is brought forth into the World. Again, whereas they condemn former Baptism, as profane and unholy, therein also they shew their little Skill. For they conceive and think of it, not as a Thing of God's Appointment, but only as the Work of Man. Wherefore, if whatsoever the Wicked confer, or receive, ought thus to be slighted and rejected; I wonder indeed, why they also refuse not, and fling away, Gold and Silver, and other Treasures, plundered from the Ungodly; and devise not, and coin for themselves, some new invented Materials; for Baptism is the Work and Creature of God, as well as all these. When an ungodly Man swears, he does Wrong to the Name of God; but if, the Name of God be not a true Name to him, he offends not. He that robs or steals, or commits Rapine, breaks the Law of God; but, if the Law be not a true Law to him, he trespasses not. So also, if the former Baptism be nothing, neither do they sin any Thing, that are baptised therewith. Why, therefore, do they detest this Baptism, as an ungodly Thing, when, according to their own Confession, it is nothing? If the Marriages of former Times are, as they say, to be accounted for Fornication and Adultery, seeing they were contracted, as they will have it, by those that wanted Faith; Do not they, I pray you, confess themselves to be the Children of Harlots? Now, if they be illegitimate, and Bastards, I would fain know, by what Right, they come to inherit, and enjoy the Privilege of those Places they live in? Truly it would be but Reason, seeing they are such, that they should be made incapable of inheriting; and that, in this their new Way of Marriage, they should find themselves, also, some new Means and Possessions, which, at least, may have a fairer and honester Title. For it is not seemly, methinks, that such good and godly Men, forsooth, should maintain themselves upon such whorish and unlawfully gotten Goods; or else be forced, poor Souls! by plain Violence and Robbery, to pillage and plunder from others. As for that ridiculous Kingdom of theirs, which they dream of, there are so many, and so manifest Impieties in this one Business alone, that I need not make any more Words of it; and indeed, perhaps, what I have already said concerning it may be thought unnecessary, and too much; especially, seeing the whole Subject thereof hath abundantly enough been discussed, and laid open, by the Labours of other Men.

At the Dyet, which, at the Request of the Princes of the Empire, *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* held by his Deputies at *Worms* in *April*, the Cities, which hitherto had contributed no Monies to the War, in the first Place, made their Protestation, that they appeared not here, out of any Consideration of the Decree passed at *Coblentz*; but out of Obedience to the Emperor, and King *Ferdinand*. Whereupon there happened a great Debate between them and the Princes, about the Contribution. At length, Supplies were appointed for five Months, and twenty-thousand Crowns ordered to be paid in Monthly. Likewise it was decreed, that, upon storming or taking in of the City, the innocent People should be spared; and that honest Men, who were either kept in by the Siege, or had formerly quitted the Place, should have their Goods restored them. Upon the Publishing of this Decree, the Bishop of *Munster* delivers over his Army to the Command of *Oberstein*. But, these publick Sums being negligently collected, and indeed, not before it was too late, the General was not able to perform any extraordinary Service. Besides, the Commanders, in a general Mutiny of the Soldiers, for Want of Pay, were many Times brought in Hazard of their Lives.

But, when Things were brought to that wretched and lamentable Pass, within the City, that very many died daily of the Famine, and many also stole away, and escaped from thence, but so starved and spent with Hunger, that they were pitied by [illegible] Hands they fell: The Commanders [illegible] and promised the Townsmen, that [illegible] deliver up their King, and some few more besides, they should be excused from all [illegible] as well Damage and Dangers. The Citizens, although they were wonderful [illegible] yet deterred by the Cruelty [illegible] their King, they durst not attempt any Thing.

For

For he, for his Part, was ſo reſolute and obſtinate, that ſo long as any Thing was left, whereupon himſelf and ſome few others might be kept alive, he never intended to yield up the Town. The Commanders therefore, in the Army, ſend to them the ſecond Time, and forewarn them, that they ſend out no more, no not ſo much as Women, or Children. This was the Firſt of *June*.

Next Day, they of the Town return an Anſwer; complaining, that they could not be admitted to a lawful Hearing; adding withal, how hardly and grievouſly they were dealt with, and that without any Deſerving on their Parts at all: That, if any body would take upon him to demonſtrate their Error, they would be ready in all dutiful Manner to acknowledge it. Then they expound a Place in *Daniel*, *Dan.* vii. 7, concerning the fourth Beaſt, which was far the fierceſt of all the reſt. But their Letters ended with this Cloſe, That, by the Help and Aſſiſtance of God, they would continue in the Confeſſion of that Truth, which hitherto they had maintained. Now all this was penned according as the King had appointed and directed it.

Things in the City being brought to this Extremity, and, as it were, to the laſt Caſt, there were two Men, who had made an Eſcape thence, who falling into the Soldiers Hands, one of them, paſſing his own Word for his Faithfulneſs, was ſuffered to go to the Biſhop; and both of them ſet down a Way how to gain the City. *Oberſtein* and the Biſhop, having heard what theſe Fugitives could ſay, entered into Counſel thereupon, and *June* the Twenty-ſecond, demanding a Treaty with the Townſmen, they exhort and perſuade them to yield themſelves, and ſave alive the Multitude, which by this Time was ready to periſh with Famine. They, their King being preſent, made Anſwer by *Rotman*; but ſo as that they meaned not to forego their former Reſolution.

Two [illegible] about Eleven of the Clock at Night, *Oberſtein*, without any Noiſe, draws up ſome of his Forces cloſe to the City, and, by Means of one of the Fugitives, ſome Soldiers choſen of Purpoſe, creeping along the Trench, at length got into their Works, killing the *Corps du Guard*: Others followed cloſe at their Heels, and, finding a ſmall Gate open, ſome five-hundred of them, with ſome Officers and Colours, got into the City. But the Townſmen gathering into a Body ſtopped the Paſſage, that the reſt could not break in; and yet with much ado it was that they kept them out. So making good the Gate again, they ſtraightway aſſaulted them that firſt made the Breach and Entry, and ſlew many of them. Thus, for an Hour or two, there continued an eager Skirmiſh on both Sides. But they that were ſhut in, finding by Chance another Gate, with no ſtrong Guard at it, forced it open, and ſo made an Enterance for their Fellows, who preſently broke in like a Sea: Howſoever, at firſt the Townſmen made Head againſt them, fortifying themſelves in the Market-Place: But at length deſpairing, having loſt many of their Men at the firſt Encounter, they all cried out for Quarter, which was readily granted them. At this very Bout the King and *Knipperdoling* were taken; *Rotman*, forſaking all Hopes of Life, and running deſperately into the thickeſt of the Enemies, was ſlain, utterly refuſing to truſt himſelf alive into their Hands.

The City thus taken, the Biſhop ſeized upon half the Booty, and the Ammunition belonging to it: And ſo diſmiſſing the Army, he only reſerved two Companies, as a Guard for his own Perſon.

There was this Year, in *July*, another Dyet alſo of the Empire held at *Worms*, wherein King *Ferdinand*, by his Deputies, made a Motion, that, now the City was taken, the Anabaptiſts, through the whole Empire, ſhould every where be deſtroyed and made away: Alſo, that the Princes would move the Pope of *Rome* for a General Council. They made Reply, That Order had been taken by former Edicts, what was thought fit to be done with the Anabaptiſts: And as for a General Council, that the Emperor himſelf had divers Times ſollicited the Pope therein; and that therefore, for their Parts, they could ſay no more to it. At the ſame Meeting, the Biſhop of *Munſter* demanded Reparation of Damages, and the Coſts he had been at during the War; complaining withal, that the Monies agreed upon had not as yet been paid in to him.

When nothing could certainly be determined of, there being but few of the Princes and States there preſent, another Dyet was appointed there, to begin the next *November* following, where then ſhould be a full Hearing, both concerning the Account and Expences of the War; and alſo it ſhould be determined,

termined, what Form of Government ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the City for the Time to come. When the appointed Day was come, King *Ferdinand*'s Ambaſſador firſt relates, and makes known the Cauſes of this preſent Aſſembly, and moves, among other Things, that they would conclude upon an Agreement, that the City now lately regained might continue, and enjoy its former Religion. The Biſhop's Agent lays open and declares, how great Charges and Expences he had been at for the whole Time of the War; how great a Debt he had contracted thereby; how having regained the City, to prevent more Stir and Danger, he was conſtrained to raiſe two Fortreſſes within it, and to put Gariſons in them; of all which he deſired that a ſpeedy Conſideration might be had. Hereto Anſwer was made, That the Biſhop had taken into his Hands, as well the greater Part of the Booty, and all the Ammunition, as the Citizens Goods; all which belonged to the common Right of the Empire; that it was fitting an even Eſtimate being made, that all this ſhould be conſidered in the Bill, and Account of his Expences; and what elſe was deſired ſhould have a reaſonable and fair Conſideration had of it. Next it was determined, that the Biſhoprick of *Munſter* ſhould be at the Diſpoſing of the Empire, according to the ancient Cuſtom: That all the Nobility, Gentry, and Citizens, except ſuch as were Anabaptiſts, ſhould be ſuffered to return, and freely to enjoy their own: That the Biſhop ſhould order Matters of Religion, according to the Decrees of the Empire: That at the Spring next enſuing, the Agents of the ſeveral States and Princes ſhould meet at *Munſter*, and there, taking Examination of the Citizens Behaviour, ſhould acquit the Innocent; and level all ſuch Forts and Works, as the Anabaptiſts had raiſed: That the Biſhop likewiſe ſhould raze thoſe Fortreſſes he had built, and ſhould with all convenient Speed deliver out of Cuſtody, and puniſh according to their Demerits, the King, *Knipperdoling*, and *Crechting*, who were his Priſoners.

As for the Decree about the Exerciſe of Religion, the Elector of *Saxony*, the Landgrave, the Princes of *Wittenberg*, and *Anhalt*, openly declared, and proteſted, againſt any Aſſent thereto: Some Cities likewiſe did the ſame; neither would they agree to the Laying level of the old Works about the City; as for Demoliſhing thoſe lately raiſed, they made no great Matter of that. The King and his two fellow Priſoners were led up and down the Town in Sight of the Princes; and that more for Sport, and Paſtime, than for any Thing elſe. Upon this Occaſion, and Opportunity, the Miniſters that came along with the Landgrave, entered into Diſcourſe with the King, and diſputed with him, concerning ſome of his Opinions; as about the Kingdom of Chriſt, and the Civil Magiſtrate, concerning Juſtification, and Baptiſm; of the Supper of the Lord, the Incarnation of Chriſt, and of Marriage; and by the Teſtimonies of holy Scriptures they did ſo much Good upon him, that though they could not wholly alter him, he, with ſome Reluctancy, ſtill defending his own; yet they ſo weakened him, and turned him, that at length he in a Manner generally yielded unto them, which ſome thought, he did more out of a Hope to ſave his Life, than that he was thoroughly convinced by their Arguments: For the ſecond Time they came to viſit him, he made them promiſe, that ſo he might receive his Pardon, he would bring the Buſineſs ſo about, that all the Anabaptiſts who were in *Holland*, *Brabant*, *Friezland*, and *Weſtphalia* [illegible] numbers, ſhould be baptized and [illegible] to all Reſpects [illegible] to the Magiſtrate. Then he diſputed with his Companions both Face to Face, and by Writing, concerning Mortification, the Baptiſm of Infants, the Communion of Goods, and of the Kingdom of Chriſt.

[illegible] they were brought to Trial, the King being [illegible] by the Biſhop. By what Authority he had arrogated and aſſumed to himſelf ſuch Power and Licence over his Citizens and People. The King demanded likewiſe of him again, How he came by any ſuch Command or Title of Poſſeſſion? The Biſhop replied, That he had it conferred upon him by the Conſent of the Citizens and People; Why and I, ſaid he, created the King, was called the [illegible] by God himſelf. The Eighteenth of January, they [illegible] upon [illegible] and every one committed apart to ſeveral Priſons. The [illegible] Day after came the Biſhop [illegible] together with the Archbiſhop of [illegible] the Ambaſſadors of the Duke of [illegible] two Days following were about ſeven [illegible] ſome and godly Admoniſhments [illegible] them, to reclaim them from their [illegible] Opinions. And the

the King indeed acknowledged his Offences, and ſought to Chriſt, by Prayers, for the Forgiveneſs of his Sins. But the other two would by no Means confeſs any Fault, but continued with a great Deal of Obſtinacy maintaining their Errors. The next Day the King was brought forth unto an high Place, raiſed from the Ground, and there tied to a Stake. Here two Executioners tore his Fleſh with red-hot Pincers. For the three firſt Plucks he was ſilent, and made no great Expreſſion of what Torment he felt; but afterwards inceſſantly, with a great Deal of Vehemency, he beſought God for Mercy and Pardon. Having been tortured and torn in this Manner, for a whole Hour and more, he was at length run through the Breaſt with a Sword, and ſo died.

His two Companions were put to the ſame Torment and Execution. Their dead Bodies were truſſed up in iron Hoops, and hung out for the publick View, from the higheſt Tower in all the City, the King indeed in the Middle; but ſo, as that he hung the full Heighth of a Man above the other two.

And thus *Knipperdoling* found his own Prophecy made good again; and that too in Regard of the ſecond Part of it.

Καὶ λίην κεῖνός γε ἐοικότι κεῖται ὀλέθρῳ·
Ὡς ἀπόλοιτο ἠ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι.
Od α.

The grand Deſigns of the Papiſts, in the Reign of our late Sovereign *Charles the Firſt*, and now carried on againſt his preſent Majeſty, his Government, and the Proteſtant Religion.

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To the Reader.

HE *muſt needs be a Man of very ſlender Obſervation and Acquaintance in the World, who is ſurpriſed and ſtartled at the News of Plots and Conſpiracies againſt Princes, contrived and managed by the reſtleſs Emiſſaries of the Church of* Rome. There is no new Thing under the Sun, *ſays the wiſe Man. And, as to the preſent Caſe, we may defy the greateſt Villain of the whole Order of Jeſuits to form any Deſign, however black and execrable, barbarous and inhuman, which ſhall be any other than the unavoidable Reſult of their avowed Principles, which we may gather from their Writings, and the Repetition of their known Practices, which ſtand upon Record in the Hiſtories of former Ages. This Truth has been convincingly demonſtrated by our Proteſtant Writers in both the Parts of it; inſomuch that the* Romiſh *Factors, inſtead of denying the Charge, have begun to ſave us all further Trouble, by giving freſh Proof of it themſelves; and, by a late traiterous Deſign againſt his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, have endeavoured to confirm our Aſſertions, by a ſad and direful Experience; as thinking, perhaps, that new*

Maſſacres are the moſt effectual Courſe to ſtop the Cry of the Old, and that the readieſt Way to ſilence their Adverſaries, is, to make them Inſtances of the Truth of the Accuſation.

It is not the Deſign of theſe Papers, to give an Account of the Diſcovery of the late Plot, but only to preſent the Reader with the Narrative of another againſt his Majeſty's royal Father, of bleſſed Memory, ſo exactly reſembling this, which now lies under Examination, that it can hardly be called another, being nothing elſe but the ſame Thing acted over again, only with the neceſſary Alteration of the Circumſtances of Time, Place, and Perſons.

I will not here undertake to make out the Parallel, which is ſo obvious to be diſcerned, in almoſt all the Circumſtances of the Story. The only Uſe, I ſhall at preſent make of it, is briefly this, viz. *From hence to underſtand, who were the chief Promoters of the late Troubles, and the moſt pernicious Enemies to that royal Martyr: The Sectaries, indeed, were the moſt viſible and notorious, but they were neither the only, nor the principal Actors in the Conſpiracy; the Jeſuits can never ſit out, when ſuch great Tranſactions, as Rebellions and Regicide, are going forward. And, however the Papiſt and Fanatick are of contrary Factions, Intereſts, and Inclinations, yet it is natural enough, that they may both conſpire, though with a different Intent, to promote and carry on the very ſame Deſign.*

We have here a full Diſcovery made to us where our Danger lies; nor are the Roman *Practices ever the leſs miſchievous, though uſually managed in a Way more ſecret and undiſcerned. What is now ſecretly practiſed, in Colleges and Corners, ſhall, whenever Opportunity ſerves them, be openly acted in the Face of the Sun. What has been once done, may be done again. And let us not flatter ourſelves, that we can have any Security from that Sort of Men, who can readily break through all Obligations of Gratitude or Religion, for propagating their Cauſe, though by a Maſſacre, or a Powder-plot, by the Murder of a King, or the Subverſion of a Kingdom. The Lord, in his Mercy, awaken us to ſee our Danger, and, in his good Time, make us a Way to eſcape it; and grant, that we may all, in this our Day, know the Things that belong unto our Peace, before they be hid from our Eyes.*

WHO, and what the Author of this Diſcovery was; who the chief active Inſtruments in the Plot; when, and where they aſſembled; in what vigorous Manner they daily proſecuted it; how effectually they proceeded in it; how difficult it is to diſſolve, or counter-work it, without ſpecial Diligence, the Relation itſelf will beſt diſcover; whoſe Verity, if any queſtion, theſe Reaſons will inforce Belief:

Firſt, That the Diſcoverer was a chief Actor in this Plot, ſent hither from *Rome* by Cardinal *Barbarino*, to aſſiſt *Con*, the Pope's Legate, in the Purſuit of it, and privy to all the Particulars therein diſcovered.

Secondly, That the Horror, and Reality of the Conſpiracy, ſo troubled his Conſcience, as it engaged him to diſcloſe it, yea, to renounce that bloody Church and Religion which contrived it, though bred up in, preferred by it, and promiſed greater Advancements for his Diligence in this Deſign.

Thirdly, That he diſcovered it under an Oath of Secrecy, and offered to confirm every Particular by ſolemn Oath.

Fourthly, That he diſcovers the Perſons principally employed in this Plot, the Places and Times of their ſecret Conventions, their Manner and Diligence in the Purſuit of it, with all other Circumſtances, ſo punctually, as leaves no Place for Doubt.

Fifthly, The principal Conſpirators nominated by him, are notoriouſly known to be fit Inſtruments for ſuch a wicked Deſign.

Sixthly, Many Particulars therein have immediate Relation to the King and Archbiſhop,

to

to whom he imparted this Diſcovery, and durſt not reveal any Thing for Truth, which they could diſprove on their own Knowledge.

Seventhly, Sir *William Boſwel*, and the Archbiſhop, if not the King himſelf, were fully ſatisfied that it was real, and moſt important.

Eighthly, Some Particulars are ratified by the Archbiſhop's Teſtimony, in the Memorials of his own Life, written with his own Hand ſome Years before; and others ſo apparent, that moſt intelligent Men in Court, or City, were acquainted with them whilſt they were acting, though ignorant of the Plot.

The firſt Overture and larger Relation of the Plot itſelf were both writ in *Latin*, as they are here printed, and faithfully tranſlated Word for Word, as near as the Dialect will permit. All which premiſed, the Letters and Plot here follow in Order.

Sir William Boſwel's *firſt Letter to the Archbiſhop concerning the Plot.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

THE Offers (whereof your Grace will find a Copy here incloſed) towards a further and more particular Diſcovery, were firſt made unto me at the ſecond Hand, and in Speech, by a Friend of good Quality and Worth in this Place. But ſoon after, as ſoon as they could be put into Order, were avowed by the principal Party, and delivered me in Writing by both together; upon Promiſe and Oath, which I was required to give, and gave accordingly, not to reveal the ſame to any other Man living but your Grace, and, by your Grace's Hand, unto his Majeſty.

In like Manner they have tied themſelves not to declare theſe Things unto any other but myſelf, until they ſhould know how his Majeſty and your Grace would diſpoſe thereof: The Principal giving me withal to know, That he puts himſelf, and this Secret, into your Grace's Power, as well, becauſe it concerns your Grace ſo nearly, after his Majeſty, as, that he knows your Wiſdom to guide the ſame aright; and is aſſured of your Grace's Fidelity to his Majeſty's Perſon, to our State, and to our Church.

Firſt, Your Grace is humbly and earneſtly prayed to ſignify his Majeſty's Pleaſure, with all poſſible Speed, together with your Grace's Diſpoſition herein, and Purpoſe to carry all with Silence from all, but his Majeſty, until due Time.

Secondly, When your Grace ſhall think fit to ſhew theſe Things unto his Majeſty, to do it immediately, not truſting to Letters, or permitting any other Perſon to be by, or in Hearing, and to intreat and counſel his Majeſty, as in a Caſe of Conſcience, to keep the ſame wholly and ſolely in his own Boſom, from the Knowledge of all other Creatures living, but your Grace, until the Buſineſs ſhall be clear, and ſufficiently in his Majeſty's, and your Grace's Hands, to effect.

Thirdly, Not to inquire, or demand, the Names of the Parties from whom theſe Overtures do come, or any further Diſcoveries and Advertiſements in Purſuit of them which ſhall come hereafter, until due Satisfacton ſhall be given in every Part of them; nor to bewray unto any Perſon, but his Majeſty, in any Meaſure or Kind, that any Thing of this Nature, or of any great Importance, is come from me.

For, as I may believe theſe Overtures are verifiable in the Way they will be laid, and that the Parties will not ſhrink; ſo I make Account, That, if never ſo little a Glimpſe or Shadow of theſe Informations ſhall appear by his Majeſty's, or your Grace's Speech, or Carriage, unto others, the Means, whereby, the Buſineſs may be brought beſt unto Trial, will be utterly diſappointed: And the Parties who have in Conſcience towards God, and Devotion to his Majeſty, Affection to your Grace, and Compaſſion of our Country, diſcloſed theſe Things, will run a preſent and extreme Hazard of their Perſons and Lives. So eaſily it will be conjectured (upon the leaſt Occaſion given upon his Majeſty's, or your Grace's Parts) who is the Diſcoverer: By what Means, and how he knows ſo much of theſe Things, and where he is; theſe are the Points, which, together with the Offers, they have preſſed me eſpecially to repreſent moſt ſeriouſly unto your Grace.

For my own Particular, having moſt humbly craved Pardon of any Error or Omiſſions,

that have befallen me in the Managing of this Buſineſs, I do beſeech your Grace to let me know:

Firſt, Whether, and in what Order I ſhall proceed hereafter with the Parties?

Secondly, What Points of theſe Offers I ſhall chiefly and firſt put them to inlarge and clear?

Thirdly, What other Points and Inquiries I ſhall propoſe unto them? And in what Manner?

Fourthly, How far further I ſhall ſuffer myſelf to hear and know theſe Things?

Fifthly, Whether I ſhall not rather take the Parties Anſwers, and Diſcoveries, ſealed up by themſelves, and having likewiſe put my own Seal upon them, without queſtioning or ſeeing what they contain, ſo to tranſmit them to his Majeſty or your Grace?

Sixthly, Whether I may not inſinuate upon ſome fair Occaſion, That there will be a due Regard held of them, and their Service, by his Majeſty and your Grace: When all Particulars undertaken in theſe general Offers, and neceſſary for Perfecting the Diſcovery and Work intended, ſhall be effectually delivered to his Majeſty or your Grace?

Upon theſe Heads, and ſuch others, as his Majeſty, or your Grace, ſhall think proper in the Buſineſs, I muſt, with all Humility, beſeech your Grace to furniſh me with Inſtructions, and Warrant for my Proceedings, under his Majeſty's Hand, with your Grace's Atteſtation, as by his Majeſty's Goodneſs, and royal Diſpoſition, is uſual in like Caſes.

May it pleaſe your Grace to entertain a Cypher with me upon this Occaſion; I have ſent the Counterpart of one here incloſed; in the vacant Spaces whereof, your Grace may inſert ſuch Names more, with Numbers to them, as you think requiſite.

If theſe Overtures happily ſort with his Majeſty's and your Grace's Mind, and ſhall accordingly prove effectual in their Operation, I ſhall think myſelf a moſt happy Man, to have had my Oblation in ſo pious a Work for my moſt gracious Sovereign and Maſter: More particularly, in that your Grace, under his Majeſty, ſhall be, *Opifex rerum, & mundi melioris origo.* Which I ſhall inceſſantly beg in my Prayers at his Hands, who is the Giver of all good Things, and will never forſake, or fail them, who do not firſt fail, and fall from him: The God of Mercy and Peace. With which I remain evermore

Your Grace's

moſt dutiful and

obliged Servant,

William Boſwel.

I have not dared to truſt this Buſineſs, without a Cypher, but by a ſure Hand, for which I have ſent this Bearer, my Secretary, Expreſs; but he knoweth Nothing of the Contents hereof.

Hague, in *Holland*, *Sept.* 9, 1640. *Sti. loci.*

Sir *William Boſwel*'s Indorſement.

For your Grace.

The Archbiſhop's Indorſement with his own Hand:

Rec. Sept. 10, 1640. *Sir* William Boſwel *about the Plot againſt the King*, &c.

Andreas ab Habernfeld's *Letter to the Archbiſhop, concerning the* PLOT *revealed to him.*

Illuſtriſſime ac Reverendiſſime Domine,

'COncutiuntur omnes ſenſus mei, quoties 'præſens negotium mecum revolvo; nec 'intellectus ſufficit, quænam aura tam hor-'renda attulerit, ut per me apricum videant; 'præter ſpem enim bonus iſte vir mihi inno-'tuit; qui, cum me diſcurrentem de turbis

Moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Reverend Lord,

ALL my Senſes are ſhaken together, as often as I revolve the preſent Buſineſs; neither doth my Underſtanding ſuffice to conceive what Wind hath brought ſuch horrid Things, that they ſhould ſee the Sun-ſhine by me; for, beſides Expectation, this good Man

‘ iſtis Scoticis audiſſet, ignorare me inquit
‘ nervum rei, ſuperficialia eſſe iſta quæ vulgo
‘ ſparguntur. Ab iſta hora, indies mihi fiebat
‘ familiarior; qui, dexteritate mea agnita,
‘ pleno pectore cordis ſui onera in ſinum meum
‘ effudit, depoſuiſſe ſe gravamen conſcientiæ,
‘ quo premebatur, ratus. Hinc factiones Je-
‘ ſuitarum, quibus totus terrenus intentatur
‘ orbis, mihi enarravit; depaſtaſque, ipſorum
‘ per virus, Bohemiam & Germaniam ut ad-
‘ ſpicerem, oſtendit, ſauciam utramque par-
‘ tem vulnere irreparabili; eandem peſtem per
‘ Angliæ Scotiæque repere regna; cujus ma-
‘ teriam ſcripto adjacenti revelatam me edo-
‘ cuit. Quibus auditis, viſcera mea convel-
‘ lebantur; tremebant horrore artus tot ani-
‘ marum millibus infeſtam paratam eſſe vora-
‘ ginem: verbis conſcientiam moventibus,
‘ animum hominis accendi; vix horam unam
‘ monita coxerat, abdita omnia aperuit, li-
‘ berumque dedit, agerem, ut iis, quorum in-
‘ tereſt, innoteſcerent. Non tardandum cum
‘ rebus cenſui; ea ipſa hora, Dominum Bo-
‘ ſuelium, Reſidentem Regium Hagæ Comi-
‘ tum, adii; juramento ſilentii mihi obſtricto
‘ rem communicavi; ponderaret iſta ad truti-
‘ nam, monui, neque deferret ei, quin age-
‘ ret ut periclitantibus ſuccurratur propere.
‘ Is, ut virum honeſtum condecet, officii
‘ memor, propiuſque introſpecto negotio, mo-
‘ nita recuſare non quievit. Quinimo egit e
‘ veſtigio, ut expreſſus expediretur, retulitque
‘ iterum, quam acceptiſſimum Regi tuæque
‘ Reverentiæ fuiſſe oblatum; de quo ex corde
‘ gaviſi ſumus, judicavimuſque actutum ſavo-
‘ rabile ſeſe interpoſuiſſe in hoc negotio Nu-
‘ men, quo ſervaremini.

became known unto me; who, when he had heard me diſcourſing of theſe *Scottiſh* Stirs, ſaid, that I knew not the Nerve of the Buſineſs; that thoſe Things, which are commonly ſcattered Abroad, are commonly ſuperficial. From that Hour he became more familiar to me; who, acknowledging my Dexterity herein, with a full Breaſt poured forth the Burdens of his Heart into my Boſom, ſuppoſing that he had diſcharged a Burden of Conſcience, wherewith he was preſſed. Hence he related to me the Factions of the Jeſuits, with which the whole earthly World was aſſaulted, and ſhewed, that I might behold how, through their Poiſon, *Bohemia* and *Germany* were devoured, and both of them maimed with an irreparable Wound. That the ſame Plague did creep through the Realms of *England* and *Scotland*, the Matter whereof, revealed in the adjacent Writing, he diſcovered to me. Which Things having heard, my Bowels were contracted together, my Loins trembled with Horror, that a pernicious Gulf ſhould be prepared for ſo many Thouſands of Souls: Which Words moving the Conſcience, I inflamed the Mind of the Man: He had ſcarce one Hour concocted my Admonitions, but he diſcloſed all the Secrets, and gave free Liberty, that I ſhould treat with thoſe whom it concerned, that they might be informed thereof. I thought no Delay was to be made about the Things. The ſame Hour, I went to Mr. *Boſwel*, the King's Leger at the *Hague*, who being tied with an Oath of Secrecy to me, I communicated the Buſineſs to him; I admoniſhed him to weigh theſe Things by the Balance, neither to defer, but act, that thoſe who were in Danger might be ſpeedily ſuccoured. He, as becomes an honeſt Man, mindful of his Duty, and having more nearly looked into the Buſineſs, refuſed not to obey the Monitions. Moreover, he forthwith cauſed that an Expreſs ſhould be diſpatched, and ſent Word back again, what a moſt acceptable Oblation this had been to the King and your Grace; for which we rejoiced from the Heart; and we judged, that a ſafe and favourable Deity had interpoſed itſelf in this Buſineſs, whereby you might be preſerved.

‘ Ut vero rerum enarratarum confirmetur
‘ veritas, ſtudio primaria nonnulla conjuratio-
‘ is capita ſunt præterita, ut notitia eorum ab
‘ circumventa conjurationis Societate extorque-
‘ atur.

Now, that the Verity of the Things related might be confirmed, ſome principal Heads of the Conſpiracy were purpoſely pretermitted, that the Knowledge of them might be extorted from the circumvented Society of the Conſpirators.

‘ Promove-

‘ Promovebitur res cito tutoque in actum, ‘ ſi caute procedetur Bruxellis. Meo conſilio, ‘ obſervandum eſſe eam diem qua faſciculi li- ‘ terarum expediuntur, qui ſub titulo, “ Al “ Monſignor Strario, Archidiacono di Cam- “ bray,” ‘ una coperta ligati, Præfecto Ta- ‘ belliorum traduntur, ab ipſo talis faſciculus ‘ tacite poterit repeti, inutilis tamen erit, quia ‘ omnes incluſæ Characteriſtice ſcriptæ ſunt. ‘ Alter quoque faſciculus hebdomadatim Ro- ‘ ma veniens, qui, ſub inſcriptione, “ Al Il- “ luſtriſſimo Signor Conte Roſſetti, pro tem- “ pore Legato,” ‘ adportatur, non negligen- ‘ dus : cui ſimiliter charactere eodem con- ‘ ſcriptæ includuntur literæ ; ut intelligantur, ‘ Reda conſulendus erit. Supranominata dies ‘ expeditionis expectabitur. Ædibus Redæ ad- ‘ cumulata congregatio circumvenietur ; quo ‘ ſuccedente, tuæ Reverentiæ erit negotium ‘ diſponere. Detecto tandem per Dei gratiam ‘ inteſtino hoſte, omnis amaritudo animorum, ‘ quæ ab utraque parte cauſata eſt, aboleatur, ‘ oblivioni tradatur, deleatur, & conſopiatur, ‘ utrique parti inſidiari hoſtis. Ita Rex, ami- ‘ cuſque Regis, & regnum utrumque diſcri- ‘ mini vicinum, ſervabitur, eripietur immi- ‘ nenti periculo.

‘ Hæc penes etiam Reverentia tua injunc- ‘ tum ſibi habeat, ſi alias conſultum ſibi op- ‘ time volet, “ Ne Purſuivantibus ſuis nimi- “ um fidat, vivunt enim eorum nonnulli ſub “ ſtipendio partis Pontificiæ.” Quot ſcopuli, ‘ quot Scyllæ, quotque infenſæ obſultant T. ‘ R. Charybdes, quam periculoſo mari agita- ‘ tur vita T. R. Cymbula naufragio proxima, ‘ ipſe judicet ; pellenda ad portam prora pro- ‘ pere.

‘ Hæc omnia tuæ Reverentiæ in aurem ; ‘ ſcio enim juramento ſilentii obligatam, ideo ‘ aperto nomine præſentibus Reverentiæ tuæ ‘ innoteſcere volui, manſurus,

Sept. 14, *S. N.* 1640.

Obſervantiſſimus & Officiociſſimus,

Andreas ab Habernfeld.

Now the Things will be ſpeedily and ſafely promoted into Act, if they be warily proceeded in at *Bruſſels*. By my Advice, that Day ſhould be obſerved, wherein the Pacquet of Letters are diſpatched, which, under the Title of, ‘ To Monſieur *Strario*, Archdeacon of *Cambray*,’ tied with one Cover, are delivered to the Poſt-maſter: Such a Pacquet may be ſecretly brought back from him, yet it will be unprofitable, becauſe all the incloſed Letters are written Characteriſtically. Likewiſe, another Pacquet coming Weekly from *Rome*, which is brought under this Inſcription: ‘ To the ‘ moſt Illuſtrious Lord, Count *Roſſetti*, Le- ‘ gate for the Time ;’ theſe are not to be neglected. To whom likewiſe Letters writ in the ſame Character are included ; that they may be underſtood, *Read* is to be conſulted with. The forenamed Day of Diſpatch ſhall be expected ; in *Read*'s Houſe an accumulated Congregation may be circumvented, which ſucceeding, it will be your Grace's Part to order the Buſineſs. The inteſtine Enemy being at length detected, by God's Grace, all Bitterneſs of Mind, which is cauſed on either Side, may be aboliſhed, delivered to Oblivion, deleted, and quieted, and the Enemy be invaded on both Parts. Thus the King, and the King's Friend, and both Kingdoms, near to Danger, ſhall be preſerved, and delivered from imminent Danger.

Your Grace likewiſe may have this Injunction by you, if you deſire to have the beſt Advice given you by others, ‘ That you truſt not ‘ over-much to your Purſuivants, for ſome of ‘ them live under the Stipend of the Popiſh ‘ Party.’ How many Rocks, how many *Scylla's*, how many diſpleaſed *Charybdes* appear before your Grace ; in what a dangerous Sea the Cock-boat of your Grace's Life, next to Shipwreck, is toſſed, yourſelf may judge ; the Fore-deck of the Ship is ſpeedily to be driven to the Harbour.

All theſe Things (I whiſper) into your Grace's Ear, for I know it bound with an Oath of Secrecy. Therefore by open Name I would by theſe Preſents become known to your Grace.

Hague, 14 *Sept.* *S. N.* 1640.

Your Grace's Moſt obſervant, and Moſt offic[illegible]

Andrew Haber[illegible]eld.

Andreas

Andreas ab Habernfeld, Doctor in Phyſick (as ſome affirm) to the Queen of *Bohemia*, his Indorſement thereon.

Illuſtriſſimo ac Reverendiſſimo Dom. Domino Gulielmo Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi, Primati & Metropolitano totius Regni Angliæ, Dom. meo.

The Archbiſhop's Indorſement with his own Hand.

Rece. *October* 14, 1640, *Andreas ab Habernfeld*'s Letters ſent by Sir *William Boſwel*, about the Diſcovery of the Treaſon. I conceive by the *Engliſh Latin* herein, that he muſt needs be an *Engliſhman*, with a concealed and changed Name. And yet, it may be this Kind of *Latin* may relate to the *Italian*; or elſe he lived ſome good Time in *England*. The Declaration of this Treaſon I have, by his Majeſty's ſpecial Command, ſent to Sir *William Boſwel*, that he may there ſee what Proof can be made of any Particulars.

The general Overture and Diſcovery of the Plot, ſent with Sir *William Boſwel*'s firſt Letter.

'*Regiæ Majeſtati & Dom. Archiepiſcopo 'Cantuarienſi inſinuandum per literas.*'

The King's Majeſty and Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury *are to be ſecretly informed by Letters.*

'1. REgiam Majeſtatem, & Dom. Archie-'piſcopum, utrumque in magno diſcri-'mine vitæ conſtitutum.

'2. Totam Rempublicam hoc nomine peri-'clitari, niſi propere occurratur malo.

'3. Turbas iſtas Scoticas in eum finem eſſe 'concitatas, ut ſub iſto prætextu Rex & Do-'minus Archiepiſcopus perimerentur.

'4. Dari medium, quo utrique hac in parte 'bene conſuli, & tumultus iſte cito componi 'poſſit.

'5. Compoſitis etiam turbis iſtis Scoticis, 'nihilo minus periclitari Regem; eſſe plurima 'media quibus Regi & Domino Archiepiſcopo 'machinatur exitium.

'6. Conſpiraſſe certam Societatem, quæ Re-'gi & Dom. Archiepiſcopo molitur necem, to-'tiuſque Regni convulſionem.

'7. Eandem Societatem ſingulis ſeptimanis, 'explorationis octiduæ ſuum quemque quod nun-'dinatus eſt, ad præſidem ſocietatis deponere, & 'in unum faſciculum conferre: qui Hebdoma-'datim ad directorem negotii expeditur.

'8. Dominari quidem poſſe omnes per capita

1. THAT the King's Majeſty, and the Lord Archbiſhop, are both of them in great Danger of their Lives.

2. That the whole Commonwealth is, by this Means, endangered, unleſs the Miſchief be ſpeedily prevented.

3. That theſe *Scottiſh* Troubles are raiſed to the End, that under this Pretext the King and Archbiſhop might be deſtroyed.

4. That there is a Means to be preſcribed, whereby both of them, in this Caſe, may be preſerved, and this Tumult ſpeedily compoſed.

5. That, although theſe *Scottiſh* Tumults be ſpeedily compoſed, yet that the King is endangered; and that there are many Ways, by which Deſtruction is plotted to the King and Lord Archbiſhop.

6. That a certain Society hath conſpired, which attempts the Death of the King, and Lord Archbiſhop, and Convulſion of the whole Realm.

7. That the ſame Society every Week depoſits, with the Preſident of the Society, what Intelligence every of them hath purchaſed in eight Days Search, and then confer all into one Pacquet, which is Weekly ſent to the Director of the Buſineſs.

8. That all the Confederates in the ſaid Con-

'dictæ

‘ dictæ conſpirationis conjuratos: At quia alio
‘ medio innoteſcent, differre in poſterum placuit.

‘ 9. Medium eſſe in promptu, quo uno mo-
‘ mento detegi poterit ſcelus: Conſpiratores præ-
‘ cipui circumveniri, membraque primaria con-
‘ jurationis in ipſo actu apprehendi.

‘ 10. Aſtantes Regi plurimos qui pro fideliſ-
‘ ſimis & intimis cenſentur, quibus etiam ſecre-
‘ tiora fiduntur, proditores Regis eſſe, peregrina
‘ penſione corruptos, qui ſecreta quæque majo-
‘ ris, vel exigui momenti, ad exteram Poteſta-
‘ tem deferunt.

‘ 11. Hæc & alia ſecretiſſima, quæ ſcitu ad
‘ ſecuritatem Regis erunt neceſſaria: quod ſi
‘ hæc accepta Dom. Archiepiſcopo fuerint, reve-
‘ lari poterunt.

‘ 12. Interim, ſi regia Majeſtas ſua & Do-
‘ minus Archiepiſcopus bene ſibi conſultum vo-
‘ lunt, hæc, ſuperficialiter quidem tantum ipſis
‘ communicata, ſub profundo ſilentio & ſecre-
‘ tiſſime ſervabunt, ne quidem iis quos ſibi fide-
‘ liſſimos judicant, communicaturi, antequam
‘ de nomine acceperint, quibus fidendum ſit:
‘ ab nullo enim latere alias tuti ſunt.

‘ 13. Sint etiam certi, quicquid hic proponi-
‘ tur, nulla figmenta, nec fabulas, aut inania
‘ ſomnia eſſe; ſed in rei veritate ita conſtituta,
‘ quæ omnibus momentis demonſtrari poterunt:
‘ Qui enim ſe immiſcent huic negotio, viri ho-
‘ neſti ſunt: quibus nullus quæſtus in animo;
‘ ſed ipſe Chriſtianæ charitatis fervor iſta facere
‘ non ſinit: Ab utroque tamen, ſua Majeſtate,
‘ tum Domino Archiepiſcopo, gratitudinis ex-
‘ emplar tale quale expectabitur.

‘ Hæc omnia antecedentia ſub bona fide &
‘ juramenti ſacramento, Dom. Reſidenti Regis
‘ Magnæ Britanniæ Hagæ Comitum, commu-
‘ nicata eſſe, ne ulli mortalium, præter Regem
‘ & Dom. Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem, im-
‘ mediate iſta fideret, vel communicaret.

Præſentes, &c. Subſcripta, &c.

Hagæ Com. 6 *Sept.* 1640, *St. loci.*

ſpiracy may verily be named by the Poll. But, becauſe they may be made known by other Means, it is thought meet to defer it till hereafter.

9. That there is a ready Means, whereby the Villainy may be diſcovered in one Moment, the chief Conſpirators circumvented, and the primary Members of the Conjuration apprehended in the very Act.

10. That very many about the King, who are accounted moſt faithful and intimate, to whom likewiſe the more ſecret Things are entruſted, are Traytors to the King, corrupted with a foreign Penſion, who communicate all Secrets of greater or leſſer Moment to a foreign Power.

11. Theſe, and other moſt ſecret Things, which ſhall be neceſſary to be known for the Security of the King, may be revealed, if theſe Things ſhall be acceptable to the Lord Archbiſhop.

12. In the mean Time, if his Royal Majeſty and the Lord Archbiſhop deſire to conſult well to themſelves, they ſhall keep theſe Things, only ſuperficially communicated unto them, moſt ſecretly under deep Silence, not communicating them ſo much as to thoſe whom they judge moſt faithful to them, before they ſhall receive by Name, in whom they may confide; for, elſe, they are ſafe on no Side.

13. Likewiſe they may be aſſured, that whatſoever Things are here propoſed, are no Figments, nor Fables, nor vain Dreams, but ſuch real Verities which may be demonſtrated in every ſmall Tittle: For thoſe, who thruſt themſelves into this Buſineſs, are ſuch Men, who mind no Gain, but the very Zeal of Chriſtian Charity ſuffers them not to conceal theſe Things; yet both from his Majeſty, and the Lord Archbiſhop, ſome ſmall Exemplar of Gratitude will be expected.

All theſe Premiſſes have been communicated under good Faith, and the Sacrament of an Oath, to Mr. *Leger*, Ambaſſador of the King of *Great-Britain*, at the *Hague*, that he ſhould not immediately truſt or communicate theſe Things to any Mortal, beſides the King and the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Preſent, &c. *Subſcribed, &c.*

Hague, 6 *Sept.* 1640, in the St[illegible] the Place.

Detectio, &c. offerenda Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati Britanniæ, & Dom. Archiepiſco Cantuarienſi, &c. 6 *Sept.* 1640.

The Archbiſhop's own Indorſement.

Rece. *Sept.* 10, 1640. The Plot againſt the King.

The * *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury's *Letter to the King, concerning the Plot, with the King's Directions, written with his own Hand.*

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

AS great as the Secret is, which comes herewith, yet I chuſe rather to ſend it in this ſilent covert Way, and I hope ſafe, than to come thither, and bring it myſelf †. *Firſt*, becauſe I am no Way able to make Haſte enough with it. *Secondly*, becauſe, ſhould I come at this Time, and antedate the Meeting of the Twenty-fourth of *September*, there would be more Jealouſy of the Buſineſs, and more Enquiry after it; eſpecially, if I, being once there, ſhould return again before that Day, as I muſt, if this be followed, as is moſt fit.

The Danger, it ſeems, is imminent, and laid by God knows whom, but to be executed by them, which are very near about you. (For the great Honour which I have to be in Danger with you, or for you, I paſs not, ſo your ſacred Perſon and the State may be ſafe.) Now, may it pleaſe your Majeſty, this Information is either true, or there is ſome Miſtake in it ‡. If it be true, the Perſons which make the Diſcovery will deſerve Thanks and Reward. If there ſhould be any Miſtake in it, your Majeſty can loſe nothing but a little Silence.

‖ The Buſineſs, if it be, is extreme foul. The Diſcovery, thus by God's Providence offered, ſeems fair. I do hereby humbly beg it, upon my Knees, of your Majeſty, that you would conceal this Buſineſs from every Creature, and his Name that ſends this to me. And I ſend his Letters to me to your Majeſty, that you may ſee his Senſe, both of the Buſineſs, and the Secrecy. And ſuch Inſtructions, as you think fit to give him, I beſeech you let them be in your own Hand, for his Warrant, without imparting them to any. And if your Majeſty leave it to his Diſcretion, to follow it there, in the beſt Way he can, that in your own Hand will be Inſtruction and Warrant enough for him. And, if you pleaſe to return it herewith preſently to me, I will ſend an Expreſs away with it preſently.

§ In the mean Time, I have, by this Expreſs, returned him this Anſwer, That I think he ſhall do well, to hold on the Treaty with theſe Men, with all Care and Secrecy, and drive on to the Diſcovery, ſo ſoon as the Buſineſs is ripe for it; that he may aſſure himſelf and them, they ſhall not want Reward, if they do the Service. That, for my Part, he ſhall be ſure of Secrecy; and that I am moſt confident, that your Majeſty will not impart it to any: That he have a ſpecial Eye to the eighth and ninth Propoſitions.

** Sir, for God's Sake, and your own Safety, Secrecy in this Buſineſs: And I beſeech you, ſend me back his Letter, and all that comes with it, ſpeedily and ſecretly, and truſt not your own Pockets with them. I ſhall not eat nor ſleep in Quiet, till I receive them. And, ſo ſoon as I have them again, and your Majeſty's Warrant to proceed, no Diligence ſhall be wanting in me to help on the Diſcovery.

* I beſeech your Majeſty read theſe Letters, as they are indorſed by Figures, 1, 2, 2, &c.

† Ye had Reaſon ſo to do. ‡ It is an unanſwerable Dilemma. ‖ I concur totally with you in Opinion, aſſuring you, that Nobody doth, or ſhall know of this Buſineſs; and, to ſhew my Care to conceal it, I received this but this Afternoon, and now I make this Diſpatch, before I ſleep. Herewith, I ſend his Warrant, as you adviſe, which, indeed, I judge, to be the better Way. § I like your Anſwer extreme well, and do promiſe not to deceive your Confidence, nor make you break your Word.

** I have ſent all back; I think theſe Apoſtyles will be Warrant enough for you to proceed, eſpecially when I expreſly command you to do ſo.

* This is the greateſt Buſineſs, that ever was put to me; and if I have herein propoſed, or done any Thing amiſs, I moſt humbly crave your Majeſty's Pardon. But I am willing to hope I have not herein erred in Judgment, and, in Fidelity, I never will.

Theſe Letters came to me, on *Thurſday* the Tenth of *September*, at Night; and I ſent theſe away, according to the Date hereof, being extremely wearied with Writing this Letter, copying out theſe other, which come with this, and diſpatching my Letters back to him, that ſent theſe, all in my own Hand. Once again, Secrecy for God's Sake, and your own. To his moſt bleſſed Protection, I commend your Majeſty, and all your Affairs; and am

† *York*, 13. *Lambeth*, *Sept.* 11, 1640.

Your Majeſty's
Moſt humble,
Faithful Servant,
W. Cant.

‡ As I had ended theſe, whether with the Labour, or Indignation, or both, I fell into an extreme faint Sweat; I pray God keep me from a Fever, of which, three are down in my Family at *Croyden*.

Theſe Letters came late to me, the Expreſs being beaten back by the Wind.

The Archbiſhop's Indorſement, with his own Hand.

Received from the King, *Sept.* 16, 1640, for your Sacred Majeſty, yours apoſtyled, the King's Anſwer to the Plot againſt him, *&c.*

Sir William Boſwel's *ſecond Letter to the Archbiſhop.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

THIS Evening late I have received your Grace's Diſpatch, with the incloſed from his Majeſty, by my Secretary *Oveart*, and ſhall give due Account, with all Speed, of the ſame, according to his Majeſty's and your Grace's Commands; praying heartily that my Endeavours, which ſhall be moſt faithful, may alſo prove effectual to his Majeſty's and your Grace's Content; with which I do moſt humbly take my Leave, being always

Your Grace's moſt dutiful and moſt humble Servant,
William Boſwell.

Hague, Sept. 24, 1640. Stylo Angliæ.

The Archbiſhop's Indorſement:

Received, Sept. 30, 1640. *Sir* William Boſwel's *Acknowledgment, that he hath received the King's Directions, and my Letters.*

Sir William Boſwel's *third Letter to the Archbiſhop, ſent with the larger Diſcovery of the Plot.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

UPON Receipt of his Majeſty's Commands, with your Grace's Letters of the 9th and 18th of *September* laſt, I dealt with the Party to make good his Offers formerly put in my Hand, and tranſmitted to your Grace: This he hopes to have done by the Incloſed, ſo far as will be needful for his Majeſty's Satisfaction; yet, if any more particular Explanation or Diſcovery ſhall be required by his Majeſty, or your Grace, he hath promiſed to add thereunto whatſoever he can

* In this, I am as far from condemning your Judgment, as ſuſpecting your Fidelity. *C. R.*
† The King's Hand and Date. ‡ The Archbiſhop's Poſtſcript.

and

and knows of Truth. And, for better Aſſurance and Verification of his Integrity, he profeſſeth himſelf, if required, to make Oath of what he hath already declared, or ſhall hereafter declare in the Buſineſs.

His Name he conjures me ſtill to conceal, though he thinks his Majeſty and your Grace, by the Character he gives of himſelf, will eaſily imagine who he is, having been known ſo generally through Court and City, as he was, for three or four Years, and the Quality and Employment he acknowledgeth (by his Declaration incloſed) himſelf to have held.

Hereupon, he doth alſo redouble his moſt humble and earneſt Suit unto his Majeſty, and your Grace, to be moſt ſecret and circumſpect in the Buſineſs, that he may not be ſuſpected to have diſcovered, or had a Hand in the ſame.

I ſhall here humbly beſeech your Grace, to let me know what I may further do for his Majeſty's Service, or for your Grace's particular Behoof, that I may accordingly endeavour to approve myſelf, as I am,

Your Grace's

moſt dutiful and

obliged Servant,

William Boſwel.

Hague, October 15, 1640.

The Archbiſhop's Indorſement:

Received, October 14, 1640. *Sir* William Boſwel, *in Proſecution of the great Buſineſs. If any Thing come to him in Cyphers, to ſend it to him.*

The large particular Diſcovery of the Plot and Treaſon againſt the King, Kingdom, and Proteſtant Religion; and to raiſe the Scottiſh *Wars.*

'*Illuſtriſſime ac Reverendiſſime Domine,*

'ACCEPTA ſuæ Regiæ Majeſtati, ſimulac 'Reverentiæ Tuæ, fuiſſe offerta noſtra, 'lubentes & ex animo percepimus. Adeſſe vo- 'bis benignitatem Numinis, hoc unicum nobis 'Index eſt, quo ſtimulus datur, ut tanto ala- 'crius liberaliuſque illa quibus vitæ diſcri- 'men utriuſque, ſtatuſque Regni Angliæ, tum 'Scotiæ, eximiæ Majeſtatis ſede deturbatio 'intendatur, effundamus, detegamus. Ne au- 'tem ambagibus ſuperfluis dilatetur Oratio, 'nonnulla, quæ tantum ad rem neceſſaria, 'præmittemus.

'Sciant primo, bonum iſtum virum per quem 'ſequentia deteguntur, in pulvere iſto Pontifi- 'cio eſſe natum & educatum, qui in dignitati- 'bus Eccleſiaſticis ætates conſumpſit; tandem 'præſentis negotii expeditioni par inventus, 'conſilio & mandato Domini Cardinalis Bar- 'barini, ad auxilium Domino Cuneo adjunctus 'eſt; [illegible] quem in officio ita diligens ac ſedu- 'lus [illegible]ntus, ut ſpes magnæ promotionis ipſi 'dat[illegible]erit: ipſe vero, boni Spiritus ductus 'in[illegible]ctu, ut ut dulcia promiſſa contempſit;

Moſt illuſtrious and reverend Lord,

WE have willingly and cordially perceived, that our Offers have been acceptable both to his Royal Majeſty, and, likewiſe to your Grace. This is the only Index to us, That the Bleſſing of God is preſent with you, whereby a Spur is given, that we ſhould ſo much the more chearfully and freely utter and detect thoſe Things, whereby the Hazard of both your Lives, the Subverſion of the Realm and State, both of *England* and *Scotland*, the Tumbling down of his Excellent Majeſty from his Throne, is intended. Now, leſt the Diſcourſe ſhould be inlarged with ſuperfluous Circumſtances, we will only premiſe ſome Things which are merely neceſſary to the Buſineſs.

They may, firſt of all, know, that this good Man, by whom the enſuing Things are detected, was born and bred in the Popiſh Religion, who ſpent many Years in Eccleſiaſtical Dignities. At length, being found fit for the Expedition of the preſent Deſign, by the Counſel and Mandate of the Lord Cardinal *Barbarino*, he was adjoined to the Aſſiſtance of Mr. *Cuneus (Cun)* by whom he was found ſo diligent and ſedulous in his Office, that Hope of great Promotion was given to him. Yet he, led by the

'agnitiſque Religionis Pontificiæ vanitatibus
'(quarum alias defenſor fuerat ſeveriſſimus) ma-
'litia etiam ſub vexillo Papali militantium nota-
'ta, gravari conſcientiam ſuam ſenſerat; quod
'onus ut deponeret, ad Orthodoxam Religionem
'animum convertit. Mox ut conſcientiam ſuam
'exoneraret, machinatum in tot innocentes
'animas ſcelus, revelandum cenſuit, levamen ſe
'percepturum, ſi in ſinum amici talia effundat.
'Quo facto ab eodem amico ſerio commonitus,
'veræ converſionis charitatiſque exempla oſ-
'tenderet; liberaret ab imminenti diſcrimine
'innocentes tot animas; in cujus monita lu-
'bens conſenſerat, calamoque ſequentia excipi-
'endum dederat, ex quibus articuli non ita pri-
'dem tuæ Reverentiæ oblati, luculenter expli-
'cari & demonſtrari poterunt.

Inſtinct of the good Spirit, hath, howſoever it be, contemned ſweet Promiſes, and, having known the Vanities of the Pontifician Religion (of which he had ſometime been a moſt ſevere Defender) having, likewiſe, noted the Malice of thoſe who fight under the Popiſh Banner, felt his Conſcience to be burdened; which Burden, that he might eaſe himſelf of, he converted his Mind to the Orthodox Religion. Soon after, that he might exonerate his Conſcience, he thought fit, that a deſperate Treaſon, machinated againſt ſo many Souls, was to be revealed, and that he ſhould receive Eaſe, if he vented ſuch Things into the Boſom of a Friend; which done, he was ſeriouſly admoniſhed by the ſaid Friend, that he ſhould ſhew an Example of his Converſion and Charity, and free ſo many innocent Souls from imminent Danger. To whoſe Monitions he willingly conſented, and delivered the following Things to be put in Writing, out of which the Articles, not long ſince tendered to your Grace, may be clearly explicated and demonſtrated.

'1. Ante omnia, ut cardo rei recipiatur,
'ſciendum eſt, omnes iſtas, quibus tota Chriſ-
'tianitas hodie concutitur, factiones, exoriri ab
'Jeſuitica iſta Chamea ſobole, cujus quatuor
'per orbem luxuriant Ordines.

1. Firſt of all, that the Hinge of the Buſineſs may be rightly diſcerned, it is to be known, that all thoſe Factions with which all *Chriſtendom* is, at this Day, ſhaken, do ariſe from the Jeſuitical Offſpring of *Cham*, of which four Orders abound throughout the World.

'Primi ordinis ſunt Eccleſiaſtici, quorum
'Religionis promotoria eſt curare.

Of the firſt Order are Eccleſiaſticks, whoſe Office it is to take Care of Things promoting Religion.

'Secundi ordinis ſunt Politici, quorum offi-
'um eſt, ſtatum Regnorum, Rerumque publi-
'carum, quoquomodo intentare, turbare, re-
'formare.

Of the ſecond Order are Politicians, whoſe Office it is, by any Means, to ſhake, trouble, reform the State of Kingdoms and Republicks.

'Tertii ordinis ſunt Seculares, quorum pro-
'prium eſt, Regibus, Principibuſque, ad officia
'ſeſe obtrudere, inſinuare, immiſcere ſe rebus
'forenſibus, emptionibus, venditionibuſque, &
'quæ civilia ſunt occupari.

Of the third Order are Seculars, whoſe Property it is to obtrude themſelves into Offices with Kings and Princes, to inſinuate and immix themſelves in Court Buſineſſes, Bargains, and Sales, and to be buſied in Civil Affairs.

'Quarti ordinis Exploratores ſunt, ſortis in-
'ferioris homines, qui ſervitiis Magnatum,
'Principum, Baronum, Nobilium, Civium,
'ſeſe ſubmittunt, animis dominorum impoſi-
'turi.

Of the fourth Order are Intelligencers, or Spies, Men of inferior Condition, who ſubmit themſelves to the Services of great Men, Princes, Barons, Noblemen, Citizens, to deceive, or corrupt the Minds of their Maſters.

'2. Tot ordinum Societatem Regnum An-
'glicanum alit: vix enim tota Hiſpania, Gal-
'lia & Italia tantam multitudinem Jeſuitarum,
'quantam unicum Londinum, exhibere poſſet:
'ubi plus 50 Scoti Jeſuitæ reperiuntur. Ibi ſe-
'dem iniquitatis dicta Societas ſibi elegit, con-

2. A Society of ſo many Orders the Kingdom of *England* nouriſheth; for *Spain*, *France*, and *Italy* can yield ſo great a multitude of Jeſuits, as *London* alone, where found more than fifty *Scottiſh* Jeſuits, the ſaid Society hath elected to itſelf a Seat of

'ſpuravitque

'spiravitque in Regem, Regique fidelissimos, 'inprimis vero Dominum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, etiam in Regnum utrumque.

'3. Certo certius enim est, determinasse Societatem nominatam, reformatione universali Regnum Angliæ tum Scotiæ adficere; 'determinatio ergo finis infert necessario determinationem mediorum ad finem.

4. 'Ad promovendum ergo susceptum 'scelus, titulo, "Congregationis Fidei propagandæ," dicta Societas sese insignivit: 'quæ Caput Collegii Pontificem Romanum, 'Substitutum, & Executorem, Cardinalem 'Barbarinum, agnoscit.

5. 'Patronus Societatis primarius, Londini, 'est Legatus Pontificius, qui curam negotii 'gerit; in cujus sinum, sæx illa proditorum 'omnia explorata hebdomadatim deponit: 'Impetrata autem est residentia Legationis 'istius Londini Pontificis Romani nomine, quo 'mediante, Cardinali Barbarino, agere in Regem Regnumque tanto tutius faciliusque liceret; nullus enim alias tam libere ambire 'Regem posset, quam ille qui Pontificia auctoritate palliatus sit.

6. 'Fungebatur tum temporis officio Legati Pontificii Dominus Cuneus conjuratæ 'Societatis instrumentum universale, & serius 'negotii promotor; cujus secreta ut & aliorum exploratorum omnium, præsens vir bonus, communicator horum, excipiebat, expediebatque quo res postulabat.

'Adoriebatur Cuneus primaria Regni Capita, nihilque intentatum sivit, quomodo singula corrumperet & ad partem Pontificiam 'inclinaret; variis incitamentis plurimos alliciebat, etiam Regem ipsum donationibus 'Picturarum, Antiquitatum, Idolorum, aliarumque vanitatum Roma allatarum, deludendum quærebat, quæ tamen apud Regem 'nihil proficerent.

'Familiaritate inita cum Rege, rogatur 'sæpius Hantocurti, etiam Londini, Palatini 'causam ageret, interponeretque auctoritatem 'suam, intercessione Legato Coloniensi persuaderet, ut Palatinus in conditiones, proximis 'Comitiis de pace acturis, insereretur, quod 'quidem pollicitus est; contrarium vero præstitit, scripsit quidem, rogatum sed de talibus ab Rege fuisse, non consulere tamen, ut

Iniquity, and hath conspired against the King, and the most faithful to the King, especially the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and likewise against both Kingdoms.

3. For it is more certain than Certainty itself, that the forenamed Society hath determined to affect a universal Reformation of the Kingdom of *England* and *Scotland*. Therefore the Determination of the End necessarily infers a Determination of Means to the End.

4. Therefore, to promote the undertaken Villainy, the said Society dubbed itself with the Title of, *The Congregation of propagating the Faith*; which acknowledgeth the Pope of *Rome* the Head of the College, and Cardinal *Barbarino* his Substitute and Executor.

5. The chief Patron of the Society at *London* is the Pope's Legate, who takes Care of the Business; into whose Bosom, these Dregs of Traytors weekly deposit all their Intelligences. Now the Residence of this Legation was obtained at *London*, in the Name of the *Roman* Pontiff, by whose Mediation it might be lawful for Cardinal *Barbarino*, to work so much the more easily and safely upon the King and Kingdom. For none else could so freely circumvent the King, as he who should be palliated with the Pope's Authority.

6. Master *Cuneus* did at that Time enjoy the Office of the Pope's Legate, a universal Instrument of the conjured Society, and a serious Promoter of the Business; whose Secrets, as likewise those of all the other Intelligencers, the present good Man, the Communicator of all these Things, did receive and expedite whither the Business required.

Cuneus set upon the chief Men of the Kingdom, and left nothing unattempted, by what Means he might corrupt them all, and incline them to the Pontifician Party: He enticed many with various Incitements; yea, he sought to delude the King himself with Gifts of Pictures, Antiquities, Idols, and of other Vanities brought from *Rome*; which yet would prevail nothing with the King.

Having entered Familiarity with the King, he is often requested at *Hampton-Court*, likewise at *London*, to undertake the Cause of the *Palatine*, and that he would interpose his Authority, and by his Intercession persuade the Legate of *Cologne*, that the *Palatine*, in the next Dyet to treat of Peace, might be inserted into the Conditions; which verily he promised, but performed the contrary. He wrote indeed,

consentiatur,

‘ consentiatur, ne ab Hispanis fortasse dicatur, ‘ Pontificem Romanum Principi Hæretico pa- ‘ trocinatum fuisse.

‘ Subolfecit interim Cuneus, ab Domino Ar- ‘ chiepiscopo Regi fidelissimo, totum animum ‘ Regium esse pendulum: omnem se moturum ‘ lapidem, nervosque adplicaturum statuerat, ut ‘ ad partem suam lucrari possit: paratum se ‘ habere medium certo confisus; mandatum ‘ enim habebat, pileum Cardinalem, nomine ‘ Pontificis Romani, Domino Archiepiscopo ‘ offerret, lactaretque pollicitis etiam sublimio- ‘ ribus, ut animum sincerum corrumperet: ‘ commoda tamen occasio nunquam dabatur, ‘ qua Domino Archiepiscopo sese insinuare pos- ‘ set (quærebat enim scorpium ovum) per Co- ‘ mitem & Comitissam Arondelianam, etiam per ‘ Secretarium Windebankum, liber accessus im- ‘ petrari debebat. Quorum omnium intercessionibus neglectis, societatem vel familiaritatem Cunei peste pejus fugiebat; persuadebatur etiam ab aliis non infimis, ipsi bene notis, ‘ nec tamen commovebatur.

that he had been so desired by the King concerning such Things; yet he advised not that they should be consented to, lest peradventure it might be said by the *Spaniard*, that the Pope of *Rome* had patronised an heretical Prince.

In the mean Time, *Cuneus* smelling from the Archbishop, most trusty to the King, that the King's Mind was wholly pendulous, or doubtful, resolved, that he would move every Stone, and apply his Forces, that he might gain him to his Party; certainly confiding, that he had a Means prepared. For he had a Command to offer a Cardinal's Cap to the Lord Archbishop, in the Name of the Pope of *Rome*, and that he should allure him also with higher Promises, that he might corrupt his sincere Mind. Yet a fitting Occasion was never given, whereby he might insinuate himself into the Lord Archbishop, for the Scorpion sought an Egg; free Access was to be impetrated by the Earl and Countess of *Arundel*, likewise by Secretary *Windebank*. The Intercession of all which being neglected, he did fly the Company or Familiarity of *Cuneus* worse than the Plague. He was likewise persuaded by others, of no mean Rank, well known to him, neither yet was he moved.

‘ 7. Quærebatur & alius qui ad facinus de- ‘ testandum accessum impediebat, Secretarius ‘ Cook; erat is osor Jesuitarum infensissimus, ‘ quibus aditum ad Regem intercipebat, exci- ‘ piebat plurimos pro meritis, in illorum fac- ‘ tiones sedulo inquirebat; quo nomine inci- ‘ tamentum omne, vim magneticam ad par- ‘ tem Pontificiam spirans, erat apud ipsum in- ‘ efficax, nihil enim tam carum erat, quod ‘ ipsum ad pravum inclinasset: hinc, conjura- ‘ tionis patronis exosus factus, periclitabatur de ‘ officio ut exueretur, laborabatur per trien- ‘ nium, quod ultimo impetratum.

7. Another also was assayed, who hindered Access to the detestable Wickedness, Secretary *Cook*; he was a most bitter Hater of the Jesuits, from whom he intercepted Access to the King; he entertained many of them, according to their Deserts, he diligently enquired into their Factions; by which Means, every Incitement, breathing a magnetical, attractive, Power to the Popish Party, was ineffectual with him; for nothing was so dear unto him that might incline him to Wickedness. Hereupon being made odious to the Patrons of the Conspiracy, he was endangered to be discharged from his Office; it was laboured for three Years Space, and at last obtained.

‘ Mansit nihilominus ab parte Regis nodus ‘ solutu difficilis; Dominus Archiepiscopus e- ‘ nim, constantia sua, sicuti durissimum sese ‘ interposuit saxum.

‘ Laborasse se incassum, ab parte Domini ‘ Archiepiscopi Cuneus cum intellexisset, effer- ‘ buit malitia ipsius, totiusque societatis; mox ‘ insidiæ parari cœperunt, quibus Dominus Ar- ‘ chiepiscopus una cum Rege caperetur.

Yet notwithstanding there remained on the King's Part a Knot hard to be untied; for the Lord Archbishop, by his Constancy, interposed himself as a most hard Rock.

When *Cuneus* had understood, from the Lord Archbishop's Part, that he had [illegible] in Vain, his Malice, and the [illegible] waxed boiling hot. Soon after [illegible] began to be prepared, wherewith the [illegible] bishop, together with the [illegible] taken.

'In Regem quoque, cujus gratia totum 'iſtud diſponitur negotium, a quo quia nihil 'quod promovendæ religioni Papiſticæ inſer- 'viret ſperatur, imprimis vero, cum animum 'ſuum aperuerit, ſe ejus opinionis eſſe, quem- 'vis in religione ſua, dummodo vir probus & 'pius ſit, ſalvari poſſe, ſententia lata eſt.

Likewiſe a Sentence is paſſed againſt the King, for whoſe Sake all this Buſineſs is diſpoſed, becauſe nothing is hoped from him, which might ſeem to promote the Popiſh Religion (but eſpecially, when he had opened his Mind, that he was of this Opinion, that every one might be ſaved in his own Religion, ſo as he be an honeſt and pious Man.)

'8. Ad perpetrandum ſuſceptum facinus, 'executio criminalis Weſtmonaſterii, per ſcrip- 'ta nonnulla Puritanorum cauſata, primi in- 'cendii anſam dedit; quæ res ab Papiſtis apud 'Puritanos in tantum exacerbabatur, exagge- 'rabaturque, ut, ſi inulta maneret, Religioni 'ipſis duceretur; cujus incendii, ſubſequens 'tandem liber precum, flammas auxit.

8. To perpetuate the Treaſon undertaken, the criminal Execution at *Weſtminſter*, cauſed by ſome Writings of Puritans, gave Occaſion of the firſt Fire; which Thing was ſo much exaſperated and exaggerated by the Papiſts to the Puritans, that if it remained unrevenged, it would be thought a Blemiſh to their Religion: The Flames of which Fire the ſubſequent Book of Prayers increaſes.

'9. In iſto fervore expeditus fuit ad Scotos 'ab parte Pontificia Comes quidam Scotus Mas- 'field, ni fallor nomine, cum quo duo alii 'Comites Scoti, Papiſtæ, correſpondebant. Is 'commovere debebat plebem, injuriamque re- 'fricare ut animos accenderet, ad arma præci- 'pitaret, quibus noxius libertatis Scoticæ per- 'imeretur turbator.

9. In this Heat, a certain *Scottiſh* Earl, called *Maxfield*, if I miſtake not, was expedited to the *Scots*, by the Popiſh Party; with whom two other *Scottiſh* Earls, Papiſts, held Correſpondence; he ought to ſtir up the People to Commotion, and rub over the Injury a-freſh, that he might inflame their Minds, precipitate them to Arms, by which the hurtful Diſturber of the *Scottiſh* Liberty might be ſlain.

'10. Ibi una opera parati in Regem caſſes, 'eo enim directum eſſe præſens negotium ut 'Anglorum complurimi ſeſe adglutinarent Sco- 'tis; Rex armis maneret inferior, qui ab Pa- 'piſtis auxilia petere cogeretur, quæ tamen 'non impetraret, niſi in conditiones deſcende- 'ret, quibus libertatem univerſalem exercitii 'religionis Pontificiæ permitteret; ita enim 'res Papiſtarum ad nutum ſuccederent. Quo 'conſenſu ſi difficiliorem ſeſe exhibuerit, re- 'medium erit in promptu: adoleſcente enim 'cum primum Regio filio, quia a teneris, ut 'parti Pontificiæ adſueſcat, educatur, de Rege 'actum eſt: nux quippe Indica acutiſſimo ve- 'neno referta in Societate ſervatur, quam Cu- 'neus tum temporis gloriabundus mihi oſten- 'tabat, quo Regi, exemplo Patris, parabatur 'pharmacum.

10. There, by one Labour, Snares are prepared for the King; for this Purpoſe the preſent Buſineſs was ſo ordered, that very many of the *Engliſh* ſhould adhere to the *Scots*; that the King ſhould remain inferior in Arms, who, thereupon, ſhould be compelled to crave Aſſiſtance from the Papiſts; which yet he ſhould not obtain, unleſs he would deſcend into Conditions, by which he ſhould permit univerſal Liberty of the Exerciſe of the Popiſh Religion; for ſo the Affairs of the Papiſts would ſucceed according to their Deſire. To which Conſent, if he ſhould ſhew himſelf more difficult, there ſhould be a preſent Remedy at Hand: For the King's Son growing now very faſt to his youthful Age (who is educated from his tender Age, that he might accuſtom himſelf to the Popiſh Party) the King is to be diſpatched: For an *Indian* Nut, ſtuffed with moſt ſharp Poiſon, is kept in the Society (which *Cuneus* at that Time ſhewed often to me in a boaſting Manner) wherein a Poiſon was prepared for the King, after the Example of his Father.

'11. In.

‘ 11. In iſta commotione Scotica Marquiſſa
‘ a Hamilton ſæpius Regis nomine ad Scotos
‘ ablegatur, Regiam auctoritatem interponeret,
‘ qua æſtus animorum mitigaretur, ſine fructu
‘ tamen, reque infecta toties reverſus. Ipſius
‘ concionator tum temporis nos adiit, qui cum
‘ Cuneo ſecrete nonnulla communicavit; in-
‘ terrogatus a me, joco, Num etiam Judæi
‘ cum Samaritanis convenirent? Ad quæ Cu-
‘ neus reſpondit, Utinam omnes miniſtri tales
‘ ut ipſe eſſent; conjiciatur hinc quidcunque.

11. In this *Scottiſh* Commotion, the Marquiſs of *Hamilton* was often diſpatched [illegible] in the Name of the King, to [illegible] the royal Authority, whereby the Heat of Affairs might be mitigated, returned notwithſtanding as often without Fruit, and without ending the Buſineſs. His Chaplain at that Time repaired to us, who communicated ſome Things ſecretly with *Cuneus*. Being demanded of me in Jeſt, Whether the *Jews* agreed with the *Samaritans*? *Cuneus* thereunto anſwered, Would to God all Miniſters were ſuch as he; what you will may be hence conjectured.

‘ 12. Rebus ſic ſtantibus, ab Cardinali Ri-
‘ chelieu, Dominus Thomas Camerarius, fa-
‘ cellanus & eleemoſynarius ipſius, natione
‘ Scotus, Londinum adpulit; qui collegio ſo-
‘ cietatis conjuratæ adſidere debebat, remque
‘ ſerio agere, nihil intentatum relinquere, quo
‘ primus exaſperaretur fervor. Quo officio ho-
‘ norarium epiſcopatus erat ipſi pollicitum.
‘ Conhabitabat & Societate per quatuor menſes,
‘ nec prius diſcedendum licebat, donec, rebus
‘ ex voto cedentibus, cum bonis novis redux
‘ fieri poſſit.

12. Things ſtanding thus, there arrived at *London*, from Cardinal *Richelieu*, Mr. *Thomas Chamberlain*, his Chaplain and Almoner, a *Scot* by Nation, who ought to aſſiſt the College of the confederated Society, and ſeriouſly to ſet forward the Buſineſs, to leave nothing unattempted, whereby the firſt Heat might be exaſperated. For which Service he was promiſed the Reward of a Biſhoprick. He cohabited with the Society four Months Space; neither was it lawful for him firſt to depart, until, Things ſucceeding according to his Wiſh, he might be able to return back again with good News.

‘ 13. Cavalliero Tobias Mathei, ſacerdos
‘ Jeſuita, ordinis Politicorum, e capitibus pri-
‘ mariis homo vigilantiſſimus, cui nunquam
‘ tam charum cubile, quo caput reclinet; ad
‘ ſellam tantum, hora una, atque altera, ſomno
‘ corpus reficit; nec diei nec nocti machina-
‘ mentis parcit, vir ſumme noxius & ipſa Re-
‘ gis Regnique Angliæ peſtis; homo impu-
‘ dentiſſimus, qui per omnia convivia, epulaſq;
‘ vocatus, volitat; nunquam quietus, ſemper
‘ in actione, motuque perpetuo, ſingulis con-
‘ verſationibus ſuperiorum immiſcuit; urget
‘ familiarie colloquia, ut animos hominum ex-
‘ piſcaretur: quicquid inde ad partes conjura-
‘ torum commodi vel incommodi concernere
‘ advertit, Legato Pontificio communicat, ſe-
‘ cretiora ipſe ad Pontificem vel Cardinalem
‘ Barbarinum perſcribit. In ſumma, cuivis ſo-
‘ cietati ſeſe adglutinat, nullum verbum effari
‘ poſt, quod ipſe non arripiat & ad partes ſuas
‘ accommodet. Quicquid interea temporis
‘ expiſcatus, in catalogum redigit, & quavis
‘ æſtate ad conſiſtorium generale Jeſuitarum
‘ Politicorum quod in Provincia Vallenſi ſecre-

13. Sir *Toby Matthew*, a Jeſuited Prieſt, of the Order of Politicians, a moſt vigilant Man of the chief Heads, to whom a Bed was never ſo dear, that he would reſt his Head thereon, refreſhing his Body with Sleep in a Chair for an Hour or two, neither Day nor Night ſpared his Machinations; a Man principally noxious, and himſelf the Plague of the King and Kingdom of *England*; a moſt impudent Man, who flies to all Banquets, and Feaſts, called, or not called; never quiet, always in Action and perpetual Motion, thruſting himſelf into all Converſations of Superiors; he urgeth Conferences familiarly, that he may fiſh out the Minds of Men; whatever he obſerveth thence, which may bring any Commodity or Diſcommodity to the Part of the Conſpirators, he communicates to the Pope's Legate: The more ſecret Things he himſelf writes to the Pope, or to Cardinal *Barberine*. In Sum, he adjoins himſelf to any Man's Company; no Word can be ſpoken [illegible] not lay hold on, and accommodate [illegible] ty. In the mean Time, whatever [illegible]

‘ to concurrit, hoſpes acceptus defert. Ibi ta-
‘ cite conſilia cuduntur quæ ad convulſionem
‘ ſtatus Eccleſiaſtici, tum Politici, Regni u-
‘ triuſque ſunt aptiſſima.

14. ‘ Capitaneus Reda, Scotus, habitans in
‘ platea Longaker, prope Tabernam Angeli,
‘ Jeſuita Secularis, qui ob deteſtandum offi-
‘ cium præſtitum (quo Miniſtrum quendam
‘ Eccleſiæ, incitamentis dulcibus ad Religi-
‘ onem Papiſticam, tota cum familia ipſius
‘ perverterat, filia ipſius in uxorem ducta) pro
‘ repenſa obtinuit reditus vel vectigal Butyra-
‘ ceum, quod Ruſtici ſibi præſtare tenentur,
‘ adquiſitum ipſi ab Rege, per non nullos So-
‘ cietatis præcipuos; cui ſtimulus nunquam
‘ deficit, quo in officio conſtans detineatur.
‘ In ipſius ædibus rei totius peragitur negoti-
‘ um, ubi Societas quæ in Regem, & Domi-
‘ num Archiepiſcopum, Regnumque utrumque
‘ conjuravit, plerumque diebus ſingulis concur-
‘ rit; die vero expeditionis Tabellarii, quæ
‘ ordinarie eſt dies Veneris, tanto frequenti-
‘ ores, tum enim omnes exploratores conve-
‘ niunt, quæ quiſque ea hebdomada expiſcatus
‘ eſt, in commune conferunt; qui, ut extra
‘ ſuſpicionem ſint, ſecreta ſua per Tobiam
‘ Matthei vel ipſum Redam, ad Legatum Pon-
‘ tificium amandant; ipſe faſciculum com-
‘ pactum, quem ab exploratoribus nundinatus
‘ eſt, Romam tranſmittit.

‘ Apud eundem Redam deponuntur literæ
‘ Romæ illatæ, ſub titulis & nominibus fictis,
‘ quæ per ipſum ſingulis ad quos ſpectant tra-
‘ duntur; illorum enim omnium & ſingulorum
‘ nomina ipſi ſunt cognita.

‘ Eadem ipſa occaſione adferuntur etiam li-
‘ teræ, ſub coperta Patris Philippi (ipſo tamen
‘ rerum neſcio) a quo conjuratis diſtribuun-
‘ tur.

‘ Habetur in illis ipſis ædibus Sacellum pub-
‘ licum, quo Jeſuita ordinarius conſecrat, ibi-
‘ demque habitat. In dicto Sacello Miſſæ ce-
‘ lebrantur quotidie a Jeſuitis; Baptiſmoque
‘ liberis domeſticis & nonnullorum conjurato-
‘ rum inſervitur.

‘ Quæ in nominatis ædibus concurrunt,
‘ Rhedis vel Equis, frequenter habitu Politico,

14. Captain *Read*, a *Scot*, dwelling in *Long-acre-ſtreet*, near the *Angel* Tavern, a Secular Jeſuit, who for his deteſtable Office performed (whereby he had perverted a certain Miniſter of the Church, with ſecret Incitements to the Popiſh Religion, with all his Family, taking his Daughter to Wife) for a Recompence, obtained a Rent or Impoſt upon Butter, which the Country People are bound to render to him, procured for him from the King, by ſome chief Men of the Society, who never want a Spur, whereby he may be conſtantly detained in his Office. In his Houſe the Buſineſs of the whole Plot is concluded, where the Society which hath conſpired againſt the King, the Lord Archbiſhop, and both Kingdoms, meet together, for the moſt part every Day; but on the Day of the Carriers, or Poſts, Diſpatch, which is ordinarily *Friday*, they meet in greater Numbers; for then all the Intelligencers aſſemble, and confer in common, what Things every of them hath fiſhed out that Week, who, that they may be without Suſpicion, ſend their Secrets by *Toby Matthew*, or *Read* himſelf, to the Pope's Legate; he tranſmits the compacted Pacquet, which he hath purchaſed from the Intelligencers, to *Rome*.

With the ſame *Read*, the Letters brought from *Rome* are depoſited, under feigned Titles and Names, which by him are delivered to all to whom they appertain; for all and every of their Names are known to him.

Upon the very ſame Occaſion, Letters alſo are brought hither under the Covert of Father *Philip* (he notwithſtanding being ignorant of Things) from whom they are diſtributed to the Conſpirators.

There is in that very Houſe a publick Chapel, wherein an ordinary Jeſuit conſecrates, and dwells there. In the ſaid Chapel Maſſes are daily celebrated by the Jeſuits; and it ſerves for the Baptiſing of the Children of the Houſe, and of ſome of the Conſpirators.

Thoſe, who aſſemble in the fore-named Houſe, come frequently in Coaches, or on

‘ magnoque

‘ magnoque Comitatu, quo palliantur ne in-
‘ noteſcant; Jeſuitæ tamen ſunt, & membra
‘ Societatis conjurata.

‘ 15. Huic cœtui contribuitur ab omnibus
‘ Papiſtis Angliæ, ne quidquam ad promoven-
‘ dum ſuſceptum negotium deficiat; in quem
‘ fiſcum unica vidua, proprietaria olim ædium
‘ quas modo Secretarius Windebank inhabitat,
‘ ante triennium defuncta, 400,000 librarum
‘ Anglicarum contulit; ſic & alii etiam citra
‘ vires faciunt, modo ad optatum finem pro-
‘ moveatur negotium.

Horſeback in Laymen's Habits, and with a great Train, whereby they are diſguiſed, that they may not be known, yet they are Jeſuits, and conjured Members of the Society.

[illegible] the Papiſts in *England* contribute to this Affair, leſt any Thing ſhould be wanting to promote the undertaken Deſign [illegible] whoſe Treaſury one Widow, Owner of the Houſes wherein Secretary *Windebank* now dwelleth, dead above three Years ſince, beſtowed four-hundred thouſand *Engliſh* Pounds; ſo likewiſe others contributed above their Abilities, ſo as the Buſineſs may be promoted unto its deſired End.

‘ 16. Præter nominatas ædes, etiam per alia
‘ loca ſecretiora fiunt Conventicula, de quibus
‘ ne inter ſe quidem fidunt, metu ne diſperti-
‘ antur. Convocantur primo ad certa diver-
‘ ſoria ſinguli (alter alterius inſcius) hinc per
‘ exploratores ad locum, ubi convenire debent,
‘ ſinguli deducuntur, ignari alias ubi conven-
‘ turi ſint, ne forte inſperato obruantur.

16. Beſides the foreſaid Houſes, there are alſo Conventicles kept in other more ſecret Places, of which verily they confide not even among themſelves, for Fear leſt they ſhould be diſcovered. Firſt, every of them are called to certain Inns, one not knowing of the other: Hence they are ſeverally led by Spies to the Place where they ought to meet, otherwiſe ignorant where they ought to aſſemble, leſt peradventure they ſhould be ſurpriſed at unawares.

‘ 17. Comitiſſa d'Arundel, ſtrenua Pontifi-
‘ ciæ Religionis propugnatrix, ad Reformatio-
‘ nem univerſalem omnes nervos intendit;
‘ quicquid ad aulam Regis, ſecrete vel aperte,
‘ verbis vel factis geritur, Legato Pontificio
‘ inſinuat, cum quo ad minimum ter de die,
‘ modo in ædibus Arundelianis, jam ad Au-
‘ lam, vel Tarthalæ, cum ipſo congreditur.
‘ Ex ungue talia vix exſugit.

17. The Counteſs of *Arundel*, a ſtrenuous She-champion of the Popiſh Religion, bends all her Nerves to the Univerſal Reformation; whatſoever ſhe hears at the King's Court, that is done ſecretly or openly, in Words or Deeds, ſhe preſently imparts to the Pope's Legate, with whom ſhe meets thrice a Day, ſometimes in *Arundel-houſe*, now at the Court, or at *Tarthall*. He ſcarce ſucks ſuch Things by the Claw.

‘ Ipſe Comes, vocatus jam a triennio, hoc
‘ anno ire debebat Romam, acturus ibi dubio
‘ procul de ſeriis negotium concernentibus.

The Earl himſelf, called now about three Years ſince, this Year ought to go to *Rome*, without Doubt, to conſult there of ſerious Things concerning the Deſign.

‘ Donis dictionibuſque ſuis, Jeſuitæ Miſſis
‘ invigilant.

With Gifts and Speeches, the Jeſuits watch diligently to their Maſſes.

‘ Grinvici, impenſis Comitis, ſchola fœmi-
‘ nea ſuſtentatur, quæ alias monaſterium Mo-
‘ nialium eſt; adultæ enim inibi juvenculæ
‘ hinc inde per extera tranſmarina monaſteria
‘ emittuntur.

At *Greenwich*, at the Earl's Coſts, a Feminine School is maintained, which otherwiſe is a Monaſtery of Nuns; for the young Girls therein are ſent forth hither [illegible] foreign Monaſteries beyond the Sea.

‘ 18. Dominus Porter, Cubicularius Regi-
‘ us, Pontificiæ Religioni addictiſſimus, Regis
‘ infenſus hoſtis. Is ipſius ſecretiſſima quæque
‘ Legato Pontificio aperit; quamvis rariſſime
‘ cum ipſo conveniat, uxor tanto ſæpius, quæ

18. Mr *Porter*, of the King's Bed-chamber, moſt addicted to the Popiſh Religion, bitter Enemy of the King [illegible] greateſt Secrets to the Pope; [illegible] rarely meets with him, yet

‘ ab marito informata, Legato ſecreta confidit.
‘ In omnibus ſuis actionibus Tobiæ Matthæi
‘ nihil cedit; effari non poteſt qualiter negotio
‘ invigilet.

‘ Filii ipſius in Religione Pontificia occulte
‘ informantur, aperte Reformatam profitentur.
‘ Major natu Officium Patris ſuſcepturus, ſub
‘ rege futuro; alteri, ſi negotium bene ſucceſ-
‘ ſerit, pileus Cardinalis paratus eſt.

‘ Ante triennium, ablegari debebat dictus
‘ Dominus Porter a Rege Morocum; prohi-
‘ bitus fuit ab Societate, ne moram pateretur
‘ negotium.

‘ Patronus eſt Jeſuitarum, quibus, ad exer-
‘ citium Religionis, ſacella domi foriſque ſub-
‘ miniſtrat.

‘ 19. Secretarius Windebank, Papiſta acer-
‘ rimus, Regi omnium infideliſſimus, qui non
‘ ſolum ſecretiſſima etiam quæque Regia prodit
‘ & revelat, ſed etiam conſilia, quibus optime
‘ negotio conſuleretur, communicat. Ipſe,
‘ ad minimum ter in hebdomada, per nocturna
‘ conventicula cum Legato converſatur, injun-
‘ gitque quæ ſcitu digna cogitat: cujus cauſa,
‘ ædes vicinas Legati domo conduxit, quem
‘ ſæpius per portam horti adit; hac enim vici-
‘ nitate facilitatur congreſſus.

‘ Dictus Secretarius ad partem Societatis
‘ conjuratæ muneribus emptus eſt, quibus ſuſ-
‘ tentatur, ut magis ſerio officium peragat.

‘ Filium ſuum expreſſe Romam miſit, qui
‘ Romano Pontifici ſeſe inſinuare debebit.

‘ 20. Cavalliero Digby, Cavalliero Winter,
‘ Dominus Mountagu junior, qui Romæ fuit;
‘ Mi-lord Sterling, Cognatus Comitis d' Arun-
‘ del, Eques; Comitiſſa de Neuport, Duciſſa
‘ Buckingham, & plerique alii qui in conſpi-
‘ rationem hanc jurarunt, omnes in opere ſunt
‘ vigilantiſſimi. Horum alii, Aulicorum, alii
‘ politicorum officiorum ſpe ineſcantur: alii
‘ ad ſexdecim pileos Cardinalium vacantes at-
‘ tendunt, qui ideo ab aliquot annis otioſi de-
‘ tinentur, ut ſpem vanam expectantibus impo-
‘ nant.

‘ 21. Præſes nominatæ Societatis erat Mi-
‘ lord Gage, Sacerdos Jeſuita, ante triennium
‘ defunctus. Habebat is palatium laſcivis Pic-
‘ turis exornatum, quæ profanitatem in ædibus

ſo much the oftener, who, being informed by her Huſband, conveys Secrets to the Legate. In all his Actions he is nothing inferior to *Toby Matthew*; it cannot be uttered how diligently he watcheth on the Buſineſs.

His Sons are ſecretly inſtructed in the Popiſh Religion, openly they profeſs the Reformed. The eldeſt is now to receive his Father's Office, under the King which ſhall be; a Cardinal's Hat is provided for the other, if the Deſign ſhall ſucceed well.

About three Years paſt, the ſaid Mr. *Porter* was to be ſent away by the King to *Morocco*; but he was prohibited by the Society, leſt the Buſineſs ſhould ſuffer Delay thereby.

He is a Patron of the Jeſuits, for whom, for the Exerciſe of Religion, he provides Chapels both at Home and Abroad.

10. Secretary *Windebank*, a moſt fierce Papiſt, is the moſt unfaithful to the King of all Men; who not only betrays and reveals even the King's greateſt Secrets, but likewiſe communicates Counſels, by which the Deſign may be beſt advanced. He, at leaſt thrice every Week, converſeth with the Legate in Nocturnal Conventicles, and reveals thoſe Things which he thinks fit to be known; for which End he hired a Houſe near to the Legate's Houſe, whom he often reſorts to through the Garden-door, for by this Vicinity the Meeting is facilitated.

The ſaid Secretary is bribed with Gifts to the Party of that conjured Society, by whom he is ſuſtained, that he may the more ſeriouſly execute his Office.

He ſent his Son expreſly to *Rome*, who ought to inſinuate himſelf into the *Roman* Pontiff.

20. Sir *Digby*, Sir *Winter*, Mr. *Mountague* the younger, who hath been at *Rome*; my Lord *Sterling*, a Couſin of the Earl of *Arundel's*, a Knight; the Counteſs of *Newport*, the Ducheſs of *Buckingham*, and many others, who have ſworn unto this Conſpiracy, are all moſt vigilant in the Deſign. Some of theſe are inticed with the Hope of Court, others of political Offices; others attend to the ſixteen Cardinals Caps that are vacant, which are detained idle, for ſome Years, that they may impoſe a vain Hope on thoſe who expect them.

21. The Preſident of the aforeſaid Society was my Lord *Gage*, a Jeſuit Prieſt, dead above three Years ſince. He had a Palace adorned with laſcivious Pictures, which counterfeited

‘ mentiebantur; palliabatur vero illis Moni-
‘ terium, quo quadraginta Moniales ſuſtenta-
‘ bantur, tanto palatio occultatæ; ſitum eſt in
‘ Platea Reginæ, quam ſtatua Reginæ aurea de-
‘ corat. Iſtam Plateam totam Jeſuitæ ſecu-
‘ lares emerunt, redegeruntque in quadratum,
‘ ubi tacite Collegium Jeſuiticum exſtruitur,
‘ ea ſpe, ut quam primum, Reformatione uni-
‘ verſali incepta, aperte elaborari poſſit.

Parliament-houſe; but with them was palliated a Monaſtery, wherein forty Nuns were maintained, that in ſo great a Palace. It is ſituated in *Paradiſe-ſt.* which the Statue of golden Queen adorns. The Secular Jeſuits have bought all this Street, and have reduced it into a Quadrangle, wherein a Jeſuitical College is tacitly built, with this Hope, that it might be openly finiſhed, as ſoon as the univerſal Reformation was begun.

‘ Legatus Pontificius triplici Characte're ſive
‘ Ciſra utitur: uno, quo cum omnibus Nunciis
‘ communicat: altero cum ſolo Cardinale Bar-
‘ barino: tertio, quo ſecretiora nonnulla com-
‘ municanda occultat.

The Pope's Legate uſeth a threefold Character, or Cypher; one wherewith he communicates with all the Nuncio's; another with Cardinal *Barbarino* only; a third, wherewith he covers ſome greater Secrets to be communicated.

‘ Quæcunque per hebdomadam ab Societate
‘ aliis exploratoribus excepit, illa uno faſciculo
‘ conſarcinat, ſub inſcriptione, *Al Monſignor*
‘ *Stravio Archidiacono di Cambray*, dedicat: ab
‘ quo tandem promoventur Romæ.

Whatſoever Things he either receiveth from the Society, or other Spies, thoſe he packs up together in the Bundle, dedicated under this Inſcription: *To Monſieur* Stravio, *Archdeacon of* Cambray: From whom, at laſt, they are promoted to *Rome*.

‘ His ita conſtitutis, ſi ſingula ad trutinam
‘ ponantur, ſatisfiet in ſpecie omnibus articulis
‘ propoſitis.

Theſe Things being thus ordered, if every Thing be laid to the Balance, it will ſatisfy, in ſpecial, all the Articles propounded.

QUIBUS,

1.

‘ COnjuratio in Regem & Dominum Archi-
‘ epiſcopum detegitur; media, quibus ex-
‘ itium utrique minatur, demonſtrantur.

WHEREIN,

1.

THE Conſpiracy againſt the King, and Lord Archbiſhop, is detected, and the Means, whereby Ruin is threatened to both, demonſtrated.

‘ 2. Pericula Regno utrique imminentia re-
‘ cenſentur.

2. The imminent Dangers to both Kingdoms are rehearſed.

‘ 3. Exortus incendii illius Scotici & pro-
‘ greſſus enarratur.

3. The Riſe and Progreſs of that *Scottiſh* Fire is related.

‘ 4. Media, quibus turbæ iſtæ Scoticæ ſedari
‘ poſſint, ſuggeruntur; poſtquam enim reſci-
‘ verint Scoti, a quibus & in quem finem ani-
‘ mi ipſorum accendantur, conſulent ſibi pro-
‘ pere; neque utriuſque partis vires ſuccumbere
‘ ſinent; ne medius ſeſe interponat qui utram-
‘ que quærit.

• 4. Means, whereby theſe [illegible] may be appeaſed, are ſuggeſted. For, after the *Scots* ſhall know by whom, and to what End their Minds are incenſed, they will ſpeedily look to themſelves, neither will they ſuffer the Forces of both Parts to be ſubdued, leſt a middle Party interpoſe, which ſeeks the Ruin of both.

‘ 5. Quo enſe Regis petatur jugulum, etiam
‘ turbis iſtis ſopitis, Cunei Confeſſio, oculataque
‘ demonſtratio, docet.

5. With what Sword the King's Throat is aſſaulted, even when theſe Stirs ſhall be appeaſed, *Cuneus*'s Confeſſion, and a viſible Demonſtration, ſheweth.

‘ 6. Locus Congregationis in ædibus Capi-
‘ tanei Redæ nominatur.

6. The Place of the Aſſembly in the Houſe of Capt. *Read* is nominated.

‘ 7. Dies expeditionis octiduæ per Redam &
‘ Legatum injungitur.

7. The Day of the eight [illegible] by *Read*, and the Legate, is pr[illegible]

Quomodo

'8. Quomodo nomina conjuratorum innotescere possent.

'9. Ubi tota ista Congregatio possit circumveniri.

'10. Infideles nonnulli ab parte Regis præcipuorum de nomine notificantur; plures, quorum nomina non occurrunt, habitationes tamen notæ sunt; de nomine facile ab Reda extorqueri poterunt.

'Si caute in his procedatur, nervus totius negotii in apricum prodibit; ita sagitta prævisa, effugietur periculo, quod ut succedat prospere, Creator Omnipotens faxit.

8. How the Names of the Conspirators may be known.

9. Where this whole Congregation may be circumvented.

10. Some of the principal unfaithful ones of the King's Party are notified by Name; many of whose Names occur not, yet their Habitations are known; their Names may be easily extorted from *Read*.

If these Things be warily proceeded in, the Strength of the whole Business will be brought to Light; so, the Arrow being foreseen, the Danger shall be avoided; which, that it may prosperously succeed, the Omnipotent Creator grant.

The Archbishop's Indorsement with his own Hand.

Received, October 14, 1640. *The Narration of the great Treason, concerning which he promised to Sir* William Boswel *to discover, against the King and State.*

An authentick Relation of the many Hardships and Sufferings of a *Dutch* Sailor, who was put on Shore on the uninhabited Isle of *Ascension*, by Order of the Commodore of a Squadron of *Dutch* Ships. With a remarkable Account of his Converse with Apparitions, and evil Spirits, during his Residence on the Island. And a particular Diary of his Transactions from the Fifth of *May*, to the Fourteenth of *October*, on which Day he perished in a miserable Condition. *Taken from the Original* Journal *found in his Tent by some Sailors, who landed from on Board the* Compton, *Captain* Morson *Commander, in* January 1725-6. *Octavo*, containing twenty-eight Pages.

To the READER.

AS the following Journal carries all possible Marks of Truth and Sincerity in it; so we have thought fit to publish it exactly as it was wrote, by the miserable Wretch, who is the Subject of it, without adding any borrowed Descriptions of Places, Coasts, &c. which is too frequently done in Pieces of this Nature, in order to increase their Bulk.

The

The deteſtable Crime, for which the Dutch *Commodore thought fit to abandon and leave this Sailor on a deſert Iſland, is pretty plainly pointed out, in the Journal. The Miſeries and Hardſhips he lingered under, for more than five Months, were ſo unuſually terrible, that the bare Reading his Account of them muſt make the harneſt Heart melt with Compaſſion. Tormented with exceſſive Thirſt; in Want of almoſt every Thing neceſſary to defend him from the Inclemency of the Weather; left to the ſevere Upbraidings and Reflexions of a guilty Conſcience; harraſſed by the bluſphemous Converſations of evil Spirits; haunted by Apparitions, even tumbled up and down in his Tent by Demons; and, at the ſame Time, not one Perſon upon the Iſland from whom to ſeek Conſolation or Advice: Theſe are ſuch Calamities, as no Mortal could ever long ſupport himſelf under. But at the ſame Time the fatal Cataſtrophe of this Man recommends to us the Preſerving that* Wall of Braſs *(as the Poet calls it) which will be a Comfort to us under all Misfortunes,* viz. *a Conſcience free from Guilt.*

———Hic Murus Aheneus eſto,
Nil conſcire ſibi, nulla palleſcere culpa.

Saturday, May 5.

BY Order of the Commodore and Captains of the *Dutch* Fleet, I was ſet on Shore on the Iſland of *Aſcenſion*, which gave me a great deal of Diſſatisfaction, but I hope Almighty God will be my Protection They put on Shore with me a Caſk of Water, two Buckets, and an old Frying-pan, &c. I made my Tent on the Beach near a Rock, wherein I put ſome of my Clothes.

May the 6th, I went upon the Hills to ſee if I could diſcover any Thing on the other Side of the Iſland that was more commodious for my Living, and to ſee if there were any Thing green; but to my great Sorrow found nothing at all worth Mentioning. I ſincerely wiſhed that ſome Accident would befall me, to finiſh theſe my miſerable Days. In the Evening I walked to my Tent again, but could not very well find the Way. I walked very melancholy along the Strand, praying to God Almighty to put a Period to my Days, or help me out of this deſolate Iſland. I went back again to my Tent, and ſecured it the beſt I could with Stones and a Tarpaulin from the Weather. About Four, or Five o'Clock, I killed three Birds called *Boobies*; I ſkinned and ſalted them, and put them into the Sun to dry, being the firſt Thing I killed upon the Iſland. The ſame Night I caught two more, which I ſerved as before.

The 7th, in the Morning, I went to my Water-caſk, it being half a League from my Tent. I firſt put a Peg in, but loſt much Water by that; ſo got him upon his Head, and took the Head out with a great deal of Trouble. I made a white Flag, which I put upon my Piece, having nothing elſe, and ſet it upon a Hill near the Sea. I had no Powder nor Shot, which rendered my Gun uſeleſs. That Night I put more Stones about my Tent.

The 8th, in the Morning, I took down my Flag again, and ſet it upon a Hill, on the other Side of the Iſland. In the Way I found a Turtle, and killed him with the Butt-end of my Muſquet; and ſo went back again to my Tent, and ſat me down very weary.

I truſt in God Almighty, that he will deliver me ſome Time or other by ſome Ship that may touch here. This Night I moved my Tent on the other Side of the Rock, being afraid that it would fall on my Head, and by that Means endanger my Life! I would by no Means be acceſſary to my own Death, ſtill hoping that God will preſerve me to ſee better Days. On the whole Iſland I cannot find a better Place than where I now am, and that I muſt be contented in my Condition. I thank God I am now in good Health. In the Evening I killed ſome more Boobies, which I ſerved as the former, and in the Morning did the ſame.

The 9th, in the Morning, I went to look for the Turtle which I killed Yeſterday. I carried my Hatchet, and cut him up on the Back, for he was ſo big that I could not turn him. I cut off ſome of the Fleth from the Fore-Fin, and brought it to my Tent, and put it in Salt, and dried it in the Sun. I began again to

make

make a Bulwark of Stones round my Tent and ſecured it from the Weather, with my Tarpaulin.

The 10th, in the Morning, I took four or five Onions, a few Peaſe, and Calavances, and went to the South-ſide of the Iſland, to ſee if I could find a proper Place to ſet them. I looked carefully on the Strand, to ſee if I could diſcover the Tracts of any Beaſts, or Water, or any thing elſe that might be ſerviceable; but found nothing but a little Purſlain, on the other Side of the Iſland, which I eat for Refreſhment, being very dry, and could find no Water, and but a little of it in my Cask; walking back, eat what I had before reſerved. When I was half-way back, found ſome more Greens, but knew not whether they were good to eat.

The 11th, in the Morning, went into the Country again, and found ſome Roots, the Skin ſomewhat reſembling Potatoes, but could not think they were good to eat. I made a diligent Search for a greater Diſcovery, but found nothing elſe. I ſat me down very diſconſolate almoſt dead with Thirſt, and afterwards went to my Tent. On the other Side of the Iſland there is a ſandy Bay, by the biggeſt Hill. This Evening boiled a little Rice, being the firſt Time: I was ſomewhat out of Order.

The 12th, in the Morning, boiled a little more Rice, of which I eat ſome. After I had prayed, I went again to the Country to ſee if I could diſcover any Ships, but to my great Sorrow ſaw none; ſo went back again to my Tent, and then walked along the Beach, and found nothing but ſome Shells of Fiſh. I kept conſtantly walking about the Iſland, that being all my Hopes; then went to my Tent, and read till I was weary, and afterwards mended my Clothes. This Afternoon put the Onions, Peaſe, and Calavances in the Ground juſt by my Tent, to ſee if they would produce any more; for, as it was, I could not afford Water to boil them.

The 13th, in the Morning, went to ſee if I could find any Sea-Fowls Eggs, but found none. At my Walking back, I found a ſmall Turtle juſt by my Tent: I took ſome of its Eggs, and Fleſh, and boiled with my Rice for my Dinner, and buried the reſt in the Sand, that it might not infect me; its Eggs I buried in the Sand likewiſe. Afterwards I found ſome Neſts of Fowls Eggs, of which I boiled in the Evening, and it was very good Diet. I melted ſome of the Turtle's Fat to make Oil, and in the Night burnt of it, having nothing for a Lamp, but a Saucer.

The 14th, in the Morning, after I had prayed, I took my uſual Walk, but found nothing new; ſo I returned again to my Tent, and ſat down, and mended my Banyan-coat, and writ my Journal.

The 15th, before I took my Walk, I eat ſome boiled Rice, and afterwards proceeded: But got nothing but my uſual Game, *viz.* Boobies. I read till I was weary, and then betook myſelf to my Repoſe.

The 16th, I looked out, as the Day paſt; caught no Boobies.

The 17th, I was very much dejected that I had found no Suſtenance, and a Booby, that I kept alive ſeven, or eight Days, now died.

The 18th, after my uſual Cuſtom of Praying, I caught two Boobies.

The 19th, nothing worthy of Note. The 20th, caught one Booby. The 21ſt, nothing at all.

The 22d, after Breakfaſt went to the other Side of the Iſland, to ſee if I could diſcover any thing; but went back as I came. At Four in the Afternoon took my Line, and fiſhed on the Rock for three, or four Hours, but to no Purpoſe. I then took a melancholy Walk to my Flag, but much to my Concern could deſcry nothing. At my Return to my Tent, much to my Surpriſe, I found it all of a Smoke. After a ſerious Conſideration, I thought that I had left my Tinder-box a Fire on my Quilt; but the Smoke ſmothered me ſo much, that I could not enter before I had brought a Bucket of Water, and quenched it. I return God Almighty my hearty Thanks that all my Things were not burnt: I have loſt nothing by it but a Banyan, Shirt, a Corner of my Quilt, and my Bible ſindged. I intreat God Almighty to give me the Patience of holy *Job*, to bear with my Sufferings.

The 23d, all this Day was remaking what was burnt Yeſterday.

The 24th, I walked to my Flag, and returned again, with catching but one Booby; afterwards mended my Clothes, and broiled a Booby, on the Embers.

The

The 25th, after my Breakfaſt went to my uſual Employment, and catched ſeveral Sea-fowls ſitting on their Eggs. Then returned Home with my Spoil, and dried them. After my Dinner went upon a Search for more Fowls, of which I caught many, and did not forget to look out for Ships; but returned without any Diſcovery. Boiled ſome of my Eggs, and was diſappointed by finding young ones in many of them.

The 26th, I looked out as before, but no Fowls. The 27th, nothing worthy of Note.

The 28th, I went to the Weſt-ſide of the Iſland, along the Strand, and mounted the Precipice of a high Hill, which was ſo ſteep, that I have Reaſon to thank my God that I did not break my Neck down.

The 29th, nothing remarkable. The 30th, as before. The 31ſt, was forced to feed on the Proviſion which I had before ſalted.

From the 1ſt of *June*, to the 4th, it would be needleſs to write how often my Eyes are caſt on the Sea, to look for Shipping, and every little Atom in the Sky I took for a Sail; then look till my Eyes dazzle, and immediately the Object diſappears. When I was put on Shore, the Captain told me it was the Time of Year for Shipping to paſs this Way; which makes me look out the more diligently.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th, I never neglected Taking my uſual Walks, but to no Purpoſe.

The 8th, my Water was ſo much reduced, that I had but two Quarts left, and that ſo thick as obliged me to ſtrain it through a Handkerchief. I then too late began to dig, and, after I had dug ſeven Feet deep, found no Moiſture; the Place where I began was in the Middle of the Iſland. I then came back again to my Tent, and began a new Well juſt by my Tent, but to no Purpoſe, having digged a Fathom deep. It is impoſſible to expreſs my Concern, firſt in not ſeeing any Ships to convey me off the Iſland, and then in finding no Suſtenance on it.

The 9th, found nothing; paſſed away the Day in Meditations on a future State.

The 10th, with the very laſt of my Water boiled ſome Rice; having but very little Hopes of any thing but Periſhing, I commended my Soul to Almighty God, intreating him that he will have Mercy on it; but, not caring to give over all Hopes while I could yet walk, I went to the other Side of the Iſland to ſee for ſome Water. Having heard Talk, that there was a Well of Water on it, I walked up and down the Hills, thinking not to leave any Place ſecret from me. After four Hours tedious Walking, began to grow very thirſty, and the Heat of the Sun, withal, made my Life a greater Burden than I was able to bear; but was reſolved to proceed as long as I could ſtand. Walking among the Rocks, God of his great Bounty led me to a Place where ſome Water run out of a hollow Place in the Rock; it is impoſſible to expreſs my great Joy and Satisfaction in finding of it, and thought I ſhould have drank till I burſt. I ſat me down for ſome Time by it, then drank again, and walked Home to my Tent, having no Veſſel to carry any along with me.

The 11th, in the Morning, after I had returned God Almighty my hearty Thanks, I took my Tea Kettle with ſome Rice in it, and ſome Wood along with me to the Place where the Water was, and there boiled and eat it.

The 12th, I boiled ſome Rice to break my Faſt, and afterwards with much Trouble carried two Buckets of Water to my Tent. I often think I am poſſeſſed with Things, that I really want; but, when I come to ſearch, find it only a Shadow. My Shoes being worn out, the Rocks cut my Feet to Pieces; and I am often afraid of tumbling, and by that Means endanger the Breaking my Buckets, which I cannot be without.

The 13th, I went to look out for Wood, but found none but a little Weeds ſomewhat like Birch; brought it to my Tent, and boiled ſome Rice with it for my Dinner. Afterwards went and looked out for Shipping, but to no Purpoſe; it makes me very melancholy to think that I have no Hopes of getting off of this unhappy Iſland.

The 14th, took my Tea Kettle with ſome Rice, and went into the Country where the Water was. Afterwards returned again to my Tent, and mended my Cloaths, and paſſed away the reſt of the Day in ſleeping.

The 15th, all the Day employed in getting of Sea-fowls Eggs and Birds.

The 16th, to no Purpoſe looked out for Ships; and in the Night was diſturbed by a Noiſe round my Tent, of Curſing, and Swearing, and the moſt blaſphemous Converſation that I ever heard. My Concern was ſo great that I thought I ſhould have died with Fright. I did nothing but put up my Prayers to the Almighty to protect me in this [illegible] Circumſtance;

Circumſtance; but my Fright rendered me in a very bad Condition of Praying, I trembling to that Degree, that I could not compoſe my Thoughts; and any body would have believed that the Devil had moved his Quarters, and was coming to keep Hell on *Aſcenſion*. I was certain that there was no human Creature on the Iſland, but myſelf, having not ſeen the Foot-ſteps of any Man but my own; and ſo much libidinous Talk was impoſſible to be expreſſed by any body but Devils: And to my greater Surpriſe was certain, that I was very well acquainted with one of the Voices, it bearing an Affinity of an intimate Acquaintance of mine; and I really thought that I was ſometimes touched by an inviſible Spirit. I made my Application to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt for Forgiveneſs of my Sins, and that they would protect me from theſe evil Spirits. It was Three o'Clock in the Morning before they ceaſed tormenting me, and then, being very weary, I fell to ſleep. In the Morning I awoke about Seven o'Clock, and returned God Almighty my hearty and ſincere Thanks for his laſt Night's Protection of me, but ſtill heard ſome Shrieks near my Tent, but could ſee nothing. I took my Prayer-book, and read the Prayers proper for a Man in my Condition, and at the ſame Time heard a Voice, crying, *Bouger*. I cannot afford Paper enough to ſet down every Particular of this unhappy Day.

The 17th, I fetched Home two Buckets of Water, and dreaded Night's Coming on, and interceded with God Almighty, that I might not be troubled again with thoſe evil Spirits; and I hope God Almighty heard my Prayers, for I was not perplexed with them this Night. Before I came upon this miſerable Iſland, I was of the *Proteſtant* Religion, and uſed to laugh at the *Romans*, when they talked to me of Apparitions; but to my great Sorrow now find ſmarting Reaſons to the contrary, and ſhall henceforth embrace their Opinions. This Day an Apparition appeared to me in the Similitude of a Man, whom I perfectly knew; he converſed with me like a human Creature, and touched me ſo ſenſibly of the Sins of my paſt Life (of which I have a ſincere and hearty Repentance) and was ſuch a terrible Shock to me, that I wiſhed it would kill me.

The 18th, after my Devotions went to look out, and carried my Hatchet with me. On the Strand, the other Side of the Iſland, I found a Tree, which I believe Providence had caſt a-ſhore for me. I cut it in two Pieces, the Whole being too big for me to carry. I put one Half on my Shoulders, and when, I was half Way Home, ſet it down and reſted myſelf on it. During which Time, the Apparition appeared to me again; his Name I am afraid to utter, fearing the Event. He haunts me ſo often, that I begin to grow accuſtomed to him. After I had reſted myſelf, I carried it Home, and then went back and fetched the other Half.

The 19th, in the Morning went to my Colours, to ſee if I could diſcover any Ships. Laſt Night nor this Day I have not ſeen any thing, and I truſt in God I ſhall be no more troubled with them.

The 20th, this Night, contrary to my Expectation, was ſo prodigiouſly perplexed with Spirits, and tumbled up and down in my Tent to that Degree, that in the Morning my Fleſh was like a Mummy; and the Perſon, that I was formerly acquainted with, ſpoke to me ſeveral Times this Night; but I cannot think he would do me any Harm, for when, he was in this World, we were as great as two own Brothers. He was a Soldier at *Batavia*. It is impoſſible for a Man to ſurvive ſo many Misfortunes, I not being able to keep a Light; but the Saucer that contains it is jumbled about and broke; and, if God of his infinite Goodneſs does not help me, I muſt inevitably periſh. I hope this my Puniſhment in this World may ſuffice for my moſt heinous Crime of making Uſe of my Fellow-creature to ſatisfy my Luſt, whom the Almighty Creator had ordained another Sex for. I only deſire to live to make an Atonement for my Sins, which I believe my Comrade is damned for. I ſpent all the Day in Meditations, and Prayers, and eat nothing. My Strength decays, and my Life is become a great Burden to me.

The 21ſt, in the Morning, I lifted up my Hands to Heaven, and offered up my Prayers; and went to my Flag; and in the Way looked for Proviſions to aſſwage my raging Hunger, but found none, ſo was forced to be ſatisfied with ſalted Fowls.

The 22d, my Water being expended, took my Bucket and went for more; but the Way was ſo troubleſome, and the Rocks ſo ſharp to my bare Feet, that it took me beſt Part of the Day to bring it Home. And in the Afternoon I went to the proper Place for Fowls Eggs, of which I found ſome; they were ſpeckled like ſome of our *Holland*'s Birds Eggs.

The 23d, looked out for Ships, and paſſed away the reſt of the Day in Prayers.

The 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th, I never neglected Looking out for Ships, and Victuals; then read and prayed, and humbled myſelf before God, and deſired that he would have Mercy on me, and deliver me off of this miſerable Iſland; and afterwards came and took my Bedding, and ſome other Neceſſaries, and went to the Middle of the Iſland, where I fixed a new Habitation in a concave Place of a Rock, it being much nearer the Water than the other Place. The other Day, got two Days Water out of this ſame Place, but now there is not a Drop here. I fetched a few Eggs, and boiled them in my Tea-kettle; then went to the South-ſide of the Iſland, where there is a large Hill of Sand, and a Hill of Rocks where I found ſome more Purſlain, and ſome Eggs, which I gathered up, and put in my Sack. I fried both together, and eat them with a good Appetite. Upon the Strand I found a Bruſh, and returned, fearing I ſhould be benighted, and ſo not be able to find my new Abode in the Rocks. Before I got there, I was almoſt famiſhed with Thirſt, and my Skin bliſtered with the violent Heat of the Sun.

The 29th, I went upon the Hills, and to no Purpoſe looked out for Ships; and afterwards, walking on the Strand, I diſcovered a Piece of Wood ſticking in the Strand, which I at firſt took for a Tree, but when I came to it, I found it was a Croſs. I embraced it in my Arms, and prayed to God Almighty to deliver me: I believe there was a Man buried there from ſome Ship. I returned with much Trouble to my Cave in the Rock, and, coming down a Hill, my Feet were ſo ſore with the Rocks, that I thought I ſhould have broke my Neck. When I got Home, I repoſed myſelf a little, and walked out again, and found a Piece of broken Glaſs Bottle. Afterwards found a deep Pit in the Sand, which I deſcended into, thinking there might be Water in it. I raked the Sand about a Foot deeper than it was before, and found ſome brackiſh Water, ſo that my Trouble was all in vain. After [illegible], as I was rambling up and down, I found ſome ſcattered Wood, which I made up in a Bundle, and, bringing it Home to my Cave, heard a Noiſe as if there had been Copper-ſmiths at Work. Afterwards I went again to the Spring, where I got ſome Greens, and Eggs, which I eat with Bread, and drank the Water I had left in my Cave.

The 30th, here has been ſo much dry Weather, to my Sorrow, that both at the Cave, and the other Place, where there uſed to be Water enough, there is now not one Drop, and I am as much in Want of it, as I have been ſince my Coming to this miſerable Iſland.

July the 1ſt, the Water was dried up in every Place where I uſed before to get it, ſo that I was near dead with Thirſt.

The 2d, I offered up my Prayers to God to deliver me, and that he would preſerve me, as he had aforetime done *Moſes*, and the Children of *Iſrael*, by cauſing Water to flow out of a Rock. But, that none of my own Endeavours might be wanting, I went to make a diligent Search, and in the Way ſaw a matter of fifty Goats upon a Hill, and afterwards about twenty or thirty more. I purſued them with the utmoſt of my Ability, but they were far too ſwift for me, and I looked carefully where they were for Water, believing that there might be ſome there; and I found a deep Pit, being five or ſix Fathom to the Bottom, which I deſcended, but it was quite dry. I ſuppoſe in the Rains there is Water here, by the Goats coming to it now.

The 3d, I prayed earneſtly, and afterwards went to look for Water. It is a great Wonder to me how the Goats do to live in the dry Seaſons, ſeeing that Water is ſo ſcarce now. I ſhould have been famiſhed before this Time, had it not been for a Reſerve of about a Gallon of Water which I had before put up, thinking not to expend it till the laſt Neceſſity; but now was forced to drink of it to [illegible] extreme Thirſt. I afterwards went to the Strand, but diſcovered nothing of Service to me. Then walked to the Country a different Way from any I had been yet; and upon a Hill saw, I am ſure, at leaſt, three or four [illegible]

Goats great and ſmall, which I run after, but they were too nimble for me. It is ſurpriſing to me, ſeeing that there are ſo many Goats upon the Iſland, that I ſhould diſcover none before; but I believe they ſculk in the Rocks, and, when the Water is dried up, they come abroad for more. I found two Gallons of Water in a Place of a Rock.

The 4th, I moved my Things from the Cave, and went to another Part of the Iſland to ſettle my Abode, being ſure that there was no Water on this Side of the Iſland. I prayed to God, and then ſearched for Water, but to no Purpoſe.

The 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, I delayed no Time to look for Water, unleſs when I prayed.

The 9th, as I walked upon the Strand, I heard again a very diſmal Noiſe of Curſing and Swearing in my own Language. During the Time of this Noiſe, I never in all my Life ſaw ſo many Fowls together, they looking like a Cloud, and intercepting between me and the Sky, deprived me of ſome of its Light.

The 10th, I went upon a very ſteep Hill to look for Shipping, but ſaw none. Upon the Hill, I found a Piece of Wood which I brought down along with me to prop up my new Habitation; and coming down again, found another Piece, which I brought down likewiſe.

The 11th, I carried all the Wood from my Tent into the Country, and likewiſe ſome of my Clothes.

The 12th, nothing remarkable. The 13th, 14th, and 15th, looked for Water, but found none. The 16th, found ſome Fowls Eggs, which I brought Home and eat; uſed my Water very ſparingly. The 17th, nothing. The 18th, as before. The 19th, nothing remarkable. The 20th, nothing worthy of Note. The 21ſt, having no Hopes of any thing but Periſhing, I committed my Soul to God, praying that he will have Mercy on it. Have now very little Hopes of Shipping: I boiled ſome Rice and Eggs.

The 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31ſt, my Heart is ſo full that my Pen cannot utter it. I now and then find a little Water which the Goats have left me: I always ſcoop it up, to the laſt Drop, and uſe it very ſparingly.

Auguſt the 1ſt, 2d, and 3d, I walked out with my Bucket in my Hand, and found a very little Water, which I brought Home.

The 4th, I found ſome Water in a hollow Place of a Rock, and rolled my Cask there, and ſcooped it all out as clean as I could; this rejoiced me very much. I then walked along the Strand, and found a Piece of a broken Oar. Afterwards found three or four ſhort thick Pieces of Wood like Billets, and a little farther ſaw ſomewhat like a Houſe, and, having before heard that the *Portugueſe* formerly inhabited this Iſland, made me go to it, to ſee what it was; but found it only a white hollow Rock, and in the Concavity there were ſome Nails, and broken Glaſs Bottles. This was of very little Uſe to me, ſo took up my Bundle of Wood and marched Home.

The 5th, nothing remarkable.

The 6th, went to my Tent on the Beach, and ſaw three or four of the Peaſe and Calivances which I before ſet in the Ground were come up; which was at firſt a great Satisfaction to me, but, when I looked nearer, found that the Vermin had eat all the reſt, which ſoon palled my former Joy. I return God Almighty my hearty Thanks that he has thus long preſerved me.

The 7th, theſe three Months there has not been above half an Hour's Rain upon the Iſland, and I cannot find a Drop of Water more upon the whole Iſland than what is now in my Cask; and if God Almighty of his great Goodneſs does not ſend Rain to repleniſh my ſmall Stock, I muſt inevitably periſh.

The 8th, 9th, and 10th, ſearched carefully, but found no Water: Have employed myſelf in Praying, and Interceding with God to have Mercy on my Soul.

The 11th, went to my Tent on the Strand, and again heard ſuch a terrible Noiſe, as though there had been a hundred Copper-ſmiths at Work. I was reſolved to go upon the Hill to ſee if I could diſcover any Thing; and ſaw a Cloud of Birds, which I believe made the Noiſe that juſt now ſurpriſed me. It was a great Satisfaction to me, only to think I was ſo deceived.

The 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th, went about every Part of the Iſland to look for Water; but to my great Concern found none; and I gauged my Caſk that I had, and found there was not above ſix Gallons remaining, which made me boil nothing, and drink very ſparingly.

The 18th and 19th, could find no Water,

and was out late on my Search, ſo that the Sun ſet when I was on the contrary Side of the Iſland from my Cave, and could not find my Way Home; ſo was forced to ſleep between two Rocks, and there was ſuch a Quantity of Rats there, that I thought they would have eat me: I wiſhed twenty Times that I was on the Sand on the Beach.

The 20th, not a Drop of Water to be found. I prayed to God that he would ſend Rain, and I took my Spade, and dug a Well two Fathom deep, but to no Purpoſe. I then looked up to the Heavens all round me, to ſee if I could ſee if the Sky overcaſt, that might give me ſome Hopes of Rain; but all, to my Sorrow, was very clear.

The 21ſt, went rambling about the Iſland with my Scoop with me, to look for Water, but could not find the leaſt Drop, and my Water almoſt gone at Home; and was ſo prodigious dry, that I was forced to make Water in my Scoop, and drink it, thinking it was better than Salt Water, being ſo extreme thirſty, that my Lips were glewed together.

22d, after my Prayers, went again to look for Water, and on the Strand I found a Turtle, which I killed, and drank near a Gallon of his Blood. I took ſome of its Eggs and Fat, and fried them. Its Blood, and my own Water, did not contribute much to Abating of my Thirſt; for all I had drank near a Gallon of the Turtle's Blood, was forced again to drink my own Water.

The 23d, no Hopes of finding any Water, and I took ſome of the Blood of the Turtle, which I killed Yeſterday, after it had ſettled all Night, and my own Water together, and boiled with ſome Tea in it. It was ſomewhat better than raw Blood. At Four in the Afternoon, all the freſh Water that I had left in the World I put in my Tea-kettle, to bring it down to my Tent; ſhall be forced to live there now, to be near the Turtles, having nothing elſe to ſubſiſt on. But was taken ſo violently with the Flux, drinking the Turtle's Blood, that I could not walk three Steps. I cannot ſay but I was glad of it, hoping that it will put an End to my Miſery and Days at once. With a great deal of Trouble I got to my Tent by Dark.

The 24th, I was ſtill much troubled with the Flux, but was forced to bottle ſome Tea, of the former Ingredients.

The 25th, I was ſo dry and ſick together, that I drank my very laſt Water, being but a Pint. Afterwards I went to look for Fowls Eggs, to ſee if they would quench my extreme Thirſt.

The 26 and 27th, I thought of little elſe but Death, and prayed earneſtly for an Admittance to Heaven. The Fowls Eggs had no Effect, ſo was forced again to boil Tea of my Urine, and ſettled Blood, there being Plenty of Turtles on the Iſland.

The 28th, at Three in the Morning, went out to catch a Turtle, and found one, which I killed with my Hatchet, and filled a Bucket with his Blood; he had likewiſe a great deal of Water in his Bladder, which I drank all out, and was much better than his Blood; but it ſoon roſe in my Stomach, and I caſt it up again. I cut off ſome of its Fleſh, and carried it to my Tent. Afterwards, being very dry, I boiled ſome Tea; but, my Stomach being weak, it required ſomewhat more nouriſhing; and this was very bitter, and I ſoon brought it up again. I boiled ſome more, and let it ſtand.

The 29th, I could not ſleep all Night, being ſo dry, and my Head grows dizzy, that I thought I ſhould have run mad. I went again and ſearched in all the Pits, but found them dry; the deepeſt of them I dug ſeven Feet deeper, but at laſt found no Moiſture.

The 30th, I prayed very earneſtly moſt Part of the Day, and then laid down in my Tent, and wiſhed that it would rain, or that I ſhould die before I roſe. In the Afternoon got out of my Tent, but was ſo weak that I could not walk. I was forced to take ſome of the Eggs of the Turtle, that I killed two Days paſt, not finding one now, and eat of them. The Fleſh ſtunk, but the Eggs did not; my Head was ſwelled, and ſo dizzy, that I knew not what I did. But I was in ſuch Agony with Thirſt, that it is impoſſible for any Body to expreſs it. I could not ſee any Turtles, ſo caught five Boobies, and drank the Blood of them.

Auguſt 1ſt, I was walking, or, more properly ſpeaking, crawling on the Sand, for I could not walk three Steps together. I ſaw a living Turtle. I was not able to carry my Bucket, but cut off his Head with my Razor, and lay all along and ſucked his Blood as it run out; and afterwards got my Hand into him, and got out the Bladder, which I carried Home with

with me, and put the Water out into my Kettle. Afterwards I took my Hatchet, and went to cut him up, to get its Eggs; and in cutting the Shell broke the Helve of it. This was ſtill an Addition to my Misfortunes, but I got out ſome of its Eggs, and carried them Home, and fried them, and afterwards drank ſome boiled Piſs mixed with Tea; which, though it was ſo very naufeous, revived me much. I made a Virtue of Neceſſity, and in my deplorable Condition thought it good.

September 1ſt, I killed another Turtle, but never was any poor Creature ſo mangled, having broke my Hatchet, and raking among his Intrails, broke the Gall; which made the Blood ſo bitter, that after, I had boiled it, I could hardly drink it, but was forced to get it down. I thought of nothing but the other World, and ſoon brought up again what I had before drank; and was ſo extreme dry, that I drank a Quart of Salt Water, but could not contain it. I was ſo very ill after it, that I expected immediate Death, and prepared myſelf in the beſt Manner I could for it; and I hope the Lord will have Mercy on my Soul. After it was dark, I ſaw a Turtle crawling towards my Tent, which I killed, and drank about two Quarts of his Blood; all the reſt that I could catch I reſerved, and then endeavoured to go to Sleep.

The 3d, all the Day was employed in fixing a Helve to my Hatchet. I was ſomewhat better than Yeſterday, and lived upon the Turtle that I killed laſt Night.

The 4th, drank the laſt of the Blood, which was well ſettled, and a little ſour. The 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, I lived upon Turtles Blood and Eggs; but my Strength decays ſo, that it will be impoſſible I ſhould live long. I reſign myſelf wholly to Providence, being hardly able to kill a Turtle. The 9th, 10th, and 11th, I am ſo much decayed, that I am a perfect Skeleton, and cannot write the Particulars, my Hand ſhakes ſo. The 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th, lived as before. I am in a declining Condition. The 18th, 19th, 20th, 21ſt, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th. *October* the 1ſt, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th, all as before.

The 7th, my Wood is all gone, ſo that I am forced to eat raw Fleſh and ſalted Fowls. I cannot live long, and I hope the Lord will have Mercy on my Soul. The 8th, drank my own Urine, and eat raw Fleſh.

The 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, all as before.

A true Narrative of the Occaſions and Cauſes of the late Lord General *Cromwell*'s Anger and Indignation againſt Lieutenant-Colonel *George Joyce* (ſometimes Cornet *Joyce*, who ſecured the King at *Holmby*) and his Proceedings againſt him to caſhier him from the Army, and impriſon and deſtroy him in his Eſtate. *Folio*, containing four Pages.

A Little after the King was brought into the Cuſtody, or Quarters of the Army, Notice was taken, that *Cromwell* lifted up his Hands in the Parliament, and called God, Angels, and Men to witneſs, That he knew nothing of *Joyce*'s Going for the King.

Thereupon, *Joyce* aſked the ſaid General *Cromwell*, What made him to ſpeak ſuch Words? And, Whether he intended to do as the King had done before him, *viz.* ſwear and lye? and bid him mark, What would be the End of ſuch Things; cautioning him to take Heed and beware of ſuch Actions: But he ſlighted thoſe Warnings; and ſoon after flattered the ſaid *Joyce* again with Tears of ſeeming Repentance.

The next Occaſion of Difference, between the ſaid *Joyce* and *Cromwell*, was, concerning the Marquis of *Argyle*'s Carriage in *Scotland*; at which

which Time, ſpeaking plainly to him, according unto his own Exhortations; putting him in Mind of former Neglects of his, he immediately fell into a violent Fit of Paſſion againſt the ſaid *Joyce*; and, laying his Hand upon his Sword, uttered many Threats againſt him, in the Preſence of Captain *John Vernon*, and one more.

Not long after this, the ſaid *Joyce*, with ſome other Officers, went with a Petition, to St. *Albans*, to General *Fairfax*, for Juſtice againſt Capital Offenders; and from thence was ſent to *Pomfret* Leaguer, with a Letter and Meſſage from our General and Army, to know whether that Brigade under *Cromwell* would join with us. And, while he was waiting for an Anſwer, *Cromwell* took an Occaſion to fall out with him, and in a railing Manner called him Raſcal, many Times, and with great Threats ſaid, That he would make him write a Vindication of him, againſt a Book, intitled, *The Grand Deſign diſcovered*. Wherein were many Things declared, concerning *Cromwell*'s Carriage towards *Joyce*, before he went to *Holmby* for the King; which afterwards he called God to witneſs, he knew nothing of.

And, had it not been for Colonel *Dean*, and others, who, through the Mercy of God, prevented him, he had in all Probability done him Miſchief at the ſame Time.

Not long after this, the Parliament was to be purged, which the ſaid *Joyce* proteſting againſt, was by the ſaid *Cromwell* threatened to be deſtroyed.

But it came to ſuch a Height at laſt, that the ſaid Parliament muſt be diſſolved forthwith; againſt which, the ſaid *Joyce* proteſted, and gave him his Reaſons for it, *viz.* *Firſt*, He feared he deſigned to be King by it. *Secondly*, That, if he diſſolved the Parliament, there would be no legal Way to raiſe Money for the Army; which would be a Means to take off the Affections of all the Parliament's Friends; deſiring therefore, it might not be diſſolved, until they had by our Means introduced a more righteous and equal Government, which, in our Declarations and Remonſtrances, they had held forth. Then was a certain ſelect Company of Men to be ſent for out of ſeveral Counties; the ſaid *Joyce* proteſted againſt that likewiſe, ſtill telling him, that he intended by them to make himſelf King. At which, he was extremely angry with him, and in a great Rage— After this,

About the Year 1650, one Mr. *Henry Philpott*, being chief Ranger of *Finckley* Park in *Hampſhire*, by a Patent from the late King; the ſaid Park, for the Delinquency of the ſaid *Philpott*, was ſequeſtered; by which Means, it came into the Hands of the Lord *Delaware*, who never accounted to the Commonwealth, for one Penny of the Profits.

Whereupon, one Mr. *Villers Philpott*, Kinſman to the former, deſired him, that inaſmuch as his Couſin was beyond the Seas, that he would get the ſaid Park into his Poſſeſſion, and he would engage, that his Kinſman, upon his Coming over, ſhould do this Commonwealth very ſignal Services, and ſuch as few, beſides himſelf, were able to perform.

To the latter he very readily hearkened, and thereupon procured Mr. *Henry Philpott* to come over; which he accordingly did, and gave ſo good an Account of Affairs Abroad, that it came not ſhort of his Kinſman's Word, nor his Expectation: But for the former he was altogether unwilling, and offered him divers Reaſons againſt it, although his Kinſman, upon his Coming over, had made him ſeveral Proffers, of aſſigning all his Intereſt in the ſaid Park unto him; which he as often refuſed.

Notwithſtanding which, he was continually importuned by both; but, nothing prevailing, they deſired him to offer it to ſome Friend of his, and alledged this, That it were indifferent to them, whoever had it, ſo [illegible] out of the Hands of him that then [illegible].

But he being as much to ſeek in this, [illegible] willing in the former; they earneſtly [illegible]ed him, in Regard of his more [illegible]dinary Knowledge (as they would perſuade him he had) of the Lord General *Cromwell*, that he would prevail with him, or one of his Sons, to take it into their Hands; which, after [illegible] Time and Perſuaſion, he brought to [illegible] That, upon the Aſſignment of Mr. *Philpott*, and the Reſignation of the Lord *Delaware*, Mr. *Richard Cromwell* deſired to take it: all which being accordingly done, he was poſſeſſed of it, and hath ever ſince enjoyed it. But, farther, there was this Agreement between Mr. *Richard Cromwell*, Mr. *Philpott*, and himſelf, That if ever the ſaid Park were expoſed to Sale, that he ſhould have the firſt Right of purchaſing it before either of them two: In order to which, he bought up all the Arrears of *Portſmouth*, *Hampton*, and the better Part of the *Iſle of Wight*,

at

at ſeven Shillings and Sixpence *per* Pound, deeming himſelf obliged in Conſcience to allow the Soldiers, who had equally ventured their Lives with himſelf, a more proportionable Rate than the common Prices of one Shilling, or one Shilling and Sixpence *per* Pound.

After this, the Parliament made an Act for the Sale of the King's Lands, of which, the Park aforeſaid being Parcel, it was amongſt others ſurveyed, and expoſed to Sale; he having Notice of it, by the Conſent of the Lord *Richard*, went to the Committee, and, informing them of the Matter at large, they ordered, that a Stop ſhould be put to the Sale of the ſaid Park, for the Preſent, and that, whenever it was to be ſold, himſelf ſhould have the Pre-emption; giving this for the Reaſon of their Order, That he had deſerved better, than ſo ſmall a Courteſy; by which Means, the Lord *Richard* enjoyed the ſaid Park between four or five Years longer, his Debentures, all that While, lying dead upon his Hands.

By this Time, the greateſt Part, if not all the King's Lands being ſold, comes in one Captain *Urland*, and pretends a Diſcovery of the ſaid Park; whereupon, the Committee forgetting, or, at leaſt, taking no Notice of the former Paſſages, order a new Survey; which being returned, and the Park upon Sale, he went to him, then called Lord *Richard* (*Cromwell*, his Father, having interrupted this Parliament) and deſired to know of him, Whether he would let the Park go ſo, or whether he had forgot our former Agreement? His Anſwer was, No, he had not forgot it, but for the Park he would not meddle with it; and therefore bade him do in it what he would: Whereupon he preſſed it to him, how convenient it lay for his Eſtate, and therefore, if he pleaſed, he would purchaſe it, and he ſhould have the Whole, or Half, at the ſame Rate it coſt him. To which he ſaid, he wanted Money. He replied, Let not that trouble you, I will purchaſe the Whole, and truſt you for one Half, till you are able to pay me; but, before we proceed farther, I will acquaint your Father; which being accordingly done, and he having ſhewn him a Particular of other Lands, that were likewiſe upon Sale, and offered him his Choice; he took me in his Arms, and told me, that himſelf, his Son, and Family were more beholden to me, than all the World beſides; and therefore bade me go on and proſper.

Upon this, he went the next Morning about it, and, there being a full Committee, he was juſt upon the Point of contracting for the ſaid Park; when on a Sudden in came the Lord *Richard*, his Father then overtopping all in Power, with three Lawyers with him, and required them to proceed no further in it, in Regard it was his own Inheritance, and no Park, as was ſuppoſed: Whereupon he informed the Committee of the whole Diſcourſe, that paſſed between the General, his Son, and himſelf the Night before; upon which, he fell upon him in foul Words, ſaying, Sirrah, Sirrah, hold your Tongue, or I ſhall make you repent the Time you were born; which the Committee perceiving, they deſired us to withdraw; and ſince that Time never durſt meddle with the Park any farther.

Hereupon, the Anger of the Father and Son waxed hot againſt the ſaid Lieutenant-Colonel *Joyce*.

Upon this, and alſo upon the ſaid Lieutenant-Colonel's Bearing Teſtimony in the publick Meetings of the Officers againſt the Army's Apoſtaſy at that Time, who were then concurring to make the ſaid Lord General Lord Protector, Endeavours were uſed to ruin him; and to that Purpoſe his Lieutenant (who had before given Information againſt the Lieutenant-Colonel, but could make nothing of it, as the Commiſſioners, who had been appointed to examine the Matters alledged, had ſignified to the General) was ſent for from *Portland*, by General *Cromwell*, and by him encouraged to proſecute his Lieutenant-Colonel again, and, contrary to the Courſe and Cuſtom of the Army, privately appointed about nine Officers, ſuch as he could then truſt in ſuch an Affair, *viz.* Colonel *Whaly*, Colonel *G.* Colonel *Gravener*, Lieutenant-Colonel *White*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Worſley*, &c. to take the Lieutenant's Information againſt him; and they (having no Power thereunto) took his Depoſition againſt the Lieutenant-Colonel, who falſly ſwore, That he ſhould hear the Lieutenant-Colonel ſay (in a Diſcourſe in *Portland*, about the Death of *Lockyer*) That he was ſorry, that *Lockyer* had not piſtolled *Cromwell*; and thereupon ſent him to Priſon without Bail, and Order was given, that he ſhould be kept cloſe Priſoner. So he was carried away with Muſqueteers to the *Meuſe*, and put into a cloſe Chamber within the common *Dutch* Priſon, where the Lice

creeped

creeped up very thick, and where he was forced to continue above ten Days: After great Importunity, he obtained a Remove to another Chamber in the *Meuſe*, where he fell ſick with the filthy Smells, and other Inconveniencies, and continued ten Weeks, but was often ſent to by *Oliver Cromwell*, to lay down his Commiſſion, which he abſolutely refuſed to do; declaring to all, how unworthily he was dealt with, and that what was ſworn againſt him was falſe, and that it would at laſt appear to the View of the whole World; and, when they ſhould underſtand what was the Deſign, they would marvel. And, when he could not be perſuaded out of his Commiſſion, Articles were drawn againſt him; and by the falſe and double Swearing, and Proſecution of his Lieutenant, ſo encouraged as aforeſaid, and the Officers privately inſtructed by their General, he was outed and caſhiered, though the Lieutenant-Colonel was, in his own Conſcience, clear of any Crime or Offence, puniſhable by any Law, or deſerving ſuch Uſage.

After this, the ſaid Lieutenant moved the General, then called Protector, for his promiſed Preferment, and his Charges, in Proſecution; but he anſwered him in theſe Words: You have not dealt, like a Chriſtian, with your Lieutenant-Colonel *Joyce*. To which the Lieutenant replied, That he had done nothing, but what he had commanded him, and perſuaded him into, upon Hopes of Preferment. Whereupon, the General thruſt him out of his Chamber, and bade him go like a Knave as he was.

This was the Caſe, but the Effects of it were more conſiderable, as to the Ruin of his Eſtate; for, before he was in Priſon, he had made large Contracts, and paid many Pounds in Part; by which Means, he was indebted greatly to private Perſons, who, as ſoon as they heard he was in Priſon, came ſo thick upon him, that, to ſatisfy them, he was forced to ſell at ſuch under Rates, or elſe relinquiſh his Bargain, that he loſt above three-thouſand Pounds in Money, and five hundred Pounds *per Annum*, in Lands; and he pays Intereſt at preſent for twelve-hundred Pounds, and he owes the Commonwealth ſixteen-hundred and odd Pounds, in Money and Bills, for the Eſtate he now lives in; which being Part of that which was the Lord *Craven*'s, no Man can deal in it, there being ſo many Clamours about it.

And now, that he hath declared to your Honours both his Caſe and Sufferings, he knows not what he ſhould add more, unleſs it be to beſeech your Honours, ſo to take them into ſerious Conſideration, that, being vindicated to the World, he may once again appear to be an honeſt Man, a true Servant of his Country; or elſe ſuffer according to his Deſerts, if he ſhall be found the contrary.

Day-Fatality:

Day-Fatality: Or, Some Obſervation of Days Lucky and Unlucky; concluding with ſome Remarks upon the Fourteenth of *October*, the auſpicious Birth-day of his Royal Highneſs *James* Duke of *York*.

Atavis qui Regibus editus,
Auguſtiſſimo CAROLO *proximus.*
NUM. XXVII. 8, 9.

In hoc Die tuo. In this thy Day. LUC. XIX. 42.

Printed in 1679. *Folio*, containing eight Pages.

THAT there be Good and Evil Days and Times, not only the Sacred Scriptures, but profane Authors mention: See 1 *Sam.* xxv. 8. *Eſther* viii. 17. and ix. 19, 22. *Eccluſ.* xiv. 14.

The Fourteenth Day of the Firſt Month was a memorable and bleſſed Day amongſt the Children of *Iſrael*: See *Exod.* xii. 18, 40, 41, 42, 51. and xiii. 4. *Levit.* xxiii. 5. *Numb.* xxviii. 16. Four-hundred and thirty Years being expired of their dwelling in *Egypt*, even in the ſelf-ſame Day departed they thence.

A Thing ſomewhat parallel to this we read in the *Roman* Hiſtories: That, that very Day four Years that the Civil Wars were begun by *Pompey* the Father, *Cæſar* made an End of them with his Sons; *Cneus Pompeius* being then ſlain, and it being alſo the laſt Battle *Cæſar* was ever in. [*Heylin* in the Kingdom of *Corduba*.] The Calendar to *Ovid*'s *Faſtorum* ſays, *Aprilis erat menſis Græcis auſpicatiſſimus*, a moſt auſpicious Month to the *Græcians*.

As to Evil Days and Times, ſee *Amos* v. 13. and vi. 3. *Eccleſ.* ix. 12. *Pſalm* xxxvii. 19. *Obad.* 12. *Jer.* xlvi. 21. And *Job* hints it, in curſing his Birth-day, *Chap.* iii. *ver.* 1. to 11. See *Weaver*, *p.* 458. the old Rhymes deriding the *Scots*.

Ery in a Morneuing,
In an *Evil Tyming*,
Went they from *Dunbarre*.

Horace, *Lib.* II. *Ode* 13, curſing the Tree that had like to have fallen upon him, ſays, *Ille nefaſto te poſuit die*; intimating, that it was planted in an unlucky Day.

The *Romans* counted *February* the Thirteenth an unlucky Day, and therefore then never attempted any Buſineſs of Importance; for on that Day they were overthrown at *Allia* by the *Gauls*; and the *Fabii*, attacking the City of the *Veii*, were all ſlain ſave one. [*Heylin* ſpeaking of St. *Peter*'s Patrimony.] And ſee the Calendar annexed to *Ovid*'s *Faſtorum*, as to the laſt Circumſtance.

The *Jews* counted *Auguſt* the Tenth an unfortunate Day; for on that the Temple was deſtroyed by *Titus*, the Son of *Veſpaſian*; on which Day alſo the firſt Temple was conſumed with Fire by *Nebuchannezzar*. [*Heylin.*] The Treaſury of the Times ſays, the Eighth of *Loyon* (*Auguſt*) the very ſame Day ſix hundred ſeventy-nine Years one after another.

And not only among the *Romans* and *Jews*, but alſo among *Chriſtians*, a like Cuſtom of obſerving ſuch Days is uſed, eſpecially *Childermas* or *Innocents* Day. *Comines* tells tells us, That *Lewis the Eleventh* uſed not to debate any

any Matter, but accounted it a Sign of great Misfortune towards him, if any Man communed with him of his Affairs; and would be very angry with thoſe about him, if they troubled him in any Matter whatſoever upon this Day.

But I will deſcend to more particular Inſtances of lucky and unlucky Days.

Upon the Sixth of *April*, *Alexander the Great* was born: Upon the ſame Day he conquered *Darius*, won a great Victory at Sea, and died the ſame Day.

Neither was this Day leſs fortunate to his Father *Philip*; for on the ſame he took *Potidea*; *Parmenio*, his General, gave a great Overthrow to the *Illyrians*; and his Horſe was Victor at the *Olympick Games*. Therefore his Prophets foretold to him, *Filium cujus natalis*, &c. That a Son, whoſe Birth-day was accompanied with three Victories, ſhould prove invincible. *Pezelius* in *Mellifcio Hiſtorico*.

Upon the Thirtieth of *September*, *Pompey the Great* was born: Upon that Day he triumphed for his *Aſian* Conqueſt; and on that Day died.

The Nineteenth of *Auguſt* was the Day of *Auguſtus*'s Adoption: On the ſame Day he began his Conſulſhip: He conquered the *Triumviri*; and on the ſame Day he died. Hitherto out of the Memoirs of King *Charles the Firſt*'s Heroes.

If *Solomon* count the Day of one's Death better than the Day of one's Birth, there can be no Objection why that alſo may not be numbered amongſt one's remarkable and happy Days. And therefore I will inſert here, That the Eleventh of *February* was the noted Day of *Eliſabeth*, Wife to *Henry the Seventh*, who was born and died that Day. *Weaver*, p. 476. *Brook* in *Henry the Seventh*'s *Marriage*. *Stowe* in *Anno* 1466. 1503.

As alſo that the Twenty-third of *November* was the obſervable Day of *Francis* Duke of *Lunenburgh*, who was born on that Day, and died upon the ſame, 1549; as ſays the *French* Author of the *Journal Hiſtory*, who adds, upon particular Remark, and obſervable Curioſity:

Ipſa dies vitam contulit, ipſa necem.

The ſame Day Life did give,
And made him ceaſe to live.

Sir *Kenelm Digby*, that renownd Knight, great Linguiſt, and Magazine of Arts, was born and died on the Eleventh of *June*; and alſo fought fortunately at *Scanderoon* the ſame Day. Hear his Epitaph, compoſed by Mr. *Farrar*, and recited in the aforeſaid *Memoirs*:

Under this Stone the matchleſs *Digby* lies,
Digby the Great, the Valiant, and the Wiſe:
This Age's Wonder, for his noble Parts,
Skill'd in ſix Tongues, and learn'd in all the Arts.
Born on the Day he dy'd, th' Eleventh of *June*,
On which he bravely fought at *Scanderoon*:
'Tis rare, that one and ſelf-ſame Day ſhould be
His Day of Birth, of Death, of Victory.

I had a Maternal Uncle, that died the Third of *March* laſt, 1678, which was the Anniverſary of his Birth; and, which is a Truth exceeding ſtrange, many Years ago he foretold the Day of his Death to be that of his Birth; and he alſo averred the ſame but about a Week before his Departure. This Third of *March* is the Day of St. *Eutropius* (of which hereafter) and, as to my Uncle, it was ſignificative; it turned well to him, according to that of *Rev.* xiv. 13. *Bleſſed are the Dead*, &c. and that of *Ovid*, *Metam. Lib.* III.

——— *Dicique beatus*
Ante obitum nemo ſupremaque funera d

——— None happy call
Before their Death and final Funera

The Sixth of *January* was five Times auſpicious to *Charles* Duke of *Anjou*. Ibi[illegible] the *Life of the Earl of* Sunderland.

The Twenty-fourth of *February* w[illegible] to *Charles the Fifth* four Times. *Ibi[illegible]lin*, ſpeaking of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, hints three of theſe four: His Birth; his Taking of *Francis* King of *France* Priſoner; his Receiving the Imperial Crown at *Bononia*. And ſo doth alſo the *Journal Hiſtory* beforementioned.

Of the Family of the *Trevors* ſix ſucceſſive principal Branches have been born the Sixth of *July*. Same *Memoirs*.

Sir *Humphrey Davenport* was born the Seventh of *July*; and, on that Day's Anniverſary,

ſary, his Father and Mother died, within a Quarter of an Hour one of another. Same *Memoirs.*

I have ſeen an old *Romiſh MS.* Prayer-book (and ſhewed the ſame to that general Scholar and great Aſtrologer, *E. Aſhmole*, Eſq;) at the Beginning whereof was a Calendar, wherein were inſerted the unlucky Days of each Month, ſet out in Verſe. I will recite them juſt as they are, ſometimes infringing the Rule of *Grammar*, ſometimes of *Proſodia*; a Matter, of which the old Monkiſh Rhymers were no ways ſcrupulous: It was as ancient as *Henry the Sixth*'s, or *Edward the Fourth*'s Time:

January.

Prima dies menſis, & ſeptima, truncat ut enſis.

February.

Quarta ſubit mortem, proſternit tertia fortem.

March.

Primus mandentem, diſrumpit quarta bibentem.

April.

Denus & undenus eſt mortis vulnere plenus.

May.

Tertius occidit, & ſeptimus ora * relidit.

June.

Denus palleſcit, quindenus fœdera neſcit.

July.

Ter-decimus mactat, Julii denus labefactat.

Auguſt.

Prima necat ſortem, proſternit ſecunda cohortem.

September.

Tertia Septembris, & denus, ſert mala membris.

October.

Tertius & denus eſt ſicut mors alienus.

November.

Scorpius eſt quintus, & tertius e nece cinctus.

December.

Septimus exanguis, viroſus denus & anguis.

The tenth Verſe is intolerable, and might be mended thus:

Tertia cum dena ſit ſicut mors aliena.

If any object, and ſay, *Deni* is only the Plural, I excuſe myſelf by that admirable Chronogram upon King *Charles the Martyr*:

Ter deno, Jani, Lunæ, Rex (Sole cadente)
Carolus exutus ſolio, ſceptroque ſecure.

Neither will I have Recourſe for Refuge to that old Tetraſtich,

Intrat Avaloniam duodena Caterva virorum,
Flos Arimathiæ Joſeph, &c.

becauſe I have even now blamed the Liberty of the ancient Rhymers.

He means, by *Mors aliena*, ſome ſtrange Kind of Death; though *aliena* ſignifies *ſtrange*, in quite another Senſe than there uſed.

I ſhall take particular Notice here of the Third of *November*, both becauſe it is my own Birth-day, and alſo for that I have obſerved ſome remarkable Accidents to have happened thereupon.

Conſtantius the Emperor, Son of *Conſtantine the Great*, little inferior to his Father, a worthy Warrior, and good Man, died the Third of *November*, *ex veteri Calendario penes me.*

Thomas Mountacute, Earl of *Saliſbury*, that great Man, and famous Commander *ſub Hen.* IV. V. & VI. died this Day, by a Wound of Cannon-ſhot he received at the Siege of *Orleans*. *E MS. quodam & Glovero.*

So alſo Cardinal *Borrhomeo*, famous for his Sanctity of Life, and therefore canoniſed (*Heylin*, in his *Præcognita*, ſays, *He made* Milan *memorable, by his Reſidence there*) died this Day, 1584, as *Poſſevinus*, in his *Life*.

Sir *John Perrot* (*Stowe* corruptly calls him *Parrat*) a Man very remarkable in his Time, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, Son to *Henry the Eighth*, and extremely like him, died in the *Tower*, the Third of *November*, 1592; as *Stowe* ſays, Grief, and the Fatality of this Day, killed him. See *Nanton*'s *Fragmenta Regalia*, concerning this Man.

Stowe, in his *Annals*, ſays: *Anno* 1099, *Novemb.* 3. as well in *Scotland* as *England*, the Sea broke in, over the Banks of many Rivers, drowning divers Towns, and much People, with an innumerable Number of Oxen and Sheep; at which Time, the Lands in *Kent*, ſome Time belonging to Earl *Goodwin*, were covered with Sands, and drowned, and, to this Day, are called *Goodwin*'s *Sands*.

I had an Eſtate left me in *Kent*, of which between thirty and forty Acres were Marſh-land, very conveniently flanking its Upland; and, in thoſe Days, this Marſh-land was uſually let for four Nobles an Acre. My Father died in 1643: Within a Year and Half after his Deceaſe, ſuch Charges and Water-ſcots came upon this Marſh-land, by the Influence

* Ex *re* & *lædo*.

of the Sea, that it was never worth one Farthing to me, but very often eat into the Rents of the Upland; so that I often think, this Day, being my Birth-day, hath the same evil Influence upon me, that it had five-hundred and eighty Years since upon Earl *Goodwin*, and others concerned in low Lands.

The Parliament, so fatal to *Rome*'s Concerns here, in *Henry the Eighth*'s Time, begun the Third of *November*, in the twenty-sixth Year of his Reign; in which the Pope, with all his Authority, was clean banished the Realm, he no more to be called otherwise than *Bishop of Rome*; the King to be taken and reputed as supreme Head of the Church of *England*, having full Authority to reform all Errors, Heresies, and Abuses of the same: Also the First-fruits and Tenths of all Spiritual Promotions and Dignities were granted to the King. See *Stowe*'s *Annals*, and *Weaver*, *pag.* 80.

Not long after which, followed the Visitation of Abbies, Priories, and Nunneries; and, after that, their final Suppression, this Parliament being the Door of Entrance thereto.

The Third of *November*, 1640, began that Parliament, so direfully fatal to *England* in its Peace, its Wealth, its Religion, its Gentry, Nobility, nay, its King, so verifying the former Verse of the Calendar:

Scorpius est quintus, & tertius e nece cinctus.

A killing Day to some or other.

The Third of *September* was a remarkable Day to the *English Attila*, *Oliver*; in 1650, he obtained a memorable Victory at *Dunbar*; another at *Worcester*, 1651; and on that Day he died, 1658.

The first two Occurrences wonderfully accord to the preceding Verse,

Tertia Septembris, & denus, fert mala membris.

being fatal to the two Members of *Great-Britain*, *Scotland* and *England*. The Third was as happy to them both, as the same Day, 1666, was dismal and unhappy to the City of *London*, and consequently to the whole Kingdom, with its immediately preceding and two succeeding Days, *viz.* the Second, Fourth, and Fifth of *September*.

I come now to Days of the Week.

Tuesday (Dies Martis) was a most remarkable Day with *Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as *Weaver*, 201, observes from *Matthew Paris*: *Mars, secundum Poetas, Deus Belli nuncupatur. Vita Sancti Thomæ (secundum illud Job, 'Vita hominis militia est super terram') tota fuit contra hostem bellicosa, &c. Mars*, according to the Poets, is called *The God of War*. The Life of St. *Thomas* (according to that of *Job*, *The Life of Man is a Warfare upon Earth*) was a continual Conflict against the Enemy. Upon the *Tuesday* he suffered; upon *Tuesday* he was translated; upon *Tuesday* the Peers of the Land sat against him at *Northampton*; upon *Tuesday* he was banished; upon *Tuesday* the Lord appeared to him, at *Pontiniac*, saying, *Thomas, Thomas, my Church shall be glorified in thy Blood*; upon *Tuesday* he returned from Exile; upon *Tuesday* he got the Palm or Reward of Martyrdom; and upon *Tuesday*, 1220, his venerable Body received the Glory and Renown of Translation, fifty Years after his Passion. Thus my Authors.

'One Thing I make bold to gloss upon: 'His Translation is here mentioned twice. '*Note*, This is no Tautology of the Historian; but the latter Paragraph is a 'more particular Recitation of the first, '*viz.* in Reference to the Time when he 'was translated into the Number of Saints 'and Martyrs: *Quando in Divorum numerum relatus*,' as *Camden* phrases it.

Wednesday is said to have been the fortunate Day of *Sixtus Quintus*, that Pope of renowned Merit, that did so great and excellent Things in the Time of his Government. [See *The just Weight of the scarlet Robe*, *pag.* 101, his deserved Praises.] On a *Wednesday* he was born; on that Day he was made Monk; on the same he was made General of his Order; on that also was he successively created Cardinal, [illegible]ed Pope, and also inaugurated. See *Heylin*, speaking of the Temple of *Jerusalem*.

Friday was observed to be very fortunate to the great and renowed Captain *Gonsalvo*, he having on that Day given the *French* many memorable Defeats.

Saturday was a lucky Day to *Henry the Seventh*. Upon that Day he atchieved the Victory upon *Richard the Third*, being *August* 22, 1485. On that Day he entered the City, being *August* 29. [Correct *Stowe*, who mistakes the

the Day.] And he himſelf always acknowledged, he had experienced it fortunate. See *Bacon*, in his Life.

Thurſday was a fatal Day to *Henry the Eighth*, as *Stowe*, 812, and ſo alſo to his Poſterity. He died on *Thurſday*, *January* 28. King *Edward the Sixth*, on *Thurſday*, *July* 6. Queen *Mary*, on *Thurſday*, *November* 17. Queen *Eliſabeth*, on *Thurſday*, *March*, 24.

Saturday, or the *Jewiſh* Sabbath, was fatal to *Jeruſalem* Temple; for on that Day it was taken by *Pompey*, *Herod*, and *Titus*, ſucceſſively. *Heylin.*

Hitherto by Way of Prologue. And be pleaſed to take Notice, as to the Days of the Month, I have taken ſuch Care, that all are according to the *Julian*, or old Account, uſed by us here in *England*. See *Partridges's Almanack*, *Preface to the Reader*. Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth* brought in his *New Stile*, uſed generally beyond Sea, *Anno* 1585, in *October*, as aſſerts the Journal Hiſtory, before-recited.

Now for Epilogue, and remarkable Reflexions.

Turning over our Annals, I chanced upon a two-fold Circumſtance: I will not ſay, that none elſe hath obſerved the ſame; but I proteſt, *Ita me Deus amet, ut verum loquor*, I do not know of any that have; and therefore muſt juſtly claim to be acquitted from the leaſt Suſpicion of Plagiariſm, or Plowing with others Heifers.

The *firſt* is, of *William the Conqueror*. The *ſecond*, of *Edward the Third*. (I need not ſay any Thing of the Eminency of theſe two; every one knows what great Things they did.) And making Reflexion upon the auſpicious Birth-day of his Royal Highneſs, the Duke of *York*, I adventured upon the following Compoſure. I cannot be proud of my Poetry; but I cannot but be glad of my *Bonheur, d' avoir, en liſant, tombe ſi fortuitement ſur les Evenements d' un ſi bon jour.*

Ad Illuſtriſſimum & Celſiſſimum Principem, Jacobum Ducem Eboracenſem, de Natali ſuo auſpicatiſſimo, Octobris 14. *Anno* MDCXXXIII.

——— *Deus*
Anne nefaſto te poſuit die?
Hor. Lib. ii. Od. 13.

——— The Fates have they,
Thy Birth deſign'd on an unlucky Day?

OCtobris Decimo quarto Normannus Haroldum
Dux ſuperavit, & hinc Regia Sceptra tulit.
Tertius Edwardus, capto pernice Caleto,
(Gallica quo Regna ſunt reſerata ſibi)
Ire domum tentans, diris turbonibus actus
In pelago, vitæ magna pericla ſubît:
Octobris Decimo quarto, tamen appulit oras
Nativas. (His quam proſperus ille dies?)
Natali lætare tuo, quam maxime Princeps;
Fauſta velut ſunt hæc, omina ſemper habe.

'*October's* Fourteenth gave the *Norman* Duke
'That Vict'ry, whence he *England's* Scepter took.
'Third *Edward*, after he had *Calais* won,
'(The Mean whereby he *France* did overrun)
'Returning Home, by raging Tempeſts toſt,
'(And near his Life, ſo Fortunes, to have loſt)
'Arrived ſafe on Shore, the ſelf-ſame Date.
'(This Day to them afforded ſo fair Fate.)
'Great Duke, rejoice in this your Day of Birth;
'And may ſuch Omens ſtill increaſe your Mirth.

Theſe Verſes I preſented, in *Anno* 1677, to a moſt honourable Peer of the Land, and of great Place near his Royal Highneſs.

Since which Time, old *Fabian* coming into my Hands, from him I got Knowledge, that that advantageous Peace, mentioned by *Stowe*, *Anno* 1360. (concluded between the forementioned King *Edward the Third* and the *French* King) was acted upon the Fourteenth of *October*, with grand Solemnity.

The

The two former Circumſtances muſt needs fall out Providentially: Whether this laſt, of *Anno* 1360, was deſigned by *Edward the Third*, or no, as remembering his good Hap, may be ſome Queſtion: I am of Opinion, not. Where Things are under a Man's peculiar Concern, he may fix a Time; but here was the *French* King concerned, equally with the *Engliſh*, and many other great Perſonages intereſted: To have tied them up to his own auſpicious Conceit of the Day, had been an unkind Oppreſſion, and would have brought the Judgment of ſo wiſe a Prince into Queſtion: We may conclude then, it was merely fortuitous. And therefore to the former Obſervation, concerning this famous *Edward*, give me Leave to add,

Inſuper hoc ipſoq; die, ſibi commoda, grandis
Rex cum Galligenis, fœdera fecit idem.

'An advantageous Peace, on Day ſelf-ſame,
'This mighty Prince did with the *French-men* frame.

A memorable Peace, foretold by *Noſtredamus*, much conducing to the Saving of Chriſtian Blood, was made upon the Fourteenth of *October*, 1557, between Pope *Paul the Fourth*, *Henry the Second* of *France*, and *Philip the Second* of *Spain*. *Noſtredamus* ſays, Theſe great Princes were, *frappez du Ciel*, moved from Heaven, to make this Peace. See *Garencieres*'s *Comment on Noſtredamus*, Pag. 76.

A lucky Day this, not only to the Princes of *England*, but auſpicious to the Welfare of *Europe*.

Upon the Third of *March* laſt, being the the Day of St. *Eutropius*, his Royal Highneſs withdrew towards the *Low-Countries*: *Procopius* tells us, *Humana ſæpe contingit a Deo mutari*. *Terence* ſays, *Viciſſitudo omnium rerum eſt*. Which two Sayings I can no Way better *Engliſh*, than by that of *Eccleſ.* ix. 11. Time and Chance happen to all Men: Nor no Way better ſecond, than with that of 1 *Cor.* iv. 11. *Incertis vagamur ſedibus*. This Accident therefore, our Life being but a Pilgrimage, as *Jacob* termed it to *Pharoah*, is nothing to a General Providence in the Main. Therefore from the Augury of his Fourteenth of *October*, and from the good Omen comprehended in the Signification of *Eutropius*, which *hints*, that all this ſhall end well, and turn to the beſt; and from *Eccluſ.* xiv. 14, 15. I accoſt his Royal Highneſs with a *Non defraudabitur a die bono*. He ſhall not loſe his Good-day.

Dixerunt Ibis, pariter dixere Redibis;
Te non infauſto Dii poſuere die.

'The Gods thy Exit have ordain'd, and alſo they
'Thy bleſs'd Return have firm'd, by a lucky Day.

I juſt now ſaid, That the Third of *March* was dedicated to *Eutropius*, which is derived from εὖ *well*, and τρέπω *to turn*: It is alſo dedicated to St. *Maximus*, St. *Marinus*, St. *Lucius*; which three alſo have notable Hints in Relation to his Royal Highneſs.

Firſt, No Man can deny, but that he is *Maximus Princeps*.

Secondly, He is *Maximus Marinus*; for in the Time of his Exile, he was Admiral of *Arragon*, as I have been told many Years ſince in *Flanders*; and I am ſure very many Commiſſions, in thoſe Days, paſt under his Name: And till 1673, he was Lord High Admiral of *England*.

Lucius comes from *Luci*, which ſignifies *in the Morning*; and betokens a Child born in the Morning, or at Sun-riſing, which ſome affirm to be a good Time for Birth: But I will, for my preſent Purpoſe, deduce it *a Luceo*; and I muſt affirm, *Quod hic maximus Princeps geſtis marinis maxime lucet, & alias lucebit*; This moſt great Prince is extremely illuſtrious in Sea Negotiations, and ſhall yet be otherwiſe moſt illuſtrious.

That his Highneſs has long ſince verified the firſt Paragraph of my Aſſertion, take it not only on my Credit; but, beſides what has been ſaid before, hear Part of an Ode to his ſacred Majeſty, on his Highneſs's Victory over the *Dutch*, *June* 3, 1665, compoſed by Sir *T. H.* a moſt worthy Perſon, whom his Foreign Negotiations have made enough known:

This Day your Empire Fate ſecures,
And now one Half of the wide World is yours.

The

The *Auſtrian* Youth, who won the Day,
When the pale Creſcent to the Croſs gave Way,
Muſt to your glorious Brother yield,
Who with leſs Loſs hath got a greater Field, *&c.*

The *Germans*, High and Low, amongſt which laſt, his Highneſs now reſides, call *October*, *Wyn-maendt*, *Menſis Vindemialis*, the Wine Month.

The Effects of Wine we read, *Judg.* ix. 13. *Pſal.* civ. 15. *Eccleſ.* x. 19. *Zach.* x. 7. Why then may we not term this Month, *Menſis Lætificans?* That it may be ſo to his Royal Highneſs, as well as it was to the moſt great Queen his Mother, are the hearty Prayers of *Blue-mantle*.

——— Hæc olim meminiſſe juvabit :
Unanimes omnes, cum te, dux Celſe, reducto,
Certatim inſtaurent epulas, atq; omine magno
Crateres læti ſtatuant & vina coronent.
Virgil.

Remembrance of theſe Things delight ſhall thee,
When, Home return'd, great Feaſtings thou ſhalt ſee,
And Healthings round ſhall ſtir up gladſome Glee,
And this Rejoicing general ſhall be.

I have by me a Book, printed *Anno* 1641, containing the true Effigies of King *Charles the Firſt*, of bleſſed Memory, his Queen, with their Royal Progeny, with Verſes annexed, wherein are notable Predictions of his Royal Highneſs, which I will here recite :

This Prince, much like another Sun, darts forth
Moſt glorious Beams to 's Dukedom, and the North ;
And makes us ſee with Eyes of Expectation,
He'll be a mighty Pillar to this Nation,
A Stay of State, a ſtrong ſupporting Prop,
Whoſe Fame will ſcale the Heighth of Honour's Top.
He hates dull Idleneſs, and loves to be
In Action, ſuch as fits his high Degree :
He will be ſtirring in ſuch Exerciſe,
As well becomes his Years and Qualities.
Surely th' eternal Eye of Providence
Doth watch, direct, and guide this hopeful Prince,
For ſome Deſigns may be for Heaven's Glory,
And fill th' Earth, with *James*'s noble Story.
This all true *Britons* do expect in Love ;
No doubt, our Wiſhes, are confirm'd above.

Thus that Book : And I add,

Quis meliora petat, conſultus quod Tripos edat ?

‘ Who better Things than theſe can wiſh
‘ From the Oracles Breath of Bliſs ?

1678. Martis Menſe data hæc, timidi committere prælo
Non impreſſores audebant, tempore duro.

J. Gibbon.

An

An Eſſay towards Carrying on the preſent War againſt *France*, and other publick Occaſions. As alſo, for Paying off all Debts contracted in the ſame, or otherwiſe. And new Coining of all our Monies, without Charge, to the great Increaſe of the Honour, Strength, and Wealth of the Nation. Humbly propoſed for the Parliament's Conſideration, and ſubmitted to their great Wiſdom, and Love to their Country, *&c.* *Octavo*, containing thirty-two Pages. To which is added an Appendix, *MS.*

Sect. I.

ABOUT three Years ſince, I humbly propoſed, among other Things, the new Coining of all our Monies, and gave theſe Reaſons for it, *viz.*

1. They were generally ſo bad, as to be refuſed Abroad; and ſo were unſerviceable in other Countries.

2. The Suffering them to paſs gave Advantage to the further Clipping them, as is manifeſt in our ſad Experience, for they are now much worſe; and ſo unſerviceable at Home.

3. It was reproachful to us, that it ſhould be ſuffered to paſs; and, therefore, worthy Conſideration and Inquiry into the Cauſes of it.

4. It was no otherwiſe to be prevented or reformed, than by new Coining all; and then Prohibiting the Paſſing of any clipped Money from and after a certain Day to be limited, under the Penalty of Seizure and Sequeſtration, in whoſe Hands ſoever the ſame ſhould afterwards be found.

Sect. II.

Since which, and, as the natural Conſequence thereof, the Value of our Gold Coin hath been inhanſed to about Half as much more as the ſame was coined at; the Inconveniences and Damages whereof to the Nation and Trade thereof are, and will be, at leaſt, as great as the Clipping of the Silver, and, if not timely prevented, will utterly ruin us in our Trade; and, the longer this is ſuffered, the firmer will the Diſadvantages be fixed, till the Root of all our Commerce becomes Worm-eaten and cankered, and we loſe the ſweet Fruit thereof for ever.

Sect. III.

In ſhort, the whole Nation is almoſt deſtitute of Monies, not only for the Carrying on the War, in, or by any ordinary Courſe of Procedure, but for our Home Markets; and taken off from Trade Abroad, as by Means hereof, ſo, partly by their Loſſes at Sea, partly by the more advantageous Proceeds of lending or laying out their Monies on the Lotteries, and other Ways and Means found out, and pitched upon, by the late Parliament, for Carrying on the War: And, Lastly, By the high Exchange of Monies Abroad for our Commodities imported hither, and Paying our Debts there, who muſt, otherwiſe, have [illegible] our Monies ſent hence to our further [illegible]ing.

Is there any Remedy? Viz.

Q. Firſt, How ſhall the Silver be new coined, ſo as to become a due Meaſure and Standard for Traffick?

Q. Secondly, How ſhall our Gold be reduced to its coined Value?

Q. Thirdly,

Q. Thirdly, How ſhall the War be carried on thereby?

Q. Fourthly, How ſhall the Trade be recovered, ſo as to preſerve our Coins, and augment Bullion?

To the *Firſt*, *viz.* How ſhall the Silver be new coined? *&c.*

Sect. IV.

I humbly propoſed, that all the clipped Monies might be called in by a certain Day to be limited; that the Value in Weight might be delivered out again new-coined; and that the Damage accruing, as well to the publick as the private Perſons concerned, by the new Coinage thereof, might be made good to both, by iſſuing ſo many Bills of Credit, made current by Act of Parliament, as would countervail the ſame, ſo as there ſhould be no Leſſening of the Nation's Stock, and would coſt Nothing: And, to facilitate this, that all unneceſſary Silver Plate (eſpecially in Taverns, Inns, Ale-houſes, and Victualling-houſes) might be prohibited, called in, coined, and delivered out immediately to ſuch as ſhould bring in the ſame at five Shillings and Three-pence *per* Ounce, deducting the Coinage.

To the Second, *viz.* How ſhall the Gold be reduced to its coined Value?

Sect. V.

I humbly propoſe, that all coined Gold may be likewiſe called in by a certain Day, and each Piece punched, and delivered back again to the Owner, thenceforth to paſs but at twenty Shillings each Guinea, *&c.* and that like Bills of Credit may be alſo delivered to the Parties concerned for ten Shillings more upon each Guinea; and ſo proportionably for other Pieces of Gold, *&c.* And thus both Silver and Gold become reduced to their coined Values, without Prejudice, Loſs, or Damage, either to the Parties concerned, or to the Publick Stock of the Nation: Nobody is injured, but all greatly obliged in Thankfulneſs and Loyalty to the King for Recommending the Care thereof, and to the Parliament for their Enacting the ſame: For thus our Home-markets and Manufactures will be ſupplied and carried on, in Future, to general Satisfaction. And, for Preventing as much as may be this additional Charge upon Guineas, I humbly propoſe Care may be taken, that, from henceforth, no Guineas may be coined till this Work be over; and, afterwards, only ſuch as ſhall be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe already coined, by ſome ſpecial Mark in the Stamp thereof, to be paſſed at twenty Shillings, and no more: Which is, alſo, the Reaſon of Propounding that all Guineas already coined may be punched, *viz.* that they may not be twice allowed for.

To the Third, *viz.* How ſhall the War be carried on thereby?

Sect. VI.

I formerly propoſed, 1. That whatſoever Taxes or Aſſeſſments ſhould be thought fit and neceſſary to be raiſed or levied for Carrying on the preſent War, and other publick Charges of the Nation, whether by or upon Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, Poll-monies, or Perſonal Eſtates, might be paid by the Parties ſo aſſeſſed, quarterly, as had been done before, in ready Monies, or Silver Plate, at five Shillings and Three-pence *per* Ounce. This I argued to be neceſſary upon ſeveral Accounts: 1. To aſſiſt and facilitate the Coinage propoſed. And, 2. For Pay of our Forces Abroad; tho', poſſibly, not needful to be all ſent over in Specie, but partly remitted by Bills of Exchange charged by Merchants, *&c.* and partly ſupplied by the Products, Manufactures, and Proviſions that may be ſent from *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* (by which I mean, not only of ſuch Things as are needful for the Soldiers, or them only, but of others to be tranſported to our confederate Countries, at merchantable Rates, inſtead of Monies; out of the Proceed whereof, the Soldiers may be paid in the reſpective Monies or Coins of ſuch Countries) which would be a Means to keep much of our Monies amongſt us, and afford Employment to our own Manufacturers at Home in this dead Time of Trade, and keep them in Peace.

Sect. VII.

2. I alſo propoſed, that every Perſon ſo aſſeſſed, who ſhould voluntarily advance and pay in one full Year's Tax at one intire Payment, to the Pariſh, or County-Collector, or Receiver, within one Month after Demand made of the firſt quarterly Payment, might, in Lieu thereof, have like Bill or Bills of Credit de-

livered him, for the Re-imburſement of his ſaid full Sum paid, and ſo be out Nothing. And,

Sect. VIII.

That, in Caſe the Party taxed ſhould not comply therewith, if any other Perſon ſhould, within one Month after that, pay in the ſaid whole Year's Tax, and ſhould declare his Willingneſs to accept his Repayment thereof quarterly from ſuch taxed Party's Self, or from the ſaid Collector or Receiver, when it ſhall grow due, or be received, he might, in like Manner, receive alſo Half the Value thereof in like Bills of Credit for his Encouragement ſo to do.

Sect. IX.

3. That the like Method, Rules, and Advantages might be allowed, in Caſe the Parliament ſhall annually repeat and paſs Acts for that Purpoſe, during the Continuance of the War, and for Carrying on thereof, and not otherwiſe.

Sect. X.

4. That, in Caſe the Sums appointed to be aſſeſſed, taxed, and levied, *&c.* ſhall not amount to the reſpective Values or Sums, at which, they ſhall be declared by the Parliament to be computed or eſtimated (as for Example, if four Shillings *per* Pound, or whatever other Proportion, chargeable on Lands, ſhall be ſo computed and granted to his Majeſty, for two Millions, which, were it duly taxed, no Doubt, it would raiſe; and, upon the Taxing and Levying thereof, it ſhall appear to amount to no more than one Million and a Half, *&c.*) whoſoever ſhall voluntarily advance and pay any Sum or Sums of Money or Plate, as aforeſaid, towards the Making up the ſame, might, for every hundred Pounds Sterling ſo paid by him, receive, and have like Bills of Credit, delivered him to the Value of a hundred and twenty Pounds; and ſo proportionably, for any leſſer or greater Sum, that ſhall be ſo paid in and received on that Account. On which Terms, no Doubt, but ſuch Sums, as the Parliament ſhall think fit to raiſe, for Carrying on the War from Year to Year, may, and will be raiſed in Money, for that Service; as long as there ſhall be ſo much Money in Trade, or hoarded up in the Nation, to be had: Which is our preſent Conſideration and Care. And, further than that, is to be over fore-ſighted in the preſent Criſis. And,

If any object, This will reflect on and lower the Reputation of our Nation Abroad; as if we were reduced to ſo ſinking a Condition, as not to have Money ſufficient to carry on the War: And thence, that we cannot hold out, to the Length of the *French* King, *&c.*

Sect. XI.

I anſwer, *Firſt*, Such, as ſo think, will but deceive themſelves; and, if they be our Enemies, be neceſſitated to take new Meaſures, for (which they might have obſerved before) the King will certainly be ſupplied by this Means, with ready Monies, as much as he ſhall need, each Year, and that, in the Beginning thereof, and by no other Way whatſoever, for Carrying on the War. For theſe Advantages will bring out all the hoarded beſt Money, which any have culled and laid by againſt a more cloudy Day: If Means be uſed for promoting Trade, as is herein-after propoſed; otherwiſe, it will be in vain to conceal our Poverty. All the World will ſee it, whatever Taxes ſhall be laid on the Nation, cannot otherwiſe be paid: So that, if our Dependence ſhould be thereon, they muſt and will fail, for Want of a Money-ſtock to pay them: But,

Sect. XII.

Secondly, It is well known, that all Nations and Perſons improve their Credit, ſome Banks of Credit, as well as Monies, for Carrying on their reſpective Trades, and Occaſions, both at Home and Abroad, without the leaſt Reflexion of Diſhonour; and they grow rich thereby (to which many of our wealthieſt Men in this City and Kingdom muſt ſubſcribe, who began with little of their own) and much more may theſe Nations. For,

Sect. XIII.

Thirdly, His Majeſty and Parliament, deſigning vaſt Improvements, both of Wealth and Power, for theſe Nations, by their own Products and Manufactures, which may be as well done by Bills amongſt ourſelves, as by ready Monies, beyond whatever was in Proſpect, Attempt,

tempt, or Attainment heretofore, by us, or any Nation under Heaven, by all their or our ready Monies; by this Medium of Bills of Credit, added to our Money-Stock, for the Inlargement and Increaſe thereof, to what Proportion they pleaſe, will be able to carry on the ſame, *pari paſſu*, with this expenſive War: And thereby become more formidable to our Enemies. And, the rather,

Sect. XIV.

For that no other Nation will be able to keep Pace with, or go to the Length of theſe Kingdoms, nor to imitate us conſiderably, in theſe Undertakings; by Reaſon of our Products and Manufactures, to ſo great Exceſs of theirs, *&c.* which muſt of Neceſſity bring in great Plenty of Gold and Silver. Nor will they be able to hinder our free Trading, during the Laſting and Continuance of this War, if we be not wanting to ourſelves: And, conſequently, in an ordinary Courſe of Providence, we ſhall find our Enemies diſpoſed, or neceſſitated, to ſeek our Peace and Friendſhip, when they ſhall find us diſpoſing ourſelves into ſuch a flouriſhing Condition. Which brings on the Conſideration of the Ways and Means, next to be treated of, *viz.* Under

The fourth Queſtion, *viz.* How ſhall our Trade be recovered, ſo as to preſerve our Coin, and augment Bullion? *&c.*

Sect. XV.

I anſwer, *Firſt*, by the Parliament's Owning and Encouraging the Royal Fiſhery Company and Trade, to the Increaſe of one, two, or three Millions, *per Annum*, Export of that Sea-Product: Which, added to our other Products and Manufactures, and they alſo improved and multiplied as aforeſaid, muſt neceſſarily produce and bring in great Wealth of all Kinds: And particularly, Plenty of Monies, for its Balance, from the Maſters of it in all Countries, *&c.* For, the Situation of theſe Iſlands, being ſuch as may juſtly challenge to be the *Emporium* or *Mart* of all Trade, beyond all others put together, and furniſhed thereby, at all Times, with Magazines and Stores of all Sorts, for War and Peace, for ourſelves and all our Neighbours, muſt needs be attended with this Succeſs (our Ports being made free for their Importation and Exportation after a Time to be limited.) And we ſhall not need to fear the Vent of ſuch Surpluſage of Imports, as we ſhall not uſe, even for ready Monies of all Countries, who ſhall need them: Nor ſhall we have any Occaſion to ſend out our Monies, to fetch in like Proportions Yearly.

Sect. XVI.

Secondly, By taking Care, That Guards and Convoys be always in a Readineſs to attend, as well our Fiſhing-trade, as our foreign Exports and Imports: To which Purpoſe, it is humbly propoſed, as neceſſary hereunto, that a ſelect Number of Ships of War be ſet apart for that ſole Uſe, and be under ſuch Conduct and Commanders, as may be accountable for their Miſcarriage, by the Neglect of their Duty therein. The Raiſing, Charge, and Paying of which Ships may be borne, and provided for, by the Bills of Credit afore-mentioned, which will coſt the Nation nothing. And this may be called, in Way of Diſtinction, the *Trading Admiralty*, or *Fleet volant for Trade*; as the other is the Navy Royal. It may alſo be done by Commiſſions from his Majeſty, and be but temporary, *viz.* whilſt his Majeſty, being engaged in Wars Abroad, cannot ſo well, or ſeaſonably, attend the particular Conſideration of ſuch Things, as may encourage and enlarge ſo great Trade of theſe Nations, or Addreſſes cannot be made to him in Order thereunto.

If it be ſaid, This ſeems to lay the whole Foundation of our Trade and Commerce, on Bills of Credit, which have neither intrinſick Value, nor Fund.

Sect. XVII.

Admitting that, yet, 1. If we have a Sufficiency of theſe Bills in our Counting-houſes, Pocket-books, or Letter-caſes, uncounterfeitable, made current, as Monies, by Act of Parliament, which will anſwer all our Occaſions at Home, as well as Monies in Specie; and particularly may as well be diſpoſed forth at Intereſt on Bonds, as ready Money in Bags: And, conſequently, we become as rich in theſe, for all Uſes, to which we would employ Monies, as now we are; yea, and much more: Where, then, lies the Force of this Objection? For,

Sect. XVIII.

2. It cannot be denied, but that, if we were twenty Times as rich, in that which will effectually carry on Trade and Manufactures, pay Debts, purchaſe Lands, and manage our Markets, amongſt ourſelves, as now we are, or ever were, we ſhall be able thereby to multiply and export our Manufactures proportionably; and carry on our Fiſhing-trade (the richeſt golden Mine, in the Experience of our Neighbours; ſo called by them, for that it infallibly brings them Gold in) to far greater Value, from the greateſt Maſters of it, than our neceſſary Imports of Commodities from other Countries need to be, for our Home Expence: And what is imported more, may be eaſily ſhipped off to other Countries; as is afore-mentioned. As for Example:

Sect. XIX.

3. If we were wont to export Cloths, Stuffs, Lead, Tin, Iron, Monies, Bullion, *&c.* to the Value of two Millions, Yearly; and, by the Fiſh we may take, to export one, two, or three Millions more, without any Monies, *&c.* The Product and Balance thereof muſt be anſwered to us, in other Goods from other Countries; or remitted or brought to us in Bullion, or ready Monies, as it has with our Neighbours, to above five Millions, *per Annum*, on that Account, or it muſt remain in our Factors Hands Abroad, for Supply of our foreign Occaſions: So our Riches will increaſe, proportionably, as the Export can be increaſed, whether of our own Products and Manufactures, or other Importations; for there will be no Occaſion for Tranſporting our Monies for Goods: And it is undeniable, That whatſoever Means may be ſuggeſted, for Furniſhing and Keeping of Monies amongſt us, muſt be fruitleſs: For there will abide no more with us, than ſuch Proportion, as the Super-balance of our Exports ſhall amount unto, let what Value will be ſet on our Monies, above the current Price thereof, here, and in other Countries, with whom we deal.

Sect. XX.

4. It is found by Experience, That Bills are judged ſo neceſſary, whether of intrinſick Value, or not, as that, without them, theſe Kingdoms cannot otherwiſe ſubſiſt, or pay Taxes much longer. And they are become ſo uſeful and eligible already, as that moſt Men deſire them, rather than our preſent Monies: Upon which Preſumption, ſince the Erecting the Bank of *England*, Banks of Credit are multiplied upon Men's voluntary Undertakings, on various Principles or Funds, Methods and Pretenſions, alſo Uſes and Ends; moſt of them for the private Advantages thereof to the Undertakers, and without any Reference or Regard to the Supporting the Parliamentary Funds and Credit given by them, or having the leaſt Reſpect to the preſent Exigencies of the Publick, or how they ſhall be provided for next Year. By which Means, nevertheleſs, the Monies we have are, for the preſent, eeked out for our neceſſary Occaſions; and both our Markets at Home, and Bills of Exchange from Abroad, have been ſupplied and anſwered. And, if ſo,

Sect. XXI.

Why may not ſuch Bills of Credit, as are propoſed, be made current, for the Service of the Publick, by Act of Parliament, and regulated or kept within Bounds by Law, for Carrying on this neceſſary War, wherein the King has been engaged by Parliament? Particularly, why may not his Majeſty be ſupplied with ſuch Number and Values of them, as added to what preſent Taxes, the Condition of the Nation will bear to have impoſed, upon the Terms aforeſaid, may compleat the Sum needful, for Carrying on the preſent War, this next Year; and ſo much longer as that ſhall continue: And, alſo, pay off the Debts contracted laſt Year, *&c.* through the Deficiency, or Falling ſhort of the Sums or Funds, ſettled for the ſame, in the Way and Manner before propoſed?

As touching that Part of the Objection againſt the Want of a Fund for theſe Bills, *&c.* I anſwer,

Sect. XXII.

Though ſome Things might be offered, which poſſibly might ſilence ſome Objectors; yet the Debt, ſhould the War continue, would be ſo vaſt, as nothing leſs than the whole Nation can

can be equivalent; and that can no otherwiſe be engaged, than by an Act of Parliament. It cannot be rationally expected, they ſhould expoſe particular Eſtates of this, or that, or another Sort of Men, to become liable, excluſive of others: And it is manifeſt, if the People were ever ſo willing, they cannot pay down ſo much Money, yet the War muſt and may be carried on by Bills, *&c.*

If, then, the Parliament ſhall judge it neceſſary to make Uſe of ſuch Bills of Credit, and to make them current by Law, and for facilitating the new Coining of our preſent Monies, and giving ſome Reſpite and Eaſe from greater Taxes, ſhall enact, That they ſhall be, and continue current, until the Nation be in a better Capacity and Condition to pay them off, by laying moderate Taxes on all Men's Eſtates and Perſons in general; and ſhall rather chuſe to have them ſo paid off, than to continue; that will be as good a Fund as can be expected. For,

Why ſhould they be called in, at any Time, to become ſo burthenſome?

Firſt, They will be of ſuch general Uſe and great Conveniency, when underſtood and further experimented, that People will chuſe to have them, rather than Monies in Specie, as is found true in Fact, amongſt ourſelves, to the Value of many Hundreds of thouſand Pounds, already given out by the aforementioned Banks erected. Beſides which, they have alſo been ſo found and approved of in other Places of the World, even where Money-Banks have been erected by publick Authority, *viz.*

In *Holland*, where their Bills, or Credit in Bank, are ordinarily better than Monies, by at leaſt Three *per Cent.* ſometimes Four, Five, and more.

In *Venice* alſo, where their Credit is better, by Twenty *per Cent.* and was once at above Thirty *per Cent.* and with much Difficulty reduced to Twenty *per Cent.* where it is fixed to be ſo. By which Means alſo, that State has anſwered a Debt of above two Millions, borrowed of their People, and ſpent on their publick Occaſions. And all their Creditors are ſo ſatisfied, as that never will any of them aſk a hundred Pound, for the Hundred the State had of him; being ſure of a hundred and twenty Pounds for the ſame, from any other Hands.

Sect. XXIII.

And if any enquire, What induced that People thus to raiſe and value their ſaid Bills or Credit? I anſwer,

1. The Eaſe of Counting, Carriage, and Preventing Damage to the Receiver by counfeit, clipped, and baſe Coin; which is as valuable with us, at this Juncture; as is obvious to all.

2. Their Safety in Travelling, *&c.* as viſible as the other.

3. The Advantage that was to be made by the Exchange, on the Account of ſuch Conveniences, *&c.*

Where then is the Neceſſity or Uſefulneſs of a Fund, in our Caſe?

Sect. XXIV.

I anſwer, 1. Some late Proceedings, for Raiſing Monies, have given a Riſe for ſuch an Expectation: But, there, Men parted voluntarily with their Eſtates; whereas, in this Caſe, Men have theſe Bills for nothing, and may diſpoſe them to the Uſes of ſuch Trading and Manufactures, as may bring in Riches to themſelves and the whole Nation.

2. It is objected, upon a Suppoſition, that ſome Perſons (perhaps of thoſe who will be concerned to give a Sanction to the Matter of theſe Propoſals) may imagine, that the Bills delivered out muſt neceſſarily be called in at one Time or other, *&c.* whereas ſuch conſider not, that the Uſefulneſs of theſe Bills will make them current for Continuance, and preferable to Monies, upon the forementioned Accounts; as it hath proved in the two forementioned Inſtances: And,

If ſtill any doubt, That Bills may prove prejudicial in After-times, and that, if any future Parliament ſhall conceive them to be ſo, they will make them void, *&c.*

Sect. XXV.

That is thus reſolved, *viz.* Inſtead of prejudicing the Nation, they will continue to promote, improve, and carry on our Home-Trade, Manufactures, and Fiſhery, as aforeſaid;

ſaid; and thereby anſwer our Expectations as effectually as Monies in Specie: And, the rather, for that the Generality of the People, at their firſt Receiving of them, *viz.* for the Reimburſing of their Taxes, will be thereby prepared to eſteem them, by their Property in, and Poſſeſſion of them, in the Way and Manner before propoſed, and become inriched thereby. It will therefore be as far from any Parliament to paſs a Law to make them void, without firſt Paying them off, as to paſs an Act for Taking away all their Lands, which their Juſtice, as well as Intereſt, will not ſuffer them to do: For every Parliament Man, and Perſon in the Nation, will have a conſiderable Part of their Perſonal Eſtates lie principally in theſe Bills; ſo that Fear is ſufficiently removed by Intereſt, which will not lye. But,

May not our Coin be ſo raiſed in Denomination, Price, or Value, as to bring in Gold and Silver plentifully?

Sect. XXVI.

I anſwer, It is evident, even to a Demonſtration, that the Inhanſing the Value of our Monies, whether Silver or Gold, is, and will be a very great Impoveriſhing of, if not utterly deſtructive to the Nation. For that will unavoidably raiſe the Price of all our foreign Exchanges, and work Confuſion in our Trade; and that raiſes, conſequently, the Price of all Goods, not only Foreign but Domeſtick: Which, though it may not be any great Damage, poſſibly, to our Retailers thereof, and ſuch as bring to our Market, for they will not ſell to Loſs, yet, to the Body of the reſt of the People, the Buyers thereof, and the poorer Sort eſpecially, *viz.* Servants, Day-Labourers, Artificers, Seamen, Soldiers, *&c.* it cannot be otherwiſe: And what a Condition then will this bring the Nation into?

Sect. XXVII.

Now, that it is, and will be ſo, I ſhall give two Inſtances, within his Majeſty's Dominions in *America*, which occurred to my own Obſervation, whilſt I was the unworthy Governor of the Province of *Penſylvania*, *viz.* about ſeven Years ſince.

The one is in *New-England*, where the Government, conceiving they had Power by their Charter from the King, to coin Monies, coined Shillings of about the Value of Nine Pence Sterling, and ſtamped the ſame Twelve Pence; They alſo raiſed the Value of *Spaniſh* Pieces of Eight, of about ſeventeen Penny-weights, from Four Shillings and Six-pence, to Six Shillings, which held Proportion with their Shillings. This they did, upon this vulgar Error, and Miſapprehenſion, that, by this Inhanſing the Price of Silver, they ſhould both keep their own Coin, and bring in and retain other imported Monies amongſt them. But this, inſtead of anſwering their Expectation, raiſed the Value of all Goods to at leaſt Twenty-five *per Cent.* And likewiſe all their Exchanges, whether to or from *England*, or other Parts, proportionably: Or, ſo much more of their Monies were carried forth in theſe Species (though they were ſufficiently ſevere againſt its Exportation) to their Diſappointment.

The other Inſtance, and more notable, is in *Penſylvania*; where, though they coined no Monies, yet ſuffering *Spaniſh* Pieces of Eight, of not above eleven or twelve Penny-weights, and conſequently not above Three Shillings in Value Sterling, to paſs current at Six Shillings: And, though the Exchange did not riſe proportionable, for they had little or very ſeldom Occaſion to return any in Trade; yet this other Conſequence attended their ſo doing, *viz.* That ſuch as brought thither any Goods or Merchandiſes, needful for that Plantation, from *England*, *&c.* when any came to contract with them for their Goods, they treated them after this Manner, *viz.* ſays the Importer, The Cargo coſt me one-hundred Pounds in *Engliſh* ready Money, at about Five Shillings *per* Ounce Sterling, whereas your Money is not half the Value: So I muſt have two-hundred Pounds of your Money, or I ſhall be a Loſer of my firſt Coſt: And I cannot take leſs than fifty Pounds Sterling *per Cent.* for my Freight, Riſque, and Profit, which will be one-hundred Pounds more of your Money: And accordingly receives of the Retailer there three-hundred Pounds, who generally raiſes the Price of the ſame Goods to another hundred Pounds; whereby the Price of the ſame Goods, which coſt one-hundred Pounds *Engliſh* Money, coſts the People there four-hundred Pounds.

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The Importer, having received his three-hundred Pounds, buys therewith, only, ſuch Commodities of the Country Products, as he needs for his Voyage; and carries away the reſt in Specie, making Money, which ought to be the Standard of Traffick, to be the Merchandiſe, as they muſt do, who take it at inhanſed Values, *&c.* And, thus, three Pieces went for one, and their Monies decreaſed proportionably.

The Effect whereof was, the Generality of the People, except their Shop-keepers, Artificers, Handicrafts-men, Carpenters, Brick-layers, Labourers, and Servants, grew poorer. And, particularly, it had this Influence upon the landed Men, whether Proprietors or Farmers, *viz.* that they were forced to give great Wages to all theſe Sorts of poor People, eſpecially to Ploughmen, Carters, *&c.* viz. From twelve Pounds, *per Annum*, Wages, to twenty-ſeven Pounds, beſides Victuals, *&c.* And, at this Charge, they get a little Corn; which, if they ſpend not all in their own Families, they bring, what is left, to the Market, and ſell that there, at two Shillings and ſix Pence, the Buſhel of Wheat, which, in *Engliſh* Money, is but fifteen Pence, *per* Buſhel. Which impoveriſheth the Maſters, many of them, to ſuch Degree, that, after a While, their Servants ſet up in their Steads, on new Plantations given them, for their Encouragement to plant the Country: And their Maſters Children become their Servants: All which naturally enſues their Inhanſing the Value of their Monies, amongſt themſelves: For, ſay their Servants, *&c.* We muſt have ſuch Wages, or we cannot live: We can buy nothing we have Occaſion for, but at four Times the Rate of what is paid in *England*. And therefore,

Whilſt we plead, though under the moſt ſpecious Pretences, having Regard barely to the Theory and Notions of Things taken up thence, or from vulgar Miſapprehenſions, for the Inhanſing of our Silver or Gold, to above the Par, intrinſick Value, and ancient Meteyard of Traffick, between us and other Nations, we are, in Truth and Reality, ſteering by the ſame Needle, or common Politicks of *Penſylvania*; and diſcern it not. Which will, in Time, be alike ruinous to us.

Nor is it any Anſwer to our Aſſertion, to tell us, our Servants, *&c.* need nothing that comes from beyond Sea; which may be as truly predicated of ourſelves too, could we be contented, with Sobriety, to uſe our own Products, and Manufactures. For what does that avail? Such do not obſerve or conſider, that the Prices, even of our own Products and Manufactures that are neceſſary, as well as Foreign, that are leſs neceſſary, are raiſed alike upon us all, ſince our Coin hath been at this Paſs.

Nor do ſuch give us any Eſtimate of the Height, to which Servants, as well as their Maſters, are grown, ſince the laſt Act of State for Inhanſing the Value of Silver and Gold, in their Expectations, and Deportments. Which yet can no more be reformed, than the Nation converted from their Atheiſtical Prophaneſs, and Impieties, *&c.* till their Superiors and Maſters ſet them better Copies to write by.

There is, then, a Neceſſity of putting a Stop to the Inhanſing of our Monies: And, if any eaſier, ſafer, more probable or advantageous Means, Ways, or Methods of doing it to general Satisfaction, than theſe aforementioned, and humbly propoſed, be offered; I ſhall readily receive my Diſmiſs from this Controverſy, having offered my poor Mite. But,

There remains yet one Stumbling-block, in the Minds of ſome, who do not duly weigh and conſider, That there is no Perfection attainable under the Sun, *&c.* It is this, *viz.* The Danger of Counterfeit Bills. Touching which, I ſhall offer ſome Conſiderations, *viz.*

I humbly propoſed,

1. That the ſaid Bills of Credit ſhould be printed or impreſſed on Paper, from engraven Copper-plates, and gave Reaſons for it. Which, together with a Specimen of ſuch Bills, being uncounterfeitable, I ſhall readily evince, when required.

2. That the ſaid Paper ſhould be of a different Make and Mark from any yet extant in the World.

3. That the indented Counter-parts of each Bill ſhould be filed up, and kept in a publick Office, or Offices, to be erected for that Purpoſe, in Order to the Diſcovery, and Preventing of Damage thereby, to the Publick.

4. That the Printing or Publiſhing ſuch Bills, to any greater Number, Value, or Proportion, than ſhall be allowed and appointed by Act of Parliament, though by the Perſons that ſhall be thereunto authoriſed, might be made as penal, as Coining or Counterfeiting the current

Monies

Monies of the Kingdom. Or, that the ſame: And particularly,

5. That the Engraving all ſuch Plates, and Making, Having, or Keeping undiſcovered any ſuch Paper, ſo made and marked, as from Time to Time ſhall be made Uſe of upon this Occaſion: Or bringing the like into this Kingdom from beyond the Seas, by any other Perſon than by Order of ſuch as ſhall be by ſuch Act of Parliament appointed and authoriſed thereunto, might be puniſhed with great Severity, both corporal and pecuniary, *in terrorem*, viz. Being convicted thereof, may be branded in the Right-hand, and Forehead, or Cheek: So, as to be known thereby ever after; and thenceforth kept ſtrictly to the moſt ſevere, ſervile, conſtant, hard Work and Labour: Enjoined a daily Task; and on Failure of doing it, have Correction at the Keeper's or Work-maſter's Diſcretion: Never to be pardoned, remitted, or mitigated, but upon the Diſcovery and Producing of other his Partners, Accomplices, Aſſociates, or other Offenders in like Nature, and Proving the ſame. Which, undoubtedly, if purſued, will deter and keep all Men, who have the leaſt Spark of Ingenuity, or Humanity, from attempting to counterfeit theſe Bills, if any Thing will. And,

6. That, though it is impoſſible in Nature theſe Bills ſhould be ſo counterfeited, as to deceive the Office; or that, in twenty Millions of them, printed off from the ſame Copper-plates, any two ſhould agree [as hath been acknowledged by ſeveral Engravers and other Counterfeiters of Writings, critically ſkilled in ſuch Affairs, and called together for Advice in the like Caſe] yet, that Perſons Abroad may not, in all Caſes, be ſo critical, as to diſcern true Bills from falſe, through the Niceties of them. It may be therefore queried, *viz.*

Is there any Courſe to be preſcribed, by Way of Remedy, for avoiding falſe Bills?

I anſwer, 1. Where the Diſtance is not great, Perſons may repair to the Office, where the Counterparts of all true Bills remain; and, have them examined as *Exchequer* Tallies, by applying the Counterparts: And, if remote, they may be ſent up *per* Poſt, *&c.* Or, the Perſon who offers them may be put upon the Proof of them; or, if ſuſpected, give Security. And being made to continue but for a Year, from the reſpective Dates of them, as is propoſed, they will then be certainly detected, and the Values of them known.

2. Suppoſe that there ſhould be ſome Bills counterfeited, which may be thought fit to be repaired, to the Perſon deceived thereby, by the Publick: It would, in the Whole, be far leſs, being thus Annually detected, than the twentieth Part of the Intereſt-money, hitherto allowed for Monies, borrowed upon the Funds ſettled, and laid upon the Nation, according to Mr. *Briſco*'s Computations, in his printed Treatiſe. Beſides, the Repaying of them might be by other Bills, which would coſt nothing. But,

3. The Riſque of ſuch is no greater, than of Gold and Silver Coin, of which the Nation has been, and daily is, and will be deceived: Nor than that of all Merchants Bills of Exchange, and Letters of Advice from Foreign Parts: All which may be more eaſily counterfeited. Beſides,

4. There are no Sorts of Deeds, Conveyances of Lands, or Bonds given for Monies, but, they, alſo, are more liable to be counterfeited, both as to the Hands and Seals of the Granters, Obligors, and Witneſſes: All which, *&c.* may be ſo counterfeited, that the Parties themſelves will not be able to deny them to be theirs. Yea, even *Exchequer* Tallies are liable to be counterfeited, ſo that Perſons may be doubtful, till they come to the Office, *&c.* Yet, by theſe more uncertain Methods of common Dealings, and Dangers, we are not affrighted, or taken off from our Correſpondencies, and Buſineſſes, as Men.

Why then, in this Caſe only, and upon this urgent Occaſion; wherein, if now we become ſo ſingularly wiſe or cautious, as to ſtumble at the Threſhold, we endanger ourſelves, and theſe Nations and Government, to all our unavoidable Ruin, rather than run the Hazard of, probably, ſome ſmall inconſiderable Sum, *per Annum*, which will certainly come to be diſcovered, at each Year's End, at fartheſt, and cancelled? This were to be Penny-wiſe, but Pound-fooliſh, according to our *Engliſh* Proverb.

An

An APPENDIX.

Containing an Abſtract of the foregoing Treatiſe; explaining, alſo, ſome Particulars therein: And humbly propoſing a more particular Fund, for Paying off the Bills of Credit, viz.

First, the Abſtract.

§. 1. CONtains the Reaſons given for new Coining our Silver Monies.

§. 2. Shews how the Clipping thereof, and Suffering it to paſs, has occaſioned the Raiſing our Gold, to Half as much more as it was coined at.

§. 3. That our Trade is loſt; our Merchants having, too generally, withdrawn their Stocks, and diſpoſed them in more profitable preſent Adventures.

Pag. 304. Four Queſtions are propoſed to be anſwered for Remedies, *viz.*

Queſtion I. How ſhall our clipped Silver be new coined, ſo as to become a due Meaſure and Standard for Traffick, without Obſtructing our preſent Markets, &c. and without Decreaſe of our Stock?

§. 4. It is propoſed, That all the clipped Silver may be called in, by a Time to be limited; and new coined as faſt as may be, according to the ancient Standard. And that the Damage by ſuch Coinage thereof may be made good to the Parties, bringing in the ſame, by Bills of Credit, made current, as Monies, by Act of Parliament. And that for the Rendering thereof practicable, ſo as there may be a full Supply of the Tale thereof, for Carrying on the Trade and Markets, until the Monies can be ſo coined, and delivered out: That at the Time of each Perſon's Bringing in his Monies for Coinage, he may receive the full Sum, according to the Tale thereof, in ſuch Bills, to traffick and trade withal. That upon Notice, by Proclamation or otherwiſe, that the Coin is ready, one Half thereof may be delivered to the reſpective Parties, who brought it in; they delivering back reſpectively one Half of the Bills they received for the ſaid new coined Silver, to be concealed, or made void: And retaining the other Half of the ſaid Bills, for anſwering the Deficiency of their clipped Monies brought in.

Queſtion II. How ſhall the Gold be reduced to its coined Value?

§. 5. It is propoſed, That all the Guineas, &c. in the Nation, may be alſo called in by a Time to be limited, and each Piece punched, ſo as it may be known, and declared thenceforth, to paſs for no more than twenty Shillings, each Guinea, &c. And that, at the Punching thereof, like Bills of Credit, to the Value of ten Shillings, each Guinea, and ſo proportionably, to the reſpective Perſons, who bring in their Gold, may be given forth; alſo, that no other, or more Guineas, &c. be coined, till after the Day is paſt, for bringing in the ſame: Nor any be ſuffered to be brought in from beyond the Sea, or paſt here at any other Value than twenty Shillings, from thence forward. And, thus, the Nation will be ſupplied for Carrying on their Trade and Markets, to as great Extent as heretofore; and this, without Loſs or Damage to the Parties concerned, and without any Intereſt, or preſent Charge to the Nation.

Queſtion III. How ſhall the War be carried on Abroad?

§. 6. It is propoſed, That a Tax, of four Shillings *per* Pound, being laid on Lands, &c. may be made payable Quarterly, as heretofore, in ready Monies, or Silver-plate, at five Shillings and three Pence, *per* Ounce.

§. 7. That it be provided therein, and enacted, that in Caſe the Party taxed ſhall voluntarily advance, and pay in his whole Year's Tax, at one intire Payment, within a Month after Demand of his firſt Quarterly Payment, he may have like Bills of Credit delivered to him, for his Re-imburſement, at the Time of his Payment thereof, for his full Sum taxed, whereby, in Effect, he pays nothing.

§. 8. That in Caſe the Party taxed ſhall not ſo do, if any other Perſon ſhall do it, within a Month after that, ſuch other Perſon may have Half ſo much, in like Bills delivered to him, as the taxed Party himſelf ſhould have had, for his Encouragement: And may alſo receive his Quarterly Payments for his Re-imburſement, as the ſame ſhall grow due.

§. 9. That the like Method may be purſued from Year to Year, during the Continuance of the War, if the Parliament ſhall ſee Cauſe to paſs Acts annually for that Purpoſe, and not otherwiſe.

§. 10. That in Caſe the four Shillings, *per* Pound, ſhall not amount unto two Millions, whoſoever ſhall voluntarily ſupply and make it up, may have like Bills of Credit, to the Value of one-hundred and twenty Pounds, for every hundred Pounds ſo advanced by him; and ſo proportionably. On which Terms no Doubt but his Majeſty will be ſupplied with two Millions of the beſt Silver and Gold, that ſhall be in the Nation, at the Beginning of the next Year. And what his Majeſty ſhall further want, as §. 21. *viz.*

His Majeſty may be ſupplied with ſuch further Numbers and Values of theſe Bills, as added to what other preſent Taxes the Condition of the Nation will bear to have impoſed, upon the Terms aforeſaid, may compleat the Sum needful for Carrying on the preſent War, this next Year; and ſo much longer, as that ſhall continue: And alſo pay off the Debts contracted laſt Year, *&c.* through the Deficiency or Falling ſhort of the Sums, or Funds, ſettled for the ſame.

§. 11, 12, 13, 14. Contain the Anſwer of an Objection, touching the Diſrepute of paſſing Bills. To which might have been added, The Reaſon of making Uſe thereof, eſpecially during the new Coinage of our Monies.

Queſtion IV. How ſhall our Trade be recovered; and what is the Neceſſity thereof, as to the Getting and Increaſing of Monies? *&c.*

§. 15. It is propoſed, That there be an Encouraging and Countenancing of the Royal Fiſhery Company and Trade, by Act of Parliament, *&c.*

§. 16. That both Guards and Convoys be ſeaſonably afforded, *&c.*

§. 17. That Bills of Credit will carry on our Home-trade Fiſhery and Manufactures, as well as Monies in Specie.

§. 18. That if we had twenty Times as much in Bills, as ever we had in Monies, they will proportionably increaſe our Manufactures, Fiſhery, and Exports of both; and conſequently our Wealth; for that the Balance muſt come back in Monies or Bullion.

§. 19. An Inſtance thereof is given: And it is further ſhewed, That whatſoever other Means may be ſuggeſted, for the Furniſhing or Keeping Monies amongſt us, muſt and will be fruitleſs.

§. 20. Another Inſtance, taken from the late Experience we have had of the Uſefulneſs of Bills, iſſued by Goldſmiths, and by the ſeveral Banks erected amongſt us: Which have eeked out our Monies, for anſwering our Markets at Home, and paying off Bills of Exchange from Abroad; which could not elſe have continued thus long.

§. 21. The Parliament, therefore, may much more make Bills current: For the Preſervation of the Nation, and Carrying on the War, wherein the King has been engaged by their Advice, which require far greater Credit than all the Banks together can give Security for, *&c.* by ſupplying his Majeſty with a Sufficiency of them, inſtead of other Taxes, which there is not Money to pay.

Pag. 308. The Objection againſt Bills without a Fund is anſwered, *viz.*

§. 22. There can be no Fund equivalent, but the whole Nation: And that can be no Way engaged, but by Act of Parliament, declaring ſuch Bills ſhall be and continue current, in all Receipts and Payments whatſoever, as Monies in Specie, whether to, or from the King, or the People of theſe Nations amongſt themſelves, until the Nation be in a better Condition to pay them off, by laying moderate Taxes on all Eſtates, real and perſonal, which is a good general Fund, and as much as any State or Nation, until very lately this, have been expoſed unto. Whereof two Inſtances are given, *viz.*

1. Of the States of *Holland.*
2. Of the States of *Venice.*

§. 23. Con-

§. 23. Contains an Enumeration of the Advantages of Bills beyond Monies.

§. 24. Anſwers the Objections about the Neceſſity of a Fund.

§. 25. Anſwers the Objection about the Hazard, that ſome future Parliaments may ſee Cauſe to make the Bills of Credit void, without Paying them off.

§. 26. Anſwers the Objection, touching Raiſing the Price of Silver and Gold, by two Inſtances. And,

§. 27. Shews the unavoidable Miſchiefs thereof, *viz.*

1. In *New-England*,
2. In *Penſylvania*, } In *America*.

Pag. 311. Anſwers the Objections about Counterfeiting the Bills of Credit propoſed: And offers a Specimen, evincing the utter Impoſſibility of it, ſo as to deceive the Publick, *&c.*

Pag. 312. To the End of the Treatiſe, further clears the Vanity of that Objection, by comparing and preferring theſe Bills of Credit, for Uncounterfeitableneſs, above and beyond all other Writings, Bills of Exchange, Letters of Credit and Advice, Obligations for Monies, Deeds and Evidences of Lands, which may be alſo counterfeited, as the Parties ſigning, ſealing, and witneſſing thereunto, cannot deny them to be theirs: Yea, our Gold and Silver Coins, *Exchequer* Tallies, *&c.* yet we are not affrighted or taken off from our Correſpondences and Buſineſſes depending thereon. Why then in this Caſe *only*; wherein, by ſtumbling at this Threſhold of the only Door of our Hopes, we expoſe ourſelves and our Poſterities to our unavoidable and utter Ruin?

I ſay, the only, For, 1. propoſe the Raiſing of whatſoever Taxes, if there be not Money in the Nation to pay them. Or, 2. propoſe what Funds you will, whether for Principal or Intereſt, for paying off Bills of Credit or otherwiſe, if there be not Monies in the Nation to pay them. Or, 3. propoſe what Means you will for bringing in Monies or Bullion, if there be not an Exceſs of our Exports above our Imports, our Monies, as faſt as they are coined, muſt and will be carried away. And, 4. without Bills made equivalent, for ſupplying the Uſes of Monies, we cannot carry on our Manufactures or Fiſhery, which, alone, can increaſe our Wealth and Power at Sea, *&c.*

Nevertheleſs if, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid, it ſhall be judged needful to make a preſent Settlement of a Fund, or Funds, for Paying off ſuch of the ſaid Bills, as ſhall be given forth upon this Occaſion, within ſome Time limited; it is therefore humbly offered, that, in Order thereunto, there may be a thrifty Managing and Improving of all caſual Revenues, Incomes, Profits, and Advantages, that may ariſe, accrue, or be made, whether in *England*, or *Ireland*; to which his Majeſty is, or by Inquiſitions or other uſual Ways, Means, or Methods, may be intitled; ſome of which may be theſe following, *viz.*

Secondly, The Fund.

1. One Moiety, the Whole in two equal Parts to be divided, of all ſuch lawful Booty, Seizures and Prizes, as ſhall, or may be hereafter taken in War, whether by Land or Sea.

2. All *French* and other prohibited Goods, ſo ſeized, which may be by Act of Parliament allowed to be brought in, and ſold here, or where elſe a Market may be found for them.

3. All the undiſpoſed Lands, within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, forfeited, upon the Account of the laſt Defection, War, or Rebellion, in, or about the Year 1688, or ſince: And all other Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Goods, and Chattels, by Felonies, Murders, Treaſons, or otherwiſe eſcheated, or to be eſcheated, and accruing to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, in Right of his Crown: And alſo all Rents and Profits of ſuch Eſtates, due ſince the reſpective Convictions, Out-lawries, or Attainders of ſuch Perſons.

4. All Foreſts, Chaces, and Parks, within the ſaid Kingdoms, except ſuch as his Majeſty ſhall reſerve for his Royal Paſtimes, and Recreations, *&c.*

5. In Defect, or Falling ſhort of theſe, whereby the ſaid Bills of Credit, or any of them ſhall remain unſatisfied, for the Space of Years, from the End of this Seſſion, *&c.* That a yearly Tax of Pence in the Pound of, and upon Lands, Tenements, Rents, and Hereditaments; as alſo of, and upon all Annuities, Offices, and Salaries of above twen-

ty Pounds, *per Annum*; and upon all Goods, Chattels, &c. may be paſſed this preſent Seſſion, by Act of Parliament. To commence from, and after the End of this preſent War, or Expiration of the forementioned Term or Space of Years, which ſhall firſt happen: Or ſooner, if the Parliament ſhall judge it needful, and that it may be done without Hindrance to the Carrying on the publick Affairs and Trade of theſe Nations: And that the ſame may have Continuance, and be in Force, until the ſaid Bills ſhall be fully paid off, and no longer.

6. And for the better Appropriating and Securing theſe Funds, and the Rents, Revenues, and Profits thereof, to the Ends and Uſes aforeſaid: That, by the ſaid Act of Parliament, it may be made highly criminal, in all and ſingular Perſon and Perſons reſpectively, who ſhall be concerned, in the Levying, Raiſing, Receiving, Diſpoſing, and Paying the ſame, or any Part thereof, to pay, or diſpoſe, the Monies that ſhall be by this Act, or by any of theſe Funds raiſed, to any other Uſe, Intent, or Purpoſe whatſoever, than to, and for the Paying off the ſaid Bills of Credit. And that no Warrant or Order, ſhall be iſſued, or if iſſued, ſhall be obeyed by the Commiſſioners, or other Perſons, that ſhall be intruſted with the Charge and Care hereof, to any other Uſe or Uſes whatſoever.

7. And that the Way and Manner, Time and Place, Order and Courſe of Paying thereof, as alſo the Perſons to be employed and uſed herein, be ſettled by Act of this preſent Parliament, ſo as the ſaid Bills may be ſatisfied, and paid accordingly, without Fees, &c.

All which, notwithſtanding,

Is humbly ſubmitted,

By the Propoſer.

Quod omnes tractat ab omnibus tractari debet.

The Queen's Wells: That is, a Treatiſe of the Nature and Vertues of *Tunbridge* Water. Together with an Enumeration of the chiefeſt Diſeaſes, which it is good for, and againſt which, it may be uſed, and the Manner and Order of taking it. By *Lodowick Rowzee*, Doctor of Phyſick, practiſing at *Aſhford*, in *Kent*. *London*, printed for *Robert Boulter*, at the *Turk's-Head*, in *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet*. 1670. *Octavo*, containing eighty-two Pages.

CHAP. I.

Of Water in General.

ALTHOUGH my main Scope in this following Diſcourſe be concerning *Tunbridge* Water, yet will it not be altogether fruitleſs or unpleaſant, I hope, to the Reader, if I ſay ſomething, as it were, by Way of Preface, touching Water in general. Water is a Subſtance ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that no living Creature can ſubſiſt without the Benefit of it, nor no Tree bring forth its Leaves and Fruit, nor any Plant its Seed, if they be deprived of that vivifical Moiſture, which maketh them all to grow and proſper. That this is true, you may obſerve it in Summer, for, if Rain be wanting but a few Weeks, How backward be all Things? How do all Plants wither in that Seaſon, when they ſhould chiefly flouriſh? For this Cauſe, perhaps, it was, that *Heſiod* thought Water

to

to be the moſt ancient of all the Elements. Of this Opinion alſo was *Thales Mileſius*, one of the ſeven wiſe *Grecians*, who made Water the ſole Principle of all Things. *Empedocles* likewiſe jumping with them ſaid, That all Things were made of Water. And *Hippon* in *Ariſtotle*, *Lib.* i. c. 2. *de Anima*, terms the Soul Water. *Hippocrates* goeth not ſo far, but yet he calleth Water and Fire the two Principles of Life. True it is, that, by Water, *Hippon* doth underſtand our Seed; and *Hippocrates*, our radical Moiſture. The *Latins*, upon the Etymology of the Word *Aqua*, Water, do derive it from *a et qua, quaſi a qua vivimus, vel a qua omnia fiunt*, by which we live, or out of which all Things are made. Others will have it *quaſi æqua*, becauſe there is Nothing more equal and ſmooth than Water, when it is not toſſed with the Wind. But *Julius Cæſar Scaliger*, *Exercit.* 745, diſliketh theſe Etymologies, and will derive *aqua* from the obſolete *Greek* Word ἄσχα, which anciently did ſignify Water. This Element ſeemeth to challenge a Kind of Rule and Dominion over the reſt, for it eaſily tranſmuteth Air into itſelf, extinguiſheth Fire, and devoureth Earth. And, to go no higher than our Grandfathers Memory, nor further than our Neighbours, the Ocean-Sea ſwallowed up above one hundred-thouſand Acres of Ground at one Clap in *Holland*. Nay, it aſpireth even unto the Heavens; and, which is ſtrange, it doth not only get up thither in itſelf alone, but carrieth with it whole Shoals of Fiſhes, Heaps of Stones, and divers other heavy Subſtances, which afterwards fall down with it. Moſt Creatures live without Fire; without Water, none; and, with Water only, without any other Suſtenance, a *Spaniſh* Maiden, *Cæl. Rhod. Lib.* xiii. c. 23, is reported to have lived a long Time: And *Albertus* writeth of a melancholy Man, who, by the Space of ſeven Weeks, lived with Water only, one Draught of which he took but every other Day. The Lord *Verulam* alſo hath produced his Opinion of late, and holdeth, That Trees and Plants live, and are nouriſhed merely by Water; and that the Earth is, as it were, but a *Stabilimentum* unto them, to keep them ſteady, and from being beaten down by the Wind. He proveth it by Roſe-buſhes, which, being put into Water, without any Earth, and kept upright in the ſame, not only brought forth Leaves, but fair Roſes alſo; and the royal Prophet ſaith, *Pſal.* i. That a Tree, planted by the Rivers of Water, bringeth forth his Fruit in due Seaſon. Much more might be ſaid concerning Water, but, becauſe I intend to be brief, let this ſuffice.

CHAP. II.

Of the Differences of Water.

IN the Creation, God ſaid, *Gen.* i. 4, 5, Let there be a Firmament in the Midſt of the Waters, and let it divide the Waters from the Waters. And God made the Firmament, and divided the Waters, which were under the Firmament, from the Waters which were above the Firmament. And *David* ſaith, *Pſal.* xxix. 10, That the Lord ſitteth upon the Flood; that is, upon the Orb of the Waters; and where he exciteth the Creatures to laud the Lord, he ſpeaketh thus, *Pſal.* cxlviii. 4. Praiſe him ye Heavens of Heavens, and the Waters that be above the Heavens. Thoſe Waters are likened in another Place, *Ezek.* i. 22, to a terrible Chryſtal; and ſaid to be, as it were, *Exod.* xxiv. 10, a paved Work of Sapphire-Stone. And ſome, Rab. *Levi Ben Jarchij* in *Gen.* c. 1, go ſo far, as to define the Place and Seat of thoſe Waters, and ſay, That they are as much above the *primum mobile*, as the *primum mobile* is above the elementary Waters; but whether they ever were there to take the juſt Diſtance, I do not know. That there ſhould be Water above the Firmament, many Men think it ſtrange, and yet the Deluge, beſides the expreſs Word of God, proved it to be true. For, if all the Water of all the Seas, Lakes, Ponds, Rivers, and Fountains in the World, had been drawn up into the Heavens in like Manner, as we do in Diſtillations, yet would not their Quantity have increaſed, but there would have returned back again, by Rain, no more, than was aſcended up, nor ſo much neither, perhaps; becauſe, though you be never ſo careful in your Diſtillations, and uſe Glaſs-veſſels never ſo well luted, yet will you ſtill receive ſome Loſs; and ſo the Flood had not gone fifteen Cubits above the higheſt Moun-

tain

tains. But, why this ſhould be ſtranger than all the reſt of the wonderful Works of God, there is no Reaſon. The maſſy and heavy Globe of the Earth and Water ſtandeth, as it were, in *Æquilibrio* in the Center of the World, ſuſpended by the Omnipotency of God. Nay, all his Works are univerſally ſo admirable, that there is no leſs Wonder in the ſmalleſt Gnat, than in the biggeſt Elephant; in the leaſt Weed, that creepeth upon the Ground, than in the talleſt Cedar. But of thoſe Waters, which are above the Firmament, and of thoſe, which were gathered together under the Firmament, namely, the Sea, we ſpeak here but by the Way; though, concerning the Seas, divers curious and pleaſant Queſtions might be handled; as touching the Saltneſs of it, the Ebbing and Flowing of the ſame, Why it can endure no impure Things, and the like. Theſe Things, I ſay, might bring ſome Delight to the Reader, but they are beyond our Scope, and, therefore, I will only ſpeak briefly of thoſe Waters which are *potabiles*, and in common Uſe amongſt us, either for Diet or Phyſick.

They are commonly divided into Fountain-water, River-water, Well-water, Rain water, and Pond-water. The Pre-eminence thereof is commonly given to Spring water; but, in general, that Water is accounted beſt and wholeſomeſt for Diet, which is pure, and without any Taſte, but ſuch as Water ſhould have. For moſt Water retaineth ſome Savour of the Ground through which it runneth; and altho' to thoſe, who do not uſe to drink Water, it be imperceptible, yet divers of thoſe, who drink Nothing but Water, will as eaſily perceive a Difference betwixt Water and Water, as we do betwixt Beer and Beer, or Wine and Wine. The beſt Water alſo is lighteſt, but that Lightneſs is not to be conſidered by Weight (for Snow-water is moſt light, and yet unwholeſome) but by the Thinneſs of the Parts thereof, and by the ſpeedy Heating and Cooling of the ſame, as *Hippocrates* well obſerveth. Let this ſuffice to have been briefly touched concerning the Differences of Waters in General, and let us now ſay Something, with like Brevity, concerning the Original of Springs and Rivers.

CHAP. III.

Of the Original of Springs and Rivers.

IT is a common received Opinion, derived from *Ariſtotle*, that the Generation of Water proceedeth from the Air condenſed into the ſame, in the Bowels of the Earth, and diſtilling, as Water doth with us, from a Limbeck. But it is hard to imagine, how the Nature of Air ſhould be ſo ſpeedily corrupted, and turned into Water, and in that Quantity too, that ſhould maintain the continual Courſe of ſo many Springs, and ſo great a Number of Rivers as are in the World, divers of which are of ſuch Vaſtneſs, and of ſo ſwift a Courſe, that a Man might juſtly think, that the whole Element of Air, which, in its own Nature, is but very thin, ſhould ſcarcely ſuffice to maintain the Courſe of that Abundance of Water one only Day. And, as for the Reaſon they alledge, that Air is retained within the Concavities and Poroſities of the Earth, *ad vitandum vacuum*, which Nature doth abhor, and afterwards is converted into Water, it is but a very weak one; for thoſe Concavities are ſtill full of Air, as well elſewhere, as where Springs and Rivers do flow. But, if the Tranſmutation of Air into Water was the only Cauſe of the Flowing of all Springs and Rivers, ſurely their Streams muſt needs be but narrow, and their Courſe ſlow, and of ſmall Continuance. Beſides, if this was true, How could the Sea, think you, contain that exceſſive Abundance of Water, which perpetually runneth into the ſame? The ancient Opinion then is the truer, that all Fountains and Rivers come from the Sea, and are tranſcolated through the Veins and Poroſities of the Earth, where, in their Paſſage, they leave their Saltneſs. *Plato*, *Ariſtotle's* Maſter, was of this Opinion; and, before him, *Thales Mileſius*; as alſo *Philo*, *in Lib. de mundi opificio*; *Seneca*, *Lib.* iii. c. 9. *Nat. Quæſt.* and *Georgius Agricola*, *Lib.* i. *de ortu ſubterran.* which, without Queſtion, they had learned from the *Hebrews*; for thus ſpeaketh the Preacher, *Eccleſ.* i. All the Rivers run into the Sea, yet the Sea is not full; unto the Place from whence the Rivers come, thither they return again. This is a moſt clear and expreſs Text, and which alone

ſhall

ſhall ſuffice to prove this Point, eſpecially ſeeing the Rule and Law of Nature doth ſuffragate unto the ſame; for, whereſoever there is a Repletion, there muſt needs an Evacuation be. But ſome, perhaps, may ſay, We ſee, indeed, all Rivers run into the Sea, but we do not ſee how they come from it? True, but when we ſee that, for all the Abundance of Water which runneth continually into the Seas, the ſame are not increaſed thereby, but remain ſtill the ſame, we muſt needs imagine that they diſburden themſelves ſomewhere. For, otherwiſe, the Waters had, long ago, overwhelmed the World, and reached up even unto Heaven, ſeeing that the Flood, *Gen.* vii, cauſed but by Rain of forty Days, aſcended fifteen Cubits above the higheſt Mountains. Beſides, our very Senſes may perſuade us, that the Original of Springs and Rivers is from the Sea; for divers Springs of freſh Water are in ſundry Places, which ſeem to ſympathiſe with the Sea, and to imitate the Motion thereof by a Kind of Ebullition. And, which is ſtrange, and yet a Thing vouched by divers good Authors, thoſe Things, which were caſt into the River of *Alpheus* in *Græcia*, were afterwards found in the Fountain called *Arethuſa*, near *Syracuſa* in *Sicily*, though there be a great Diſtance of Sea and Land betwixt them; which gave Occaſion to the ancient Poets (who did uſe to involve all the Secrets of Nature in their Fables) to feign, that *Alpheus* and *Arethuſa* were a Couple of Lovers, which were transformed, the one into a River, and the other into a Fountain; and of them ſpeaketh *Ovid*, *Lib.* v, *Metam.* ſaying:

* *In latices mutor, ſed enim cognoſcit amatas*
Amnis aquas, poſitoque viri, quod ſumpſerat, ore,
Vertitur in proprias, quo ſe mihi miſceat, undas.

But whereas I ſaid before, that, for all the Water, which runneth into the Seas, they remain ſtill the ſame, I would not be miſtaken; for I know, that the Seas have ſometimes gone beyond their ordinary Bounds and Limits; but it hath been when they were, as it were, commanded ſo to do by their Creator, for the Puniſhment of Men's Wickedneſs, or whenſoever Men have gone about to alter the natural Seat and State of the ſame, and the ordinary Courſe of Rivers.

Of God's Judgments there are divers Examples, as * *Olenus* and *Helice*, two of the twelve Cities, which made the Commonwealth of the *Achæans*, which, a little before the Battle of *Leuctra*, were drowned by the Sea. *Antiſſa*, *Tyndaris*, and *Burrha* had the like Fortune alſo, being ſwallowed up by the Sea, together with all their Inhabitants. And that it might the better appear, that the Finger of God was in it, all ſuch, as thought to have eſcaped by Shipping, periſhed as well as the reſt, being drowned and overwhelmed by the Waves. And of thoſe, who have endeavoured to contract and pin up the Sea into narrower Limits, by Rills, Dikes, and other Works, divers of them have often ſuſtained great Damage by the ſame; as for Example, the *Hollanders*, who, as we ſaid before, loſt above a hundred-thouſand Acres of Ground by ſuch Means, which the Sea, after

* Lib. ii. Of *Polybius*, that excellent *Greek* Author, whoſe Works I lately finiſhed, to tranſlate into *Engliſh*, my Tranſlation being ready for the Preſs, if it can find any Room there. And as for *Polybius*, I dare boldly ſay here, by the Way, that there is not any better, or more neceſſary Author extant in his Kind; eſpecially, for three Sons of Men, Princes, Stateſmen, and Soldiers. And whereas the Emperor *Charles the Fifth* was wont to ſay, That there were but three Books neceſſary for a Prince: *Polybius*, for Wars; *Machiavel*, for State-matters and Policy; and *Caſtiglio*, for Behaviour; if he aimed at a Compendium, he might very well have left out the Second, ſeeing for State-matters, and honeſt Policy, enough of it may be found in *Polybius*, who, for Judgment, Sufficiency, Virtue, and Honeſty (though but an Heathen) went far beyond *Machiavel*; and far more for Employment and Experience, having been in great Places of Authority, both in Civil and Martial Affairs, and familiarly acquainted with that great *Roman*, *Scipio Africanus*, and with *Caius Lælius*. Whereas *Machiavel* was but a petty Secretary or Town-Clerk of the City of *Florence*, grown famous only through the wicked Maxims and Poſitions contained in his Writings, and eſpecially in his *Prince*, where he ſetteth forth that Monſter of Men, *Cæſar Borgia*, Baſtard Son to the like Father, *Alexander the Sixth*, Pope of *Rome*, as a Pattern to be imitated by ſuch, as deſire to get Rule and Dominion to themſelves. And it ſeemeth, by a Paſſage of the ſeventh Chapter of his *Prince*, that he was acquainted with him, and perhaps a Counſellor of his, in his Murders, Poiſonings, and other Deviliſh Exploits. But *Polybius* is ſo far from doing the like, that there are infinite Digreſſions in his Works, in which he reprehendeth the vicious Actions of Men more ſharply, than ſome other Authors, which profeſs themſelves Chriſtians.

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the Overthrow of all their Dikes and ſtrong Works, took away from them, as it were by Letters of Repriſal. This were enough to teach Men, that it is but in vain to go againſt the Order eſtabliſhed by God, and the ordinary Courſe of Nature; yet it is worth the Noting alſo, and a Thing not to be conſidered, without Admiration, that all thoſe Princes, who purpoſed to cut the *Iſthmus* of *Peloponneſus*, which is a Neck of Land betwixt two Seas, containing according to *Mercator*, in his *Atlas major*, ſome five Miles in Breadth, died all before the Work was begun, as *Caligula*, *C. Cæſar*, *Demetrius*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*.

CHAP. IV.

Of Waters of ſtrange Nature and Effects.

ALL Springs of Waters are actually either hot or cold: Of thoſe hot Springs, ſome are of ſo exceſſive Heat, that a Man would think, it were Water boiling upon the Fire; and amongſt others there is a Vein of it running under a Street, in a Village, called *Porcet*, near the City of *Akin* in *Germany*. In the Middle of this Street, there is a Hole, which they call *Hell*, with three or four Bars of Iron over it, in which the Neighbours round about, in the Summer-time, when they have no Fire, do uſe to ſeethe their Eggs, letting them down with a Net into the Water, and in a ſmall Space of Time they may be boiled hard; of which I was twice an Eye-witneſs, being there firſt in the Year 1610, after the Siege of *Gulick*, and the Yielding of the Town to the States, with that brave Soldier, Sir *Horace Vere*, now Lord of *Tilbury*; and the ſecond Time, with that worthy Knight, Sir *Henry Palmer*, now Comptroller of the Navy. The Cauſe of thoſe hot Waters is commonly aſcribed to Mines of Sulphur or Brimſtone, inflamed within the Bowels of the Earth. But few of thoſe hot Waters, as at *Akin*, *Porcet*, in the *Pyrenean* Mountains, at *Bath* in *Somerſetſhire*, and elſewhere, have any great or extraordinary Taſte of Brimſtone, as they ſhould of Neceſſity have, if Brimſtone melted, and burning, were the Cauſe of their Heat, that Mineral being of ſo piercing a Nature, and of ſo extenſive a Faculty, that never ſo little of it burning upon a few Coals, when our Women dry their Tiffanies, filleth a whole Room, with the ſtrong Scent of it. Beſides, ſuch a great Quantity of Water running continually, and ſo many Years and Ages together, had long ſince extinguiſhed thoſe Fires; or, if there were ſuch Flames, within the Bowels of the Earth, the ſame would long ago have dried up the Water, and reduced the Earth into Aſhes. Another Reaſon there is, that you ſhall find no hot Springs, where Fires do break out; and, though the Hill *Veſuvius* and Mount *Ætna* burn continually, yet are there no hot Springs about them, though they be environed by the Sea. And for all the late wonderful and extraordinary Eruption of Fire out of the ſaid Hill *Veſuvius*, or *Monte de Soma*, as they call it now, which hath been ſo violent, that the Houſes of *Naples*, which are eight, or, as others ſay, twelve Miles from the ſame, were all covered very thick, with the Aſhes thereof; yet, do they not write that the Water, which guſhed out, at the Foot of the ſaid Hill, was hot.

Beſides, altho' there be many hot Waters in *Italy* (for thoſe that have written of them reckon few leſs than threeſcore) yet ſhall you ſee, no where, a Mixture of Fire and Water in thoſe Parts; which makes me think with ſome, that the Cauſe of the Heat of thoſe Waters proceedeth from their Motion and Agitation in the Bowels of the Earth, falling from Cataracts and broken Concavities in the ſame.

That this may be true, it may be proved by the Sea, for, though it be actually cold, yet, if it be toſſed by a Tempeſt, but of three or four Days (and it is ſeldom, that a Storm laſteth longer) the Water thereof will ſometimes become very hot. Beſides we have many very ſulphureous Springs, which are never but cold; as for Example, one of the four Springs uſed at the *Spa*, called *Geronſter*, which taſteth ſo ſtrong of the Brimſtone, as myſelf can ſpeak by Experience, that divers of thoſe, who drink of it, are conſtrained to hold their Noſes, whilſt they are drinking, and the ſulphureous Fumes of it are ſo piercing, that they do ſpeedily intoxicate the Brain, and cauſe Drunkenneſs, though it

it be but for a little Time, being ſoon diſcuſſed away *.

Now, for the other Springs, which are actually cold, there are ſundry Differences of them, according to the ſeveral Subſtances they do run through, and the Nature and Effects of ſome of them are very admirable. Some do turn into Stone whatſoever is caſt into them, eſpecially, if the Things caſt in be of a looſe and porous Subſtance, as Leather, Balls, Gloves, and ſuch like; and *Pliny* and others deſcribe divers Springs of that Nature.

But, not to go out of this Iſland for Examples, there is a Spring of that Nature in *Wales*, in a Piece of Ground, belonging to Sir *Thomas Middleton*; and the quick Activity of ſome of thoſe Springs is wonderful, and almoſt incredible; for *Bodinus*, *Lib.* ii. *Theat. Nat.* doth affirm, That he hath ſeen Sticks of Wood, Straws, and ſuch like ſmall Things, converted into Stone, in *Lacu Piceno & Allienſi fonte Avernorum*, within the Space of two or three Hours. So that *Pliny*'s Aſſertion, who, in *Lib.* xxxv, *c.* 13, ſaith, that Earth is turned into Stone, in a Fountain of *Guidus*, within the Space of eight Months, is no more to be wondered at. The ſame Author namely *Pliny*, in *Lib.* xxxi, *c.* 2, maketh Mention of two Fountains, the one called *Cerone*, which maketh the Sheep, that drink of it, to bear black Wool; and the other *Melan*, which maketh the Wool of the Sheep which drink of it white, and, if they drink of both, their Wool will become of two Colours: And of another, called *Crathis*, which procureth Whiteneſs, and of a fourth, called *Sybaris*, which cauſeth Blackneſs in the Sheep and Oxen which drink of the ſame. Nay, the ſame Effect is ſeen alſo in Men, which drink of them, for thoſe that drink of *Sybaris* become blacker, harder, and of a curled Hair; and ſuch as drink of *Crathis* wax whiter, ſofter, and of a ſmooth Hair. He bringeth in alſo other Waters, which have the like Effect, in changing the Colour of ſuch as uſe them. He ſaith likewiſe, that there are two Springs in *Bœotia*, near the River of *Orchomenus*, whereof, the one ſtrengtheneth Memory, and the other cauſes Oblivion. A Fountain in *Arcadia*, called *Linus*, preſerveth Conception, and hindereth Abortion; and on the other Side, the River, called *Amphryſus*, maketh Women barren. *Cydnus*, a River of *Cilicia*, helpeth the Gout in the Feet, as appeareth by the Epiſtle of *Caſſius Parmenſis*, to *Marcus Antonius*; and contrariwiſe, by the Uſe of the Water, which is in *Trœzene*, all Men get the Gout in their Feet. All ſuch as drink of a Lake, called *Clitorius*, begin thereby to hate Wine. *Polyclitus* relateth, that the Water of a Fountain in *Cilicia* ſerveth inſtead of Oil; and *Theophraſtus*, That the like is done by the Water of a Spring in *Æthiopia*; and *Lycus*, That the Water of a Fountain in *India* burneth in a Lamp; the like is alſo at *Ecbatana*. *Juba* ſpeaketh of a Lake amongſt the *Troglodytes*, which, for the Hurt it doth, is called the *Mad Lake*, and ſaith, That it is bitter and ſalt thrice in a Day, and then freſh, and ſo again at Night. The ſame Author alſo maketh Mention of a Spring in *Arabia*, which bubbleth up with ſuch Force, that it caſteth forth whatſoever is thrown into it, though it be never ſo weighty. There are two Fountains in *Phrygia*, the one, called *Cleon*, and the other *Gelon*, having thoſe *Greek* Names from their Effects; for the firſt maketh Men cry, and the ſecond makes them laugh. There is an hot Spring at *Cranon*, and yet without exceſſive Heat, which being mingled with Wine, and kept in a Veſſel, keepeth the ſame hot by the Space of three Days. There is a River in *Bithynia*, called *Olachas*, into which, if perjured Perſons be thrown, they feel as much Heat, as if they were in a flaming Fire. In *Cantabria*, there are three Springs, but eight Feet aſunder, which running together make a goodly River, and every one of them by Turns becometh dry twelve Times, and ſometimes twenty Times a Day, ſo that a Man would think, there were no more Water in it, whilſt in the mean Time its next Neighbours be full, and flow continually. There is a Brook in *Ja-*

* Since the Writing of this Treatiſe, and when I was come to *London*, about the Printing of it, I lighted by Chance upon Dr. *Jordan*'s learned and elaborate Diſcourſe, of *Natural Baths and Mineral Waters*, wherein he hath a peculiar Opinion, concerning the actual Heat of Mineral Waters, which he aſcribeth to the Fermentation of Minerals, and illuſtrateth the ſame, with Reaſons and Examples. I am ſo far from diſliking it, that I applaud it, and leave both his and my Opinion to the Choice of the Reader, for, in thoſe abſtruſe Things, we have no certain Knowledge, but only probable Conjectures. Howſoever, the leaſt probable of theſe two Opinions is far more likely, than thoſe imaginary actual Fires, which the vulgar Opinion holdeth

dea, which is dried up every Sabbath. In *Macedonia*, not far from the Sepulchre of *Euripides*, there are two Brooks running together, the one having very wholesome Water; and the other, poisonous and deadly. *Quod si quis*, saith *Pliny*, *Lib.* xxxi, *c.* 2, *fide carere ex his aliqua arbitratur, discat in nulla parte naturæ majora esse miracula.* If any Man think, that some of these Things are past Belief, let him learn that there are no greater Miracles in any other Part of Nature, than in Waters. But, if any Man desire to know more, concerning the various Nature and Effects of Springs and Rivers, let him read the thirteenth Dialogue of *Simon Majolus*, Bishop of *Vultuaria*, in that Tome of his Works, which he intitleth, *Dies Caniculares*; and there he will find wherewith to satisfy his Curiosity. I pass now to Mineral and Medicinal Springs, which use to be drank.

CHAP. V.

Of Mineral and Medicinal Springs.

MIneral Waters, by their manifold Turnings and Windings under the Ground, are, as it were, impregnated with divers Virtues and Faculties of the several Minerals through which they run, and draw with them either the Faculties or Substance of the same, and sometimes both; and therefore, as mere Pureness commendeth ordinary Springs and Wells, so doth the various Mixture of several Things, though sometimes of a contrary and repugnant Nature, procure Commendation to Medicinal Waters. Some of them are beholden for whatsoever they have to the several Kinds of Earth, which they pass through, and lick, as it were, by the Way; as, Bole, Oker, Rubrick, Chalk, and the like: Others to Liquors, or congealed Juices; as, Allom, Bitumen, Brimstone, Nitre, and Copperas: And others, again, to Metals; as, Gold, Silver, Iron, Copper, Tin, and Lead. There are some also which owe their Virtues to Stone, as, Chrystal, Marble, Pumice-stone, *Lapis Hæmatites*, and the like; and others to the Roots of Trees and Plants; though these are rare, either because Trees do not root so deep, or by Reason that Medicinal Springs are commonly in barren Soils; as, on the contrary, wheresoever there is a fruitful Soil, there are no Mineral or Medicinal Springs to be found. Out of all these subterraneous Substances divers Springs draw sometimes contrary Faculties, or, at least, such as have but small Affinity one with another; and from hence it happeneth, that oftentimes one and the same Medicinal Spring cureth divers Diseases, which are either contrary one to another, or, at least, have but small Affinity together. It is of this as it is of Theriack or Mithridate, which are Compositions consisting of a great Number of Simples, of contrary and repugnant Natures, as it were, huddled together by Chance; and yet, when those Compositions have had their due Fermentation, and those several Simples have wrought one upon another, and become incorporated together, there resulteth afterwards an universal Form in the Composition, which maketh it excellent for most Diseases, and, as it were, a general *Panpharmacon*; and, in that Regard, some do merrily call Mithridate the *Father*, and Treacle the *Mother* of all Medicines. But, that we may the more accurately distinguish betwixt Mineral Springs, we must consider the Nature of Minerals, and look which of them have Affinity together, and which not. Bitumen, Salt, Sulphur, Copperas, and Copper are hot, and therefore they have a Faculty to cut, cleanse, open, dry, extenuate, and disperse. *Albertus Magnus*, *Lib.* v. *de Metallicis*, and, after him, *Andernacus* and others do reckon *Sal Nitrum* with these, and hold it to be hot; which might be granted them, if, by *Nitrum*, they understood that *Nitrum*, whereof *Hippocrates*, *Lib.* i. *de aer. Locis & Aquis*; *Dioscorides*, *Lib.* v. *c.* 89. *Pliny*, *Lib.* xxxi. *c.* 10. and *Galen*, *Lib.* ix. *Simp. Medicam.* do speak: But I do not think, that either *Albertus* or *Andernacus* ever saw it, because it began to be scanty, and hard to be found, in the Time of those ancient Authors before-cited after *Hippocrates*. But our Saltpetre, which is now called *Nitrum* amongst us, is as far from that ancient *Nitrum*,

Quantum Hipanis Veneto dissitus Eridano.

For, if Gunpowder were not enough to prove the

the Coldneſs of *Nitrum*, in which its Oppoſition and Contrariety to Brimſtone is ſo manifeſt, yet were the *Sal Prunellæ* of the Chymiſts (which is nothing but *Nitrum* purified from its Dregs with *Flores Sulphuris*) ſufficient to evince it, a very little of it, put into a Glaſs of Wine, making it ſo cold, that one is ſcarce able to drink it: And to this Purpoſe, I remember, that, when I was in *Holland*, the Prince of *Orange*, *Maurice*, was wont always, in the Summer-time, to have ſome of it thrown into the Water, where his Wine lay a cooling. That *Sal Prunellæ* alſo is the beſt Remedy againſt the Heat, Dryneſs, and Roughneſs of the Tongue in all Fevers, and eſpecially in that *Hungarian* Fever, called *Prunella*, from that Symptom, which gave likewiſe the Name of *Sal Prunellæ* to that purified *Nitrum*, by Reaſon of the Excellency of it in aſſwaging the ſame. And, the more to confirm this, one of the four Springs of the *Spa*, called *Tounelet*, and conſiſting chiefly of *Nitrum*, is ſo very cold, both in the Mouth and in the Stomach, that few can endure it, and in that Regard it is very little frequented; and, during my Stay there, I do not remember that ever I ſaw at it more than a Capuchin Friar, and another Clergyman, who uſed it for the Heat of their Livers, in which Caſe it may do Good, if the Stomach be not too weak.

Silver, Iron, Tin, and Lead are accounted cold, and, by Reaſon of their Aſtringency, to be at leaſt in the ſecond Degree. Gold is likewiſe placed amongſt theſe, tho' a Man might, perhaps, with better Right account it temperate. Now, in Regard of this Variety, ſome Springs are called *Nitrous*, *Sulphureous*, *Bituminous*, *Aluminous*, &c. according to the only or predominant Mineral, of which they do participate. But yet ſome there are, in which it is a very difficult Matter to know the ſame: So the *Uberlinguians* in *Sweden* do diſpute, to this Day, whether their Mineral Springs proceed from Lead, or Copper. In like Manner, the *Italians* are not well agreed, whether the Virtue of the Mineral Water about *Lucca* cometh from Iron, or from Allom. And a great Man, that was one of the chiefeſt Chymiſts of this Age, doubted whether he ſhould call the *Empſenſes Aquæ Aluminous*, or *Nitrous*: So hard a Thing it is exactly to diſtinguiſh in Things that are compounded and permixed. But it is now Time we ſhould go to *Tunbridge* Water.

CHAP. VI.

Of Tunbridge *Water.*

THE Waters, commonly known here amongſt us by the Name of *Tunbridge-Waters*, are two ſmall Springs contiguous together, about four Miles Southward from the Town of *Tunbridge* in *Kent*, from which they have their Name, as being the neareſt Town in *Kent* to them. They are ſeated in a Valley, compaſſed about with ſtony Hills, ſo barren, that there groweth nothing but Heath upon the ſame. Juſt there do *Kent* and *Suſſex* meet; and one may, with leſs than Half a Breath, run from thoſe Springs into *Suſſex*.

It pleaſed our gracious Queen *Mary* to grace this Water by her Preſence two Years ago; ſo that thoſe Springs may juſtly be called, as ſome do call them now, *Queen* Mary's *Wells*. The Taſte of the Water is not unpleaſant to thoſe who have a While been uſed to it; and it is a ſure Thing, that no Man is able to drink half ſo much of any other Liquor, tho' never ſo pleaſant unto him, as he may of this. What other Minerals it runneth thro', beſides Iron and the Rubrick of Iron, which is ſeen on the Ground, over which the Water runneth, is not yet well known; for there hath been, as yet, no Digging near about the ſame. The greater Part of thoſe that drink of it are purged by Stool, and ſome by Vomit, as well as by Urine; which, perhaps, ſhould argue ſome other Minerals, beſides Iron. The ſame may, peradventure, be diſcovered in After-times. Howſoever, though there were no other Minerals thereabout, beſides Iron, yet, Iron being a Metal, and all Metals, according to the Chymiſts, proceeding from two Principles, Sulphur and Mercury, wherefoever there are any Metals bred, there muſt alſo of Neceſſity their Principles be.

Beſides this, all Metals have alſo their peculiar Salts, and Iron, in particular, hath a great deal of volatile Salt, which is it that diſſolveth in the Chalybeate Wine, now ſo much

in Uſe. Now Iron is of an aſtringent and corroborating Faculty, and hath an opening Vertue withal, as may be ſeen by the Powder of Steel, Steel being nothing but a defecated Iron, which is uſed with good Succeſs in the Green-Sickneſs, and in all other Diſeaſes proceeding from Obſtructions. But here I ſhall ſeem, perhaps, to ſome to contradict myſelf, in making Iron both Aſtringent and Opening, which the Vulgar think to be two Qualities incompatible in one Subject, and yet they are deceived; for to open and corroborate have no ſuch Repugnance, but that they are together in many Simples. Now, concerning thoſe two Springs, a Queſtion doth often ariſe amongſt thoſe who are there drinking, Which of them ſhould be the better and ſtronger? But, being ſo contiguous and near together, certainly there can be no manifeſt Odds betwixt them; and, though I often taſted of both immediately one after the other, yet can I not ſay, that I ever found any perceptible Difference betwixt them: Yet will I not deny, but that it may ſo fall out, that at ſome Times the one may appear ſtronger than the other, according as the Water may participate more of the Vertue of the Minerals at one Time, than at another: But I think that there can be nothing conſtant in it, though they may alternately ſomething differ one from another. This ſhall ſuffice to have been ſpoken concerning thoſe Springs. It followeth now, that we make an Enumeration of the chieſeſt Diſeaſes their Water may be uſed for, wherein we will chiefly follow Experience, ſeeing it is an Empirical Remedy, and yet ſo, as we ſhall not exclude Reaſon. For, although it be *empiricum Remedium*, yet muſt we not uſe it altogether empirically, nor make a *Panpharmacon*, or a *Panacea*, a Medicine for all Diſeaſes, and ſend thither promiſcuouſly all Sorts of Patients, as ſome Phyſicians do to the like Springs, when they are at a *nonplus* with them, and after a long Time can do no Good upon them in Chronical Diſeaſes: For then they ſend them to thoſe Mineral Waters, *tanquam ad ſacram anchoram*. Which cauſeth thoſe Springs to become infamous, and to loſe the Credit they juſtly deſerve (the common People ordinarily judging of Things by the Event) when ſome miſcarry after the Uſe of the ſame, either becauſe they were already too far ſpent when they were ſent thither, or by reaſon their Diſeaſes were not to be cured by that Remedy.

CHAP. VII.

The chieſeſt Diſeaſes againſt which Tunbridge *Water may be uſed with good Succeſs.*

BEing now to reckon up the chieſeſt Diſeaſes which *Tunbridge* Water is good for, we will not go *a capite ad calcem*, from the Head to the Heel, but begin at that which it is moſt generally good for, and that is Obſtructions, which are the Cauſes of infinite Diſeaſes. This Water then doth effectually open all Manner of Obſtructions, whereſoever they be lurking, and eſpecially the Obſtructions of the Meſaraical Veins of the Spleen, and of the Liver, and that better than any Apozems or other Phyſick whatſoever. For, thoſe Obſtructions being ſtubborn, and requiring a great deal of Phyſick to be removed, and Phyſick being both loathſome and chargeable, People grow weary of it, before a Phyſician ſhall have run a Quarter of the Courſe which is neceſſary for the Removing of thoſe Obſtructions; and that is the Reaſon that ſo many are troubled with chronical lingering Diſeaſes, which in their own Nature are not incurable, but only remain uncured, either becauſe the Patient is not able or willing to undergo ſuch a Courſe of Phyſick, as is requiſite for his Recovery, or becauſe he loveth his Purſe too well. But theſe Waters bring no Charges, and, after one hath been uſed a little While to them, the Taking of them is not troubleſome at all; but, the longer a Man continueth the Uſe of them, the more he may, and, being taken in a large Quantity, they cannot chuſe but open effectually. Wherefore they are of excellent Uſe for all Diſeaſes, which have their Dependence upon Obſtructions, as all long and tedious Agues, Quartans, and the like; for a Dropſy, the black and yellow Jaundice, the *Schirrus Lienis*, or hard Swelling of the Spleen, which the common People call an *Ague-Cake*, the Scurvy, the Green-Sickneſs, the Whites in Women, and the Defect and Exceſs of their

Courſes,

Courſes. And though this laſt Aſſertion ſeemeth to have ſome Repugnancy, in that we aſcribe two contrary Effects to one and the ſame Agent; yet there is no ſuch Matter, for the one is done by opening of Obſtructions, and the other either by cooling the Blood, when it is too hot and ſharp, and ſo provoketh Nature to Expulſion, or by corroborating or ſtrengthening the Retentive Faculty. And it is the Property of all equivocal Agents, to vary their Operations according to the Variety of their Objects, and of the Matter they work upon; ſo the Sun melteth Wax, and hardeneth Clay. This Water doth alſo cut and extenuate tough, clammy, and, if I may ſo ſpeak, Tartarean Phlegm; and, in that Regard, it may be much available for thoſe who are uſed to be troubled with the Cholick, when ſuch an Humour is contained in their Guts.

It ſcoureth and cleanſeth all the Paſſages of Urine, and therefore is good againſt the Gravel and the Stone in the Kidnies, Ureters, or Bladder, where alſo it diſſolveth and waſheth away a Kind of clammy phlegmatick Excrement bred in the Bladder, which, ſometimes ſtopping the Paſſage of one's Water, maketh him believe that he is troubled with the Stone; as happened to one, that was himſelf a very ſkilful and famous Stone-cutter, who, being fully perſuaded that he had a Stone in his Bladder, gave himſelf to another of the ſame Profeſſion to be cut at *Namurs*; but, when he was cut, nothing was found in his Bladder, but ſuch a tough Humour, which might have been diſſolved and voided with Facility by the Help of the *Spa* Water, which was but a Day's Journey from him. It is good alſo (in Regard of the aſtringent and healing Faculty it hath) for all inward Ulcers, and eſpecially for thoſe of the Kidnies and Bladder, and of the *Muſculus Sphincter*, which openeth and ſhutteth the ſame. And, in Confirmation thereof, divers have been cured of a bloody Urine, which had long troubled them, and amongſt the reſt a worthy *Kentiſh* Gentleman, with whom I went thither the laſt Year.

It is good alſo againſt all inveterate Dyſenteries, or Bloody-fluxes: As alſo all other Fluxes of the Belly, whether it be *Lienteria*, *Diarrhœa*, or *Fluxus hepaticus*. It doth likewiſe extinguiſh all inward Inflammations and hot Diſtempers; and yet, for all that, the Stomach is no whit hurt by the actual Coldneſs thereof, but rather corroborated or ſtrengthened, and Appetite provoked; yea, in ſome but too much, as in myſelf for one: For whenſoever I drank, either at the *Spa* or at *Tunbridge*, I was never able to faſt with Patience until Noon, but muſt needs *effam latranti ſtomacho offerre*, caſt a Bit to my barking Stomach, before the reſt of my Company went to Dinner. For this Cauſe, when I was at the *Spa*, a *Spaniſh* Phyſician, who was come thither with the young Prince *Doria*, who was then but a Youth, would not let him take the Water above two or three Days, when he ſaw ſuch an Effect in him, fearing that he would receive more Hurt by the Exceſs of his Appetite, than Benefit by the Water; and ſo, after a long and troubleſome Journey from *Italy* thither, he returned Home without any Profit. The Nerves or Sinews, and the Original of them, the Brain, are ſtrengthened by the Uſe of this Water, and conſequently it is good againſt the Palſy, Inclination to an Apoplexy, Lethargy, and ſuch-like Diſeaſes of the Head.

And ſome Paralyticks have been ſeen, who ſometimes voided all their Water by Urine, and at other Times were as effectually purged, as if they had taken a ſtrong Potion, and withal ſweated abundantly all their Body over. All theſe Evacuations, and Vomiting alſo, are ſometimes ſeen in other Diſeaſes, as well as in that; nay, beſides that, in ſome Women you ſhall have an Evacuation by Urine, *& per menſes ſimul & hæmorrhoidas*. The Cauſe of all Rheums and Diſtillations is likewiſe removed by the Help of this Water, and all Diſeaſes cured, which have their Dependence upon the ſame, for all that Verſe of *Schola Salernitana*,

Jejunes, vigiles, ſitias, ſic rheumata cures.

Convulſions alſo, Head-ach, Megrim, and Vertigo, are driven away by the Uſe of the ſame, if the Patient be conſtant, and not too ſoon weary. Againſt Vomiting and the Hick-up, it is uſed with good Succeſs. Thoſe, that are troubled with Hypocondriacal Melancholy, find a great Deal of Eaſe by this Water. It helpeth alſo the Running of the Reins, whether it be *Gonnorhœa ſimplex*, or *Venerea*, and the Diſtemper of the *Paraſtatæ* ariſing from thence; as, likewiſe, a certain Carnoſity, which groweth, ſometimes, in the Conduit of the Urine; nay, and the Pox alſo, the Water having a notable potential drying Faculty. It driveth away,

way, beſides, all Manner of Worms, whether they be ordinary ones, or *aſcarides*, or *tæniæ*. It may be uſed alſo for the Gout, but it muſt be with ſome Caution, and the Body muſt be extraordinarily well prepared and purged before, becauſe it hath ſometimes brought the Fit upon ſome, who were well when they came thither. Outwardly applied, it doth help ſore Eyes, red Pimples, and other external Infirmities, More Diſeaſes, which have Affinity with theſe, it may be uſed for, but I will content myſelf with this Enumeration of the aforeſaid ones, and paſs to the Time, Manner, and Order of taking the Water. Yet muſt I not forget, in the Behalf of Women, to tell them, that there is Nothing better againſt Barrenneſs, and to make them fruitful, if other good and fitting Means, ſuch as the ſeveral Cauſes ſhall require, be joined with the Water.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Time, Manner, and Order of taking Tunbridge *Water.*

SOME, that ſhall read the next foregoing Chapter, will, perhaps, ſay, That I make this Water a direct *Panpharmacon*, a Remedy for all Diſeaſes, and therefore will give ſmall Credit unto it. But, for all that, daily Experience doth, and, if it continue to be uſed, will more and more confirm what I have ſaid to be true. For very few of thoſe who live at the *Spa*, whoſe Water hath great Affinity with that of *Tunbridge*, and in the Country about it, and make that Water their ordinary Drink, as many do, and myſelf have ſeen there very aged People, that did never drink any Thing elſe; few of them, I ſay, are troubled with Head-ach, Heart-burning, Stone, Obſtructions of the Kidnies, Liver, or Spleen, Falling-ſickneſs, and the like; and as for the Jaundice, Dropſy, and Scabs, they do not know what they are. Myſelf, during my Stay there, being once rid out to take the Air with a Couple of Gentlemen, and a Shower of Rain coming, we made to a Country-houſe near Hand to ſhelter ourſelves, and, after the Taking of a Pipe of Tobacco, I requeſted the good Man of the Houſe (who was a very old Man, and yet freſh and luſty, and with very few grey Hairs) to give us a Cup of his Beer? But he anſwered me, That he never had any Beer in his Houſe; if we would drink good *Pouhon*, it was at our Service, and he had a freſh Veſſel of it abroach. *Pauhon* is the Name of that Spring of the *Spa*, which ſtandeth in the Middle of the Town, and by the ſame Name they call alſo the Water thereof. But to return to our Matter:

Temporibus medicina valet, data tempore proſunt,
Et data non apto tempore, vina nocent.

And ſo Water. The Time then of taking thoſe Waters is either the Seaſon of the Year, when to come to them; or the Time of the Day, when to drink of the ſame. Concerning the Seaſon of the Year, Summer is the fitteſt, when there is a ſettled warm and dry Weather, as in the *Dog-Days* eſpecially.

Cum Canis arentes findit bulcus agros.

And the chiefeſt Months are *June*, *July*, *Auguſt*, and *September*; although the *Dutch*, who naturally love good Beer and Wine better than Water, uſe to have this rhyming Verſe in their Mouths:

Menſibus in quibus R. non debes bibere Water.

And, according as the Year proveth, a Man may ſometimes come ſooner, and continue later. In General, whenſoever the Weather is clear and dry, the Water is then beſt, as well in Winter as in Summer; yea, in hard froſty Weather the Water is commonly ſtrongeſt, the *antiperiſtaſis* of the Air hindering that there is not ſo great an Evaporation of the Mineral Spirits of the Water. For, when the Weather is rainy or miſty, and that *Jupiter* doth, *per cribrum mingere*, piſs through a Sieve, as *Ariſtophanes* merrily ſpeaks, the Water loſeth much of its Vertue. Myſelf have known, at the *Spa*, a Friar of the Reformed Order of St. *Francis*, a good, honeſt, temperate Man, who aſſured me, that having been there three whole Years together continually for the Stone (of which he ſhewed me a Box almoſt full, of ſeveral Forms and Sizes) and taking the Water all the While, both Summer and Winter, when the Weather

Weather was ſeaſonable, he found divers Times the Water better, ſtronger, and of a more ſpeedy Paſſage in frosty Weather, than in the Middle of Summer, without ever perceiving any Inconvenience by the Water, no more at that Time, than in Summer, for all he did always drink it cold.

For ſome, that uſe to take it in cold Weather, do warm it; but ſure the Water cannot chuſe, by that Means, but loſe a great Deal of its Vertue, which, in the Warming, evaporateth away, ſeeing that, in the very Tranſporting of it, the ſame doth happen. When the *Spa* Water is bottled to be ſent away, altho' thoſe who have the Charge of it be never ſo careful, in ſtopping the Bottles cloſe with boiled Cork, and pitching them over, yet will the Mineral Spirits find Way, inſomuch as, when you come to open them, you ſhall ſtill find ſome Want, and ſometimes a pretty Deal, eſpecially of the Water of the *Savenier*, which is more ſubtile and ſpiritual than that of *Pouhon*. But, to return to the Matter, there is no more to be ſaid, but that, in a Word, the Water is always beſt, when the Weather is cleareſt and drieſt.

Now concerning the Time of the Day; the Morning, when the Sun is an Hour, more or leſs, high, is the fitteſt Time to drink the Water. For, when the Sun beginneth to be of Force, it doth attract ſome of the Mineral Spirits, and the Water loſeth ſome of its Strength; and, betimes in the Morning, it is alſo beſt Walking. And you are ſo to drink the Water, as you may have taken the Quantity, which you intend to take that Day, within as ſmall a Space of Time, as conveniently you can, without Oppreſſing your Stomach too much, as within an Hour, or leſs, if you be able. Thoſe that lie not too very far from the Springs, and are able to uſe their Legs, ſhall do better to come thither on Foot, than to ride, becauſe ſo they ſhall heat their Bodies more. Yet do I not intend they ſhould be ſo hot as to ſweat, or be ready to ſweat, for that would do Hurt; but I mean only, that their natural Heat ſhould be ſomething awaked and excited, becauſe then the Water will be the better attracted, and have the more ſpeedy Paſſage. After every Glaſs, or every two or three Glaſſes, according as you ſhall be able to take it, it will be good to take a few Carraway Comfits, or Coriander Seed, ſome Galingal, Zedoar, Elecampane, Angelica Root, or ſuch like, to help the Digeſtion and Paſſage of the Water. In ſome it is neceſſary, that they ſhould have ſome Electuary Lozenges, or the like, appropriated to the Grief, for which they take the Water.

Divers do take Tobacco after their Water, which I do not diſlike, eſpecially if they hold it a good While in their Mouths, before they puff it out. Moderate Exerciſe after it is very available, but I utterly diſlike it, if it be too violent, as Running, Leaping, and Jumping, as ſome in Wantonneſs uſe to do. For that Kind of Exerciſe is rather a Hinderance, than a Help, to the Digeſting of their Water, and many Times all the Good it doth is to bring it up again, weakening, by that Means, their Stomach, which, in Vomiting, doth always ſuffer. True it is, that, if the Stomach be foul, it is not amiſs, ſometimes, ſo to do, and I am not againſt it. After you have taken your full Quantity, it will do well to walk and ſtir there up and down, and to compoſe yourſelf to Mirth with the reſt of the Company; for thoſe, that look to reap Benefit by *Tunbridge*, muſt turn away all Cares and Melancholy.

In your Return to your Lodging, I hold it better to ride, than to go on Foot, becauſe, ſitting upon your Horſe, the inward Parts, as the Muſcles of the Belly, the Guts, and the Stomach itſelf, are thereby borne up and contracted; and, by the Jogging of the Horſe, moderately ſtirred, and ſo, conſequently, your Water will be the better digeſted. The Sign of the thorough Concoction of the ſame is commonly, when your Urine beginneth to have a Tincture, and to be coloured, and then may you go to Dinner; but of this we will ſpeak of Purpoſe, when we come upon Diet. I ſaid before, that the beſt Time of the Day to take the Water was betimes in the Morning; and I mean alſo it ſhould be the only Time for that Day. For I have known ſome, who took it twice a Day, namely, in the Afternoon alſo, but I could never approve of it; and my Reaſon is, that, if they take it ſoon after Dinner, their Meat will not be digeſted, and the Water, forcing to make Way for itſelf, will draw with it the *Chylus*, raw and unconcocted, and ſo cauſe Crudities and Obſtructions, which will do a great Deal more Hurt, than the Water can do them Good; and, if they take it later after Dinner, their Water will not be digeſted before Supper. Once a Day then is enough, leſt you have worſe Speed, by making too much Haſte. Now, for the whole Quantity of the Water to be taken in one Morning,

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ing, it is a Thing which cannot juſtly be defined, in Regard of the Difference of Bodies, in Age, Sex, Strength, and other Circumſtances; but generally thoſe, that are able to drink moſt, receive the moſt Benefit, ſo that they do digeſt and void their Water well. And here it is, if any where, that the *Greek* Proverb ſhould take Place, ἢ πίθι, ἢ ἄπιθι, *aut bibe, aut abi*, either drink, or be gone; if you cannot tipple, this is no Place for you. Yet muſt every Man ever have this general Rule in Memory, *A juvantibus & lædentibus optima judicatio*, The beſt Judgment or Direction is, from thoſe Things which do Good, and from ſuch as do Hurt. You ſhall ſee ſome that ariſe to a great Quantity, and

Invenies illic, qui Neſtores ebibat annos,

Three-hundred Ounces, according to *Neſtor*'s Years; yea, and ſome a greater Quantity. And it is a Thing, that will make the very Women there filling the Glaſſes to laugh, to ſee ſome Patients ſent thither by ignorant Phyſicians, and appointed to take ten or twelve Ounces of Water, and ariſe perhaps to twenty or thirty Ounces. But this may be a Rule, for a Body of competent Years and Strength, to begin at thirty, forty, or fifty Ounces, and to ariſe by Degrees, increaſing their Quantity every Day, to an hundred, an hundred and fifty, or two-hundred Ounces, more or leſs, as they ſhall be able; and ſo again to decline and decreaſe by Degrees, ending where they began, when they are to leave the Water.

As for the Time of every Man's Stay there, it is a Thing which cannot be defined; for, in ſome Diſeaſes, ſome Weeks ſuffice; in others, divers Months are not enough, nay, in ſome, they have Need to come thither the next Year, and the next to that too. This, I hope, will ſuffice for the Time, Manner, and Order of Taking *Tunbridge* Water; I will now paſs to the Preparation of the Body of ſuch as are to take it.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Preparation of the Body of ſuch as are to take the Water.

I Have ſet down, before, the chiefeſt Diſeaſes, which may be cured by the Help of this Water; but I am not ſo to be underſtood, as though I meant, that the Water alone were ſufficient for the ſame in all of them, without any other Helps. For, tho' this be an Empirical Remedy, yet muſt it not be uſed altogether empirically, but with Reaſon, Diſcretion, and Circumſpection; otherwiſe Hurt, rather than Good, will follow the Uſe of it. Many have fallen into Diſeaſes, as Fevers and Agues, by coming unadviſedly and unprepared to thoſe Waters, although, as we ſaid before, there is nothing better for Agues, than they are, if they be rightly and adviſedly uſed, the Body being firſt prepared and purged. For, although Blood by a ſole Diſtemper of Heat, may cauſe a Fever, yet cannot the other Humours do it, as *Galen*, *Lib.* ii. *de diff. febrium*, well obſerveth, unleſs they putrefy, which they will not do, if the Body be free from Obſtructions, and perſpirable; and therefore that Body, which is to be taken with an Ague, muſt firſt be obſtructed. Now, theſe Waters being very diuretical, when they meet with a foul Body, having a Repletion of groſs Humours, they eaſily and ſpeedily carry the ſame with them into the Veins, which not being able to give Paſſage to ſuch a Quantity of Humours, they are thereby obſtructed and ſtopped, and thoſe Humours being there retained and wedged in, and not perflated or ventilated, they inflame and putrefy, and ſo produce a putrid Fever or Ague. Wherefore thoſe, that love their Health and Life, muſt, before they uſe the Water, if they have not a very pure Body, prepare and purge the ſame to prevent all Inconveniencies.

Now, according as Bodies do differ in Sex, Age, Temperature, Qualities of the peccant Humour, and other Circumſtances, ſo muſt they accordingly diverſly be prepared and purged. And, in that Regard, we have not thought it good to ſet down here any Forms thereof, but refer thoſe that ſhall come to the Water, to the Advice and Counſel of learned and ſkilful Phyſicians, and ſuch as are withal well acquainted with thoſe Kinds of Waters, which is the main Point. And, as for thoſe, that come far off, they may take Phyſick at *Tunbridge*, and it will be beſt for them ſo to do, becauſe, if they take Phyſick before, and preſently travel upon the ſame, it may produce ſome Danger.

If

If the Reſort to the Water continue, and that there be competent Company at the ſame, I do purpoſe, by the Grace of God, to be there, every Summer, for it is a Place I like; and, if any be pleaſed to confer with me, I will be ready to afford them my beſt Counſel; and they ſhall find there Variety of Phyſick, appropriated to their ſeveral Diſeaſes, which the Water is to be uſed for. Neither is it enough to prepare the Body, and take Phyſick, before Coming to the Water; but it is requiſite alſo, in ſome Diſeaſes, to take ſomething now and then during the Time they uſe the Water, to help the Working of it, and to cauſe a happy and proſperous Effect by the ſame; and ſo much the more, becauſe ſome are not able, either by Reaſon of Buſineſs, or otherwiſe, to ſtay there a competent Time, and therefore have Need of ſome other Help. For ſome Diſeaſes are ſo ſtubborn and difficult to be eradicated, that we muſt fight at all Weapons againſt the ſame, and yet all little enough too. Some unlooked for Accidents, alſo, happen there ſometimes, which have Need to be redreſſed and helped by other Means. But, of theſe Things, neither myſelf, nor any Man elſe, can ſpeak but in general Terms, and therefore I will conclude, and paſs to the Diet requiſite to be obſerved there.

CHAP. X.

Of the Diet to be obſerved by thoſe that uſe Tunbridge *Water.*

DIET, amongſt Phyſicians, is taken in a larger Signification, than it is with the Vulgar, for, beſides Meat and Drink, it comprehendeth Air, Motion, and Quiet, Things retained and voided, Sleeping and Watching, and the Paſſions of the Mind. All theſe muſt be rightly ordered, both to preſerve, and to reſtore Health. As for Air, it muſt be taken, ſuch as it is found there, and I think there is no great Exception to be taken againſt it, being thereabout pure and wholeſome enough. Of Motion and Quiet, we have ſaid ſomething before, when we ſpoke of Exerciſe, as alſo of the Paſſions of the Mind, when we wiſhed all ſuch, as come to the Water, to compoſe and frame themſelves to Mirth, and to leave all Cares and Melancholy at Home. Concerning Sleeping and Watching, a Moderation muſt be obſerved therein, though it be better to ſleep ſomething too much, than to watch too long; and therefore you ſhall do well to ſup betimes, and to go to Bed betimes, *animo ſecuro, quieto, & libero*, that the firſt, ſecond, and third Concoction may be ended, before you take the Water. And, as for Things voided and retained, you muſt endeavour to have the Benefit of Nature, by all Manner of ordinary Evacuations, as by Stool and Urine, and the private Excrements of the Brain, at the Mouth and Noſe: And thus much in Brief, concerning thoſe Things; we will now come to Meat and Drink. Bread is commonly, and with moſt Men, the chiefeſt Part of Food, and therefore though always, yet here more eſpecially, you muſt have a Care to have Bread of good pure Wheat, well handled and ſeaſoned in the Making, and well baked; for the Excrements and ill Humours, which are heaped by the Uſe of ill Bread, are worſe than thoſe which proceed from Meat. Ravel Bread, generally, is wholeſomer than Manchet, and not ſo apt to breed Obſtructions, having ſome of the Bran left in it, which is detergent, and maketh it paſs the better. As for Meat, let every one feed upon that which he hath been moſt uſed to, ſo it be good Meat, yielding good Nouriſhment, and of eaſy Digeſtion; and let him ſhun the Uſe of Sauces, which have much Butter and Spices in them. For it was a good Admonition of *Diſarius*, a learned Phyſician, in *Macrobius*, *Saturn.* 7, *c.* 4: *Vitandos eſſe cibos, qui ultra ſitim & famem appetentiam producerent*, That thoſe Means were to be avoided, which did lengthen Appetite, beyond Hunger and Thirſt. If you can, be contented with one Diſh at a Meal, for, *multa fercula multos morbos ferunt*, many Diſhes bring many Diſeaſes, and *perniciosa ſentina eſt abdomen inſaturabile*, an unſatiable Belly is a pernicious Sink. In foul Bodies eſpecially, Over-feeding doth a great Deal of Hurt, according to that Aphoriſm of *Hippocrates*, *Lib.* ii, *Aphor.* 9, Τὰ μὴ καθαιρόμενα τῶν σωμάτων, ὅκόσων ἂν θρέψῃς, μᾶλλον βλάψεις. The more you nouriſh foul Bodies, the more you hurt them. In a Word, a moderate ſober Diet

is always beſt, but eſpecially here. As for the Kinds of Meats, though, amongſt the Fleſh of four-footed Beaſts, Pork and Veal be chiefly commended in our Books, yet here, in Regard of their Moiſture, I prefer Mutton before them. And if Pork be to be avoided, much more Pig, Lamb, and ſuch like flaſhy Meat. As for Beef, though it be diſcommended by moſt Authors, yet good Beef, well fed, and of an indifferent Age, may be uſed without Scruple, eſpecially, by ſuch, as have been accuſtomed to it, for thoſe Authors were never acquainted with our *Engliſh* Beef. If Oxen, indeed, be killed, when they are ſo old, that they be paſt Labour, their Fleſh cannot be wholeſome, nor is it to be commended. But, for our good ſucculent Beef here, I verily think, that if thoſe Authors were alive again, and ſhould taſte of it, they would be ſo far from Forbidding it, that, on the contrary, they would commend it. For, if they do ſo much commend Veal, I ſee no Reaſon, they can have to diſcommend good ſucculent Beef.

Beſides Mutton and Beef, you may ſometimes have Capons, Hens, Pullets, Chickens, Pigeons, Partridges, Pheaſants, Black-birds, and other ſmall Birds, Rabbets, and the like. And, becauſe ſome Hares are ſometimes caught about *Tunbridge*, it is a Queſtion which ſome aſk, Whether thoſe, who are there at the Waters, may feed upon them? They are grown infamous and baniſhed from moſt Tables undeſervedly, out of a Conceit, that they are melancholy Meat. But I will now take their Cauſe in Hand, and vindicate them from that Imputation, if I can, ſaying with *Martial:*

Inter aves turdus, ſi quis, me Judice, certet,
Inter quadrupedes gloria prima lepus.

And, leſt I ſeem to give too eaſy an Aſſent to the Poet, though he was not a mere Poet, but well grounded in Natural Philoſophy, I will ſtrive to prove, that it is not melancholy Meat, but Meat for melancholy Men.

Firſt, I will bring in *Galen*, *Lib.* iii, *de alim.* to patrocinate unto him, who prefers the Blood of a Hare, before that of Hens, Pigeons, and all other Birds, and ſaith, that it is moſt ſweet and dainty. Now, if Hare's Blood be ſo good, How can the Fleſh thereof be naught, which is made and produced by it; Fleſh being Nothing elſe but Blood coagulated and converted into the ſame?

The ſame Author, *ibidem initio libri*, ſaith alſo, that Hare's Fleſh breedeth better Blood, than Mutton or Beef. And, if theſe two come every Day to the Tables, even of the nobleſt and richeſt Perſons, Why ſhould the poor Hare, which is better, and yieldeth better Nouriſhment than they, be baniſhed from the ſame?

After *Galen*, learned *Heurnius* reckoneth Hare's Fleſh in the firſt Place, amongſt thoſe Meats, which alter Melancholy in the Kidnies; but to alter and free from Melancholy, and to breed Melancholy, cannot both be done by one Kind of Meat. For, if any Man would fly here to Similitude of Subſtance, or to an hidden Property, he ſhould deſerve to be hiſſed at; but they ſay, it is a melancholy fearful Creature. What Reaſon they have to call him ſo, unleſs it be, becauſe he ſhunneth and runneth away from the Dogs, which purſue him, I do not know; but, if that be all, Do not Wolves, Bulls, Bears, yea and Lions alſo, the like? If we may believe thoſe, who have been in *Africa*, an old Woman there, or a Child, with a Stick in their Hands, do drive away Lions, as we do Dogs here. And a Hare is not ſo fearful, but that you ſhall ſee ſome of them turn about, and look upon the Dogs, after a daring Manner. They do not lie in Holes and Burrows, as Conies do, which, in that Regard, ſhould be more melancholy; and yet they are in moſt common Uſe amongſt us, and accounted the beſt Meat. And, as for their Food, it is the ſame with that of Partridges, the Excellency whereof is no where controverted; and with the Uſe of them only the Pox may be cured, as *Cardan* holdeth, who could ſpeak of it, by Experience, as having had that Diſeaſe ſeven Times, as himſelf witneſſeth, in that Book of his, which he intitleth, *De utilitate ex adverſis capienda*; and ſure his Witneſs is not to be rejected. Let the Hare then return in Uſe, and be reſtored to his former Pre-eminence, ſo [illegible] old, but of a competent Age, as [illegible] leſs. But, as for Water-Fowl, you [illegible] well to abſtain from the ſame.

Concerning Fiſh, though it be for the moſt Part unwholeſome, and apt to breed excrementitious and ſlimy Humours, yet for a Change you may ſometimes eat ſome River Fiſh, that are firm and not ſlimy; as, Trouts, Gudgeons, Pikes, Perches, and the like, [illegible] prefer

or boiled in Wine (if you will go to the Charges) rather than in Water, and corrected with Fennel, Spearmint, Thyme, Roſemary, Parſly, or the like. But, for Mints in particular, let thoſe Women, that come to the Water for Fruitfulneſs, refrain the ſame, becauſe it is thought it hindereth Conception. At your Fruit, you may uſe ſome Raiſins of the Sun, a Bit of Marmalade, a roaſted Wardon, or Pippin with Carroways, or the like; but in all this you muſt be ſparing.

Now, for an End of all, I muſt repeat what I have touched before, namely, That you avoid Variety of Diſhes: For, the Nature of ſeveral Meats being diverſe, and ſometimes clean oppoſite and contrary one to another, and ſome ſooner concocted, and others later, from hence thoſe Evils will ariſe, againſt which you come to ſeek Help from the Water; as, Crudities, Wind-gripings, Pain of the Reins, Obſtructions of the Meſaraical Veins, Rawneſs of the *Chylus*, and conſequently of the Blood which ſhall be made of the ſame, and ſuch like Inconveniences, which by a ſober and moderate Diet may be avoided.

Thus much concerning Meat. As for Drink, good ordinary clear Beer, and of an indifferent Strength and Age, is beſt, and it is the ordinary Drink of this Iſland, which agreeth beſt with the Nature of thoſe who are bred in it: Yet, if any, having been uſed to drink Wine at Meals, deſire to continue the ſame, I am not againſt it, if ſo be they be not of too hot a Conſtitution, and have no principal Part offended through Exceſs of Heat; for a Cup of Wine, or two, at Meals, doth but help to make the better Digeſtion: And for that Purpoſe Sack or Claret better than White Wine, becauſe White Wine, by the diuretical Faculty it hath, paſſeth too ſoon away, and before the *Chylus* be thoroughly perfected, and ſo it may carry ſome of the *Chylus* raw and unconcocted with it, and conſequently breed Crudities and Obſtructions. And thus much concerning Diet.

The Concluſion of this Treatiſe.

HAving briefly run through the chiefeſt Things needful to be known and practiſed by ſuch as ſhall deſire to uſe this Water, I will here end with an Exhortation unto them to be well adviſed concerning the Nature of their Diſeaſes, before they come; and, when they are come, to obſerve the Rules and Directions contained in this Treatiſe, as alſo to be conſtant in the Uſe of the Water. And, although, perhaps, ſome of them perceive little or no Benefit at firſt by the ſame, yet let them not be diſcouraged, but perſevere in the Uſe of it; for ſome, having been there once with ſmall or no Profit at all, the next Year after, upon a ſecond Trial, have returned Home perfectly cured. It is the ordinary Reward of Conſtancy and Perſeverance, in the End, to hit the Mark they aim at. Every Thing in this World hath a certain Period, before which it cannot come to a full Perfection; and ſo, herewith, I wiſh all happy and proſperous Succeſs to all ſuch as ſhall come to theſe Springs, and will be ready at all Times to afford them my beſt Help and Counſel.

Now, as for this Treatiſe, I do not look it ſhould have a Privilege, above all other Writings, to be exempted from Controulment and Carping; for it were better Luck, than any Man ever had, that expoſed himſelf to the Cenſure of the World. There are far more Fools than wiſe Men in the World; and, as the *Spaniard* well obſerveth, *Un loco haze cientio*, One Fool maketh an hundred more ſuch (moſt Men having their Wits pinned to another Man's Sleeve) and the greater Fool commonly is the bolder Cenſurer; which maketh Books to be variouſly received, liked, and entertained, according to the Variety of the Reader's Underſtanding and Capacity:

Pro captu lectoris habent ſua fata libelli.
Upon the Reader's Wit the Fates of Books depend.

But the beſt is, that I ever was regardleſs of the Multitude, as well in this, as in all Things elſe. If the judicious Reader find any juſt Fault with any Thing contained in this Treatiſe, let him remember, that *Humanum eſt errare*; That to err is incident to the Frailty of our human Nature. But I never was ſo wedded to my own Opinions and Conceptions,

but that, upon better Information, I ever was, and ever will be willing to acknowledge my Errors, if I committed, or ſhall commit any, without eſteeming it any Shame ſo to do, any more than many good and worthy Authors have done, when they publiſhed their Retractions.

A View of St. *Helena*, an Iſland in the *Ethiopian* Ocean, in *America*, now in Poſſeſſion of the honourable *Eaſt-India* Company, where their Ships uſually refreſh in their *Indian* Voyages. With an Account of the admirable Voyage of *Domingo Gonſales*, the little *Spaniard*, to the World in the Moon, by the Help of ſeveral Ganſa's, or large Geeſe. An ingenious Fancy, written by a late learned Biſhop. *Duodecimo*, containing forty-three Pages.

BEfore I come to relate the Acquiſitions of the *Engliſh* in *India*, &c. I will make a Halt, at St. *Hellens*, or *Helena*, which is now poſſeſſed by the honourable *Eaſt-India* Company. It is called the *Sea-Inn*, becauſe the *Engliſh*, and other Nations ſtop there, as a Place for Watering and Refreſhment, in their long Voyages to *India*. It was formerly ſeized by the *Dutch*, but retaken *May* the 6th, 1673, by Captain *Munday*, with a Squadron of *Engliſh* Ships, and three rich *Dutch Eaſt-India* Ships made Prizes in the Harbour; ſince which the Company have fortified, and ſecured it, againſt any future Invaſion of *Dutch*, *Portugueſe*, or *Spaniards*. It was called St. *Helena*, by the *Portugueſe*, who diſcovered it on St. *Hellen*'s Day, being *April* the ſecond. There is no Iſland in the World ſo far diſtant from the Continent, or main Land, as this. It is about ſixteen Leagues in Compaſs, in the *Ethiopick* Sea, in ſixteen Degrees of South Latitude; about Fifteen-hundred Miles from the *Cape of Good Hope*; Three-hundred and Sixty from *Angola*, in *Africa*; and Five-hundred and Ten from *Braſile*, in *America*. It lies high out of the Water, and ſurrounded on the Sea-coaſts with ſteep Rocks, having within many Cliffs, Mountains, and Vallies, of which one is named *Church-Valley*, where behind a ſmall Church they climb up to the Mountains. To the South is *Apple-Dale*, ſo called from the Abundance of Oranges, Lemons, and Pomegranates, enough to furniſh five or ſix Ships. On the Weſt Side of the Church, Ships have good Anchorage cloſe under the Shore, to prevent the Winds which blow fiercely from the adjacent high Mountains.

The Air ſeems temperate, and healthful, ſo that ſick Men brought a-ſhore there in a ſhort Time recover; yet the Heat in the Vallies is as intolerable as the Cold upon the Mountains: It commonly rains there five or ſix Times a Day, ſo that the Barrenneſs of the Hills is not occaſioned for Want of Water, of which it hath two or three good Springs for furniſhing Ships with freſh Water; the Ground of its own Accord brings forth wild Peaſe, and Beans, alſo whole Woods of Orange, Lemon, and Pomegranate Trees, all the Year long laden both with Bloſſoms and Fruit, good Figs, Abundance of Ebony, and Roſe Trees, Parſly, Muſtard-ſeed, Purſlain, [illegible] like; the Woods and Moun[illegible] Goats, large Rams, and wil[illegible] ficult to be taken. When th[illegible] covered it, they found neither [illegible] nor Fruit-trees, but only fr[illegible] afterwards planted Fruit-tree[illegible] creaſed ſince, that all the Va[illegible] them; Partridges, Pigeons, [illegible] Peacocks breed here numero[illegible] good Markſman may ſoon pro[illegible] for his Friends. On the Cliff-Iſlands, on the [illegible]

South are Thouſands of grey and black Mews, or Sea-pies, and white and coloured Birds, ſome with long, others with ſhort Necks, who lay their Eggs on the Rocks, and ſuffer themſelves to be taken with the Hand, gazing at the Surpriſers, till they are knocked on the Head with Sticks.

From the Salt-water beating againſt the Cliffs a Froth, or Scum, remains in ſome Places, which the Heat of the Sun ſo purifies, that it becomes white and good Salt; ſome of the Mountains yield Bole Armoniack, and a fat Earth like *Terra Lemnia*. The Sea will anſwer the Pains of a patient Fiſherman, who muſt uſe an Angle, not a Net, becauſe of the foul Ground, and Beating of the Waves; the chief are Mackarel, Roach, Carp, but differing in Colour from thoſe among us; Eels as big as a Man's Arm, and well taſted Crabs, Lobſters, Oyſters, and Muſſels as good as *Engliſh*.

It is in this Iſland that the Scene of that notable Fancy, called, *The Man in the Moon, or a Diſcourſe of a Voyage thither*, by *Domingo Gonſales* is laid; written by a learned Biſhop, ſaith the ingenious Biſhop *Wilkins*, who calls it a pleaſant and well contrived Fancy, in his own Book intitled, *A Diſcourſe of the new World, tending to prove that it is poſſible there may be another habitable World in the Moon*: Wherein among other curious Arguments he affirms, that this hath been the direct Opinion of divers ancient, and ſome modern Mathematicians, and may probably be deduced from the Tenents of others, neither does it contradict any Principle of Reaſon, nor Faith; and that, as their World is our Moon, ſo our World is theirs.

Now this ſmall Tract having ſo worthy a Perſon to vouch for it, and many of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians having publiſhed, for Truth, what is almoſt as improbable as this, as Sir *John Mandavil* in his Travels and others, and this having what they are utterly deſtitute of, that is, Invention mixed with Judgment; and was judged worthy to be licenſed fifty Years ago, and not ſince reprinted, whereby it would be utterly loſt: I have thought fit to republiſh the Subſtance thereof, wherein the Author ſays he does not deſign to diſcourſe his Readers into a Belief of each particular Circumſtance, but expects that his new Diſcovery of a New World may find little better Entertainment than *Columbus* had in his firſt Diſcovery of *America*, though yet that poor Eſpial betrayed ſo much Knowledge as hath ſince increaſed, to vaſt Improvements, and the then unknown is now found to be of as large Extent as all the other known World; that there ſhould be *Antipodes* was once thought as great a Paradox as now that the Moon ſhould be habitable. But the Knowledge of it may be reſerved for this our diſcovering Age, wherein our *Virtuoſi* can by their Teleſcopes gaze the Sun into Spots, and deſcry Mountains in the Moon. But this and much more muſt be left to the Criticks, as well as the following Relation of our little Eye-witneſs, and great Diſcoverer, which you ſhall have in his own *Spaniſh* Stile, and delivered with that Grandeur, and Thirſt of Glory, which is generally imputed to that Nation.

It is known to all the Countries of *Andaluſia*, That I *Domingo Gonſales* was born of a noble Family in the renowned City of *Seville*. My Father's Name being *Therando Gonſales*, near Kinſman, on the Mother's Side, to Don *Pedro Sanches*, the worthy Count of *Almenera*; my Mother was the Daughter of the famous Lawyer, *Otho Perez de Sallaveda*, Governor of *Barcelona*, and Corrigidor of *Biſcay*; I, being the youngeſt of ſeventeen Children, was put to School, and deſigned to the Church; but Heaven propoſing to uſe my Service, in Matters of far another Nature, inſpired me with ſpending ſome Time in the Wars; it was at that Time, that Don *Ferando*, the renowned Duke *d'Alva*, was ſent into the *Low-Countries*, in 1568. I then following the Current of my Deſire, leaving the Univerſity of *Salamanca*, whither my Parents had ſent me, without giving Notice to any of my Friends, got through *France*, to *Antwerp*, where I arrived in a mean Condition. For having ſold my Books, Bedding, and other Things, which yielded me about thirty Ducats, and borrowed Twenty more of my Father's Friends, I bought a little Nag, wherewith I travelled more thriftily, than uſually young Gentlemen do, till arriving within a League of *Antwerp*, ſome of the curſed *Gueſes* ſet upon me, and bereaved me of my Horſe, Money, and all; ſo I was forced thro' Neceſſity to enter into the Service of Marſhal *Coſſey*, a *French* Nobleman, whom I ſerved in an honourable Employ, though my Enemies, to my Diſgrace, affirm, I was his Horſe-keeper's Boy; but for that Matter, I refer to myſelf to

Count

Count *Mansfield*, and other Persons of Condition, who have often testified to many worthy Men the very Truth of the Business, which indeed was this: Monsieur *Cossey* being about this Time sent to the Duke *d'Alva*, Governor of the *Low-Countries*, he understanding the Nobility of my Birth, and my late Misfortune, judging it would be no small Honour to him, to have a *Spaniard* of that Quality about him, furnished me with a Horse, Arms, and whatever I wanted, using my Service, after I had learned *French*, in Writing his Letters, because my Hand was very fair. In Time of War, if upon Necessity, I sometimes dressed my own Horse, I ought not to be reproached therewith, since I count it the Part of a Gentleman, to submit to the vilest Office for the Service of his Prince.

The first Expedition I was in was, when the Marshal, my Friend, met the Prince of *Orange* making a Road into *France*, and forced him to fly, even to the Walls of *Cambray*; it was my good Fortune to defeat a Trooper, by killing his Horse with my Pistol, who, falling upon his Leg, could not stir, but yielded to my Mercy; I knowing my own Weakness of Body, and seeing him a lusty tall Fellow, thought it the surest Way to dispatch him, which having done, I plundered him of a Chain, Money, and other Things, to the Value of two-hundred Ducats; this Money was no sooner in my Pockets, but I resumed the Remembrance of my Nobility, and taking my Audience of Leave from Monsieur *Cossey*, I instantly repaired to the Duke *D' Alva*'s Court, where divers of my Kindred, seeing my Pocket full of good Crowns, were ready enough to acknowledge me; by their Means I was received into Pay, and in Time obtained Favour with the Duke, who would sometimes jest a little more severely at my Personage, than I could well bear; for though I must acknowledge my Stature is so little, as I think no Man living is less, yet since it is the Work of Heaven, and not my own, he ought not to have upbraided a Gentleman therewith; and those glorious Things that have happened to me may evince, that wonderful Matters may be performed by very unlikely Bodies, if the Mind be good, and Fortune second our Endeavours.

Though the Duke's Jokes a little disgusted me, yet I endeavoured to conceal my Resentment, and accommodating myself to some other of his Humours, I was so far interested in his Favour, that at his Going into *Spain*, whither I attended him, by his Kindness, and other Accidents, wherein, by my Industry, I was seldom wanting to myself, I was able to carry Home three-thousand Crowns in my Pocket.

At my Return, my Parents, who were extremely disturbed at my Departure, received me with Joy; which was increased, because they found I had brought wherewith to maintain myself, without being chargeable to them, or lessening the Portions of my Brothers and Sisters. But doubting I would spend it as lightly as I got it, they sollicited me to marry the Daughter of *John Figueres*, a considerable Merchant of *Lisbon*, to which I complied, and putting my Marriage-Money, and good Part of my own, into the Hands of my Father, I lived like a Gentleman many Years very happily; at length a Quarrel arising between me, and *Pedro Dalgades*, a Gentleman, and Kinsman of mine, it grew so high, that when no Mediation of Friends could prevail, we two went alone with our Swords into the Field, where it was my Chance to kill him, though a stout proper Man; but what I wanted in Strength I supplied in Courage, and my Agility countervailed for his Stature. This being acted in *Carmona*, I fled to *Lisbon*, thinking to conceal myself with some Friends of my Father-in-Law, till the Business might be accommodated. At which Time, a famous *Spanish* Count, coming from the *West-Indies*, published triumphant Declarations, of a great Victory he had obtained against the *English*, near the Isle of *Pines*, whereas in Reality he got nothing at all in that Voyage but Blows, and a considerable Loss. It had been well, if Vanity and Lying had been his only Crimes; his Covetousness had like to have been my utter Ruin, though since it hath proved the Occasion of eternising my Name, I verily believe, to all Posterity, and to the unspeakable Benefit of all Mortals, for ever hereafter; at least, if it please Heaven that I return Home safe to my Country, and give perfect Instructions how these almost incredible and impossible Acquirements may be imparted to the World, you shall then see Men flying in the Air, from one Place to another; you shall then be able to send Messages many hundred Miles in an Instant, and receive Answers immediately, without the Help of any Creature upon Earth;

you

you ſhall then preſently impart your Mind to your Friend, though in the moſt remote and obſcure Place of a populous City, and a Multitude of other notable Experiments: But what exceeds all, you ſhall then have the Diſcovery of a new World, and Abundance of rare and incredible Secrets of Nature, which the Philoſophers of former Ages never ſo much as dreamed of; but I muſt be cautious in publiſhing theſe wonderful Myſteries, till our Stateſmen have conſidered how they may conſiſt with the Policy and good Government of our Country, and whether the Fathers of the Church may not judge the Divulging them prejudicial to the Catholick Faith, which, by thoſe Wonders I have ſeen above any mortal Man before me, I am inſtructed to advance, without Reſpect to any temporal Advantage whatſoever.

But to proceed: This huffing Captain pretended much Diſcontent for the Death of *Delgades*, who was indeed ſome Kin to him; however he was willing to be quiet, if I would give him a thouſand Ducats. I had now, beſides a Wife, two Sons, whom I was not willing to beggar, only to ſatisfy the avaricious Humour of this Boaſter, and ſo was neceſſitated to take ſome other Courſe: I imbarqued in a ſtout Carrick bound for the *Eaſt-Indies*, carrying the Value of two-thouſand Ducats to trade with, leaving as much more for the Support of my Wife and Children behind, whatever Misfortune might happen to me. In the *Indies* I thrived exceedingly, laying out my Stock in Diamonds, Emeralds, and Pearls, which I bought at ſuch eaſy Rates, that my Stock ſafely arriving in *Spain*, as I underſtood it did, muſt needs yield Ten for One. But, having doubled Cape *Buona Eſperanza* in my Way Home, I fell dangerouſly ſick, expecting nothing but Death, which had undoubtedly happened, but that we juſt then diſcovered the bleſſed Iſle of *St. Hellens*, the only Paradiſe I believe on Earth, for Healthfulneſs of Air, and Fruitfulneſs of Soil, producing all Neceſſaries for the Life of Man: It is about ſixteen Leagues in Compaſs, and has no firm Land or Continent within three-hundred Leagues, nay, not ſo much as an Iſland within an hundred Leagues of it; ſo that it may ſeem a Miracle of Nature, that, out of ſo vaſt and tempeſtuous an Ocean, ſuch a ſmall Rock or Piece of Ground ſhould ariſe and diſcover itſelf. On the South is a good Harbour, and near it divers ſmall Houſes built by the *Portugueſe* to accommodate Strangers, with a Chapel handſomely beautified with a Tower, and Bell therein. Near it is a Stream of excellent freſh Water, divers handſome Walks planted on both Sides with Orange, Lemon, Pomegranate, Almond-trees, and the like, which bear Fruit all the Year, as do alſo divers others: There is Store of Garden-Herbs, with Wheat, Peaſe, Barley, and moſt Kinds of Pulſe; but it chiefly aboundeth with Cattle and Fowl, as Goats, Swine, Sheep, Partridges, wild Hens, Pheaſants, Pigeons, and wild Fowl beyond Credit: But eſpecially about *February* and *March* are to be ſeen large Flocks of a Kind of wild Swans, whereof I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter, who, like our Cuckoes and Nightingales, go away at a certain Seaſon, and are no more ſeen that Year.

On this happy Iſland did they ſet me a-ſhore, with a *Negro* to attend me, where I recovered my Health, and continued a whole Year, ſolacing myſelf, for Want of human Society, with Birds, and brute Beaſts. *Diego*, my Blackmoor, was forced to live in a Cave at the Weſt-end of the Iſle, for, had we dwelt together, Victuals would not have been ſo plenty with us; but now, if one ſucceeded well in Hunting or Fowling, the other would find Means to treat him, and, if both miſſed, we were fain to look out ſharply; but this ſeldom happened, ſince no Creature there fears a Man more than a Goat or Cow, whereby I eaſily tamed divers Kinds of Birds and Beaſts by only Muzzling them, ſo that till they came either to me, or *Diego*, they could not feed: At firſt I much delighted in a Kind of Partridges, and a tame Fox, whereof I made good Uſe; for, if I had Occaſion to confer with *Diego*, I would take one of them muzzled and hungry, and, tying a Note about his Neck, beat him from me, whereupon he would ſtraight away to *Diego*'s Cave, and, if he were not there, would beat about till he found him; yet, this Conveyance being not without ſome Inconvenience, I perſuaded *Diego*, who, though a Fellow of good Parts, was content to be ruled by me, to remove to a Cape on the North-weſt Part of the Iſland, being, though a League off, yet within Sight of my Houſe and Chapel; and ſo, when the Weather was fair, we could, by Signals, declare our Minds each to other in an Inſtant, either by Night or by Day, wherein we took much Pleaſure. If in the Night I would ſignify any Thing to him, I ſet up a Light in the

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Bell-Tower, which was a pretty large Room, with a fair Window well glazed, and the Walls within plaiſtered white, ſo that, though the Light were but ſmall, it made a great Show: After this Light had ſtood half an Hour, I covered it, and then, if I ſaw any Signal of Light again from my Companion, I knew he waited for my Notice; and ſo, by hiding and ſhewing my Light, according to the Agreement betwixt us, I certified him of what I pleaſed. In the Day, I adviſed him by Smoke, Duſt, and other refined Ways.

After a While I grew weary of it as too painful, and again uſed my winged Meſſengers. Upon the Shore, about the Mouth of our River, I found Store of a Kind of wild Swans feeding upon Prey, both of Fiſh and Birds; and, which is more ſtrange, having one Claw like an Eagle, and the other like a Swan. Theſe Birds breeding here in infinite Numbers, I took thirty or forty of them young, and bred them up by Hand for Recreation; yet, not without ſome Thoughts of that Experiment which I after put in Practice. Theſe being ſtrong, and able to continue a great Flight, I taught them, firſt, to come at Call afar off, not uſing any Noiſe, but only ſhewing them a white Cloth; and here I found it true what *Plutarch* affirms, That Creatures which eat Fleſh are more docible than others. It is wonderful to think what Tricks I taught them before they were a Quarter old; amongſt others, I uſed them, by Degrees, to fly with Burdens, wherein I found them able beyond Belief, and a white Sheet being diſplayed to them, by *Diego*, upon the Side of a Hill, they would carry from me, to him, Bread, Fleſh, or whatever I pleaſed, and, upon the like Call, come to me again. Having proceeded thus far, I conſulted how to join a Number of them together ſo as to carry a heavier Weight, which, if I could compaſs, I might enable a Man to be carried ſafely in the Air from one Place to another. I puzzled my Wits extremely with this Thought, and, upon Trial, found, that, if many were put to the Bearing of one great Burden, by Reaſon it was impoſſible all of them ſhould riſe together juſt at one Inſtant, the firſt that roſe, finding himſelf ſtayed by a Weight heavier than he could ſtir, would ſoon give over, and ſo the ſecond, third, and all the reſt. I contrived, at laſt, a Way, whereby each might riſe with only his own Proportion of Weight; I faſtened about each Ganſa a little Pulley of Cork, and, putting a String of a juſt Length through it, I faſtened one End to a Block of almoſt eight Pounds Weight, and tied a Two-pound Weight to the other End of the String, and then, cauſeing the Signal to be erected, they all roſe together, being four in Number, and carried away my Block to the Place appointed. This hitting ſo luckily, I added two or three Birds more, and made Trial of their carrying a Lamb, whoſe Happineſs I much envied, that he ſhould be the firſt living Creature to partake of ſuch an excellent Device.

At length, after divers of Trials, I was ſurpriſed with a great Longing to cauſe myſelf to be carried in the ſame Manner; *Diego*, my Moor, was likewiſe poſſeſſed with the ſame Deſire, and, had I not loved him well, and wanted his Service, I ſhould have reſented his ambitious Thought; for I count it greater Honour to have been the firſt Flying-man, than to be another *Neptune* who firſt adventured to ſail on the Sea. Yet, ſeeming not to underſtand his Intention, I only told him, that all my Ganſa's were not ſtrong enough to carry him, being a Man, though of no great Bulk, yet twice heavier than myſelf. Having prepared all Neceſſaries, I, one Time, placed myſelf, and all my Utenſils, on the Top of a Rock at the River's Mouth, and, putting myſelf upon my Engine at full Sea, I cauſed *Diego* to advance the Signal; whereupon my Birds, twenty-five in Number, roſe all at once, and carried me luſtily over to the Rock on the other Side, being about a Quarter of a League: I choſe this Time and Place, becauſe, if any Thing had fallen out contrary to Expectation, the worſt that could happen was only Falling into the Water, and being able to ſwim well, I hoped to receive little Hurt in my Fall: When I was once ſafe over, O how did my Heart even ſwell with Joy and Admiration at my own Invention! How often did I wiſh myſelf in the Midſt of *Spain*, that I might fill the World with the Fame of my Glory and Renown! Every Hour I had a longing Deſire for the Coming of the *Indian* Fleet, to take me Home with them, which then ſtaid three Months beyond their uſual Time: At length they arrived, being three Carricks, much Weather-beaten, the Men ſick and weak, and ſo were conſtrained to refreſh themſelves in our Iſland a whole Month: The Admiral was called *Alphonſo de Xima*, a valiant wiſe Man, deſirous of Glory, and worthy better Fortune than afterwards

terwards befel him: To him I discovered my Device of the Ganſa's, being ſatisfied that it was impoſſible, otherwiſe, to perſuade him to take ſo many Birds into his Ship, who, for the Niceneſs of their Proviſion, would be more troubleſome than ſo many Men; yet I adjured him, by Oaths and Imprecations, to be ſecret in the Buſineſs, though I did not much doubt it, aſſuring myſelf he durſt not impart the Experiment to any, before our King was acquainted therewith. I had more Apprehenſion, leſt Ambition, and the Deſire of gaining to himſelf the Honour of ſo admirable an Invention, ſhould tempt him to diſpatch me. However, I was forced to run the Riſque, unleſs I would adventure the Loſs of my Birds, the like whereof, for my Purpoſe, were not to be had in *Chriſtendom*, nor was I ſure ever to bring up others to ſerve my Turn.

It happened all theſe Doubts were cauſeleſs; the Man I believe was honeſt, but the Misfortune we met with prevented all theſe Thoughts. *Thurſday*, *June* the 21ſt, 1599, we ſet Sail for *Spain*, I having allowed me a convenient Cabbin for my Birds, and Engine, which the Captain would have perſuaded me to have left behind, and it was a Wonder I did not; but my good Fortune ſaved my Life, for, after two Months Sail, we met with an *Engliſh* Fleet about ten Leagues from the Iſland of *Teneriffe*, one of the *Canaries*, famous for a Hill therein called *Pike*, which is diſcerned at Sea above an hundred Leagues off. We had a-board five Times their Number of Men, all in Health, and were well provided with Ammunition; yet, finding them reſolved to fight, and knowing what infinite Riches we carried, concluded it better, if poſſible, to eſcape, than, by encountering a Crew of deſperate Fellows, to hazard not only our own Lives, which a Man of Courage does not value, but the Eſtates of many poor Merchants, who, I am afraid, were undone by the Miſcarriage of this Buſineſs. Our Fleet conſiſted of five Sail, that is, three Carricks, a Barque, and a Caravel, who, coming from St. *Thomas's* Iſle, had, in an ill Hour, overtaken us ſome Days before. The *Engliſh* had three Ships well provided, who, no ſooner eſpied, but preſently ingaged us, and, changing their Courſe, endeavoured to bring us under their Lee; which they might eaſily do as the Wind then ſtood, they being light nimble Veſſels, as *Engliſh* Ships generally are; ours heavy, deep laden, and foul with the Sea: So our Captain reſolved, wiſely enough it may be, but neither valiantly nor fortunately, to fly, commanding us to diſperſe ourſelves. The Caravel, by too much Haſte, fell upon one of the Carricks, and bruiſed her ſo, that one of the *Engliſh* eaſily fetched her up and entered her, the Caravel ſinking before our Eyes. The Barque eſcaped unpurſued, and another of our Carricks, after ſome Chace, was given over by the Enemy, who, expecting a ſufficient Booty of us, and getting us between them, fell upon us with much Fury; our Captain, hereupon, gave Direction to run a-ſhore upon *Teneriffe*, the Port whereof we could not recover, ſaying, That he hoped to ſave Part of the Goods and ſome of our Lives, and he had rather the reſt ſhould be loſt, than all fall into the Mercy of our Foes.

When I heard this Reſolution, obſerving the Sea to work high, and knowing all the Coaſt to be ſo full of Rocks and Shoals, that it was impoſſible our Ship ſhould come near the Land, unleſs broken into a thouſand Pieces, I repreſented to the Captain the Deſperateneſs of the Attempt, wiſhing him rather to try the Kindneſs of the Enemy, than throw away himſelf and ſo many brave Men. But he would by no Remonſtrances be removed from his Reſolution; therefore, finding it high Time to ſhift for myſelf, I locked up my little Caſket of Jewels, which putting into my Sleeve, I then betook me to my Ganſa's; and, having harneſſed them to my Engine, and put myſelf thereon, ſuppoſing, as indeed it happened, that, when the Ship ſhould ſplit, my Birds, though they wanted their Signal, yet, for Saving their own Lives (which Nature hath taught all Creatures to preſerve) would make toward Land; which fell out according to my Expectation. The People in the Ship wondered what I was doing, none being acquainted with the Uſe of my Birds, but the Captain, *Diego* being in the other Ship, which fled away unpurſued. We were about Half a League from Land, when our Carrick ſtruck upon a Rock, and ſplit to Pieces; upon which I let looſe the Reins to my Birds, having firſt placed myſelf upon the Top of the Deck, and with the Shock they all aroſe, carrying me fortunately to the Land; of which you need not doubt but I was very joyful, though it was a miſerable Sight to behold my Friends and Acquaintance in that woeful Diſtreſs; of whom yet many eſcaped better than they expected: For the *Engliſh*,

launching out their Cock-boats, discovered more generous Tempers than we are pleased to allow them, taking Compassion of their Calamity, and endeavouring with all Diligence to save them from the Fury of the Waves, though with much Danger to themselves: Among others they took up our Captain, who, as Father *Pacio* since told me, having put himself with twelve others into the Cock-boat, was forced to yield to one Capt. *Raymundo*, who carried him and our Pilot along with them in their Voyage to the *East-Indies*, whither they were bound; but it was their hard Fate, by a Breach of the Sea near Cape *Buona Esperança*, to be swallowed by the mercileſs Waves, whose Rage they a While before had so hardly escaped: The rest, as I likewise heard, who were about twenty-six Persons, they took into their Ship, and set them on Land at Cape *Verde*.

As for myself, being now a-shore in an Island inhabited by *Spaniards*, I reckoned I was safe, but found myself mistaken; for it was my Hap to pitch upon that Part of the Isle where the *Pike* begins to rise, which is inhabited by a savage People who live upon the Sides of that Hill, the Top whereof is for the most Part covered with Snow, and formerly accounted, for its Steepness, inaccessible either for Man or Beast: But these Savages, fearing the *Spaniards*, keep as near the Top as they can, never coming down into the fruitful Vallies, but to seek for Booty. A Crew of these Out-laws happened to espy me soon after I landed, and, thinking they had got a Prize, approached me with all Speed. I guessed their Design before they came within Half a Mile, when, perceiving them come down the Hill directly towards me, with long Staves and other Weapons, I thought it necessary to secure myself from these Villains, who, out of Hatred to us *Spaniards*, would have cut me to Pieces. The Country was sandy, but, the *Pike* beginning to lift up itself, I espied in the Side a white Cliff, which I hoped my Gansa's would take for a Mark, and, being put up, would make all that Way; whereby I might be carried so far, that those barbarous Rascals should not overtake me, before I got to some *Spaniard*'s House, or hid myself, till by the Covert of the Night I might travel to *Laguna*, the chief City of the Island, three Miles off. So I settled myself upon my Engine, and let loose the Reins to my Gansa's, who by good Fortune took all one Course, though not just the Way I aimed at. But what of that? O Reader, prick up thy Ears, and prepare thyself to hear the strangest Chance that ever happened to any Mortal, and which I know thou wilt not have the Grace to believe, till thou seest the like Experiment, which I doubt not in a short Time may be performed. My Gansa's, like so many Horses that had gotten the Bit between their Teeth, made not their Flight towards the Cliff I intended, though I used my wonted Means to direct the Leader of the Flock that Way, but with Might and Main took up toward the Top of the *Pike*, and never stopped till they came there; a Place, in vulgar Estimation (though since experimentally contradicted) fifteen Miles in Height. What Kind of Place this was I would gladly relate, but that I hasten to Matters of greater Importance. When I was set down there, my poor Gansa's fell to Panting, Blowing, and Gaping for Breath, as if they would all have died; so I did not trouble them a While, forbearing to draw them in (which they never use to endure without Struggling) but little did I expect what followed.

It was now the Season that these Birds take their Flight away, as our Cuckows and Swallows do in *Spain* towards Autumn; and, as I afterwards found, being mindful of their usual Voyage, just when I began to settle myself to take them in, they with one Consent rose up, and, having no other higher Place to make towards, to my unspeakable Fear and Amazement, struck bolt upright, and never left Towering upward still higher and higher, for the Space, as I guessed, of an Hour; after which, I thought, they laboured less than before, till at length (ah wonderful!) they remained immoveable, as steadily as if they had sat upon so many Perches: The Lines slacked; neither I nor the Engine moved at all, but continued still, as having no Manner of Weight. I found then by Experience what no Philosopher ever dreamed of, namely, That those Things, we call *heavy*, do not fall towards the Center of the Earth as their natural Place, but are drawn by a secret Property of the Globe of the Earth, or rather something within it, as the Load-stone draweth Iron which is within the Compass of its attractive Beams. For, though my Gansa's could continue unmoved, without being sustained by any Thing but the Air, as easily and quietly as a Fish in the Water,

ter, yet, if they forced themſelves never ſo little, it is impoſſible to imagine with what Swiftneſs they were carried, either onward, downward, or ſide-ways. I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, my Horror and Amazement in this Place was ſuch, that, had I not been armed with a true *Spaniſh* Reſolution, I ſhould certainly have died for Fear.

The next Thing that diſturbed me was the Swiftneſs of the Motion, which was ſo extraordinary, that it almoſt ſtopped my Breath; if I ſhould liken it to an Arrow out of a Bow, or a Stone thrown from the Top of an high Tower, it would come vaſtly ſhort of it. Another Thing was exceeding troubleſome to me, that is, the Illuſion of Devils and wicked Spirits, who, the firſt Day of my Arrival, came about me in great Numbers, in the Likeneſs of Men and Women, wondering at me like ſo many Birds about an Owl, and ſpeaking ſeveral Languages which I underſtood not, till at laſt I met with ſome that ſpoke good *Spaniſh*, ſome *Dutch*, and others *Italian*; all which I underſtood; and here I had only a Touch of the Sun's Abſence once for a ſhort Time, having him ever after in my Sight. Now, tho' my Ganſa's were entangled in my Lines, yet they eaſily ſeized upon divers Kinds of Flies and Birds, eſpecially Swallows and Cuckows, whereof there were Multitudes, even like Motes in the Sun, though I never ſaw them eat any Thing at all. I was much obliged to thoſe (whether Men or Devils, I know not) who, among divers Diſcourſes, told me, 'If I would follow their Directions, I ſhould 'not only be carried ſafe Home, but be aſſu-'red to command at all Times all the Plea-'ſures of that Place.' To which Motion not daring to give a flat Denial, I deſired Time to conſider, and withal intreated them (though I felt no Hunger at all, which may ſeem ſtrange) to help me to ſome Victuals, leſt I ſhould ſtarve in my Journey; they readily brought me very good Fleſh and Fiſh of ſeveral Sorts, and well dreſſed, but that it was extreme freſh, without any Reliſh of Salt. Wine likewiſe I taſted of divers Kinds, as good as any in *Spain*, and Beer, no better in all *Antwerp*. They adviſed me, that, while I had Opportunity, I ſhould make my Proviſions, telling me, that till the next *Thurſday* they could help me to no more; at which Time they would find Means to carry me back, and ſet me ſafe in *Spain*, in any Place I would deſire, provided I would become one of their Fraternity, and enter into ſuch Covenants as they had made to their Captain and Maſter, whom they would not name. I anſwered civilly, I ſaw little Reaſon to rejoice in ſuch an Offer, deſiring them to be mindful of me as Occaſion ſerved. So for that Time I was rid of them, having firſt furniſhed my Pockets with as much Victuals as I could thruſt in, among which I would be ſure to find a Place for a ſmall Bottle of good Canary.

I ſhall now declare the Quality of the Place wherein I was; the Clouds I perceived to be all under between me and the Earth. The Stars, becauſe it was always Day, I ſaw at all Times alike, not ſhining bright as we ſee in the Night upon Earth, but of a whitiſh Colour like the Moon with us, in the Day Time; thoſe that were ſeen, which were not many, ſhewed far greater than with us, yea as I gueſſed no leſs than ten Times bigger; as for the Moon, being then within two Days of the Change, ſhe appeared of an huge and dreadful Greatneſs. It is not to be forgot that no Stars appeared, but on that Part of the Hemiſphere next the Moon, and the nearer to her, the larger they appeared again; whether I lay quiet, and reſted, or were carried in the Air, I perceived myſelf to be always between the Moon and the Earth, whereby it is plain that my Ganſa's took their Way directly towards the Moon, and that when we reſted, as we did at firſt for many Hours, either we were inſenſibly carried round about the Globe of the Earth, though I perceived no ſuch Motion, or elſe, according to the Opinion of *Copernicus*, the Earth is carried about, and turneth round perpetually from Weſt to Eaſt, leaving to the Planets only that Motion, which the Aſtronomers call Natural, and is not upon the Poles of the Equinoctial, commonly called the Poles of the World, but upon thoſe of the Zodiack; the Air in that Place I found without any Wind, and exceeding temperate, neither hot nor cold, where neither the Sun-beams had any Subject to reflect upon, nor the Earth and Water ſo near to affect the Air with their natural Quality of Coldneſs: As for the Philoſophers Attributing Heat and Moiſture to the Air, I always eſteemed it a Fancy. Laſtly, I remember that, after my Departure from the Earth, I never felt either Hunger, or Thirſt, whether the Purity of the Air, freed from the Vapours of the Earth and Water, might yield

Nature ſufficient Nouriſhment, or what elſe might be the Cauſe I cannot determine, but ſo I found it, though I was perfectly in Health, both of Body, and Mind, even above my uſual Vigour.

Some Hours after the Departure of that Deviliſh Company, my Ganſa's began to beſtir themſelves, ſtill directing their Courſe towards the Globe, or Body of the Moon, making their Way with ſuch incredible Swiftneſs, that I conceive they advanced little leſs than fifty Leagues in an Hour, in which Paſſage I obſerved three things very remarkable; one that the farther we went, the leſs the Globe of the Earth appeared to us, and that of the Moon ſtill larger: Again the Earth, which I had ever in my Eye ſeemed to maſk it ſelf with a Kind of Brightneſs like another Moon, and as we diſcern certain Spots or Clouds as it were in the Moon, ſo did I then ſee the like in the Earth; but whereas the Form of thoſe Spots in the Moon is always the ſame, theſe on the Earth ſeemed by degrees to change every Hour; the Reaſon whereof ſeems to be, that whereas the Earth according to her natural Motion (for ſuch a Motion I am now ſatisfied ſhe hath, according to the Opinion of *Copernicus*) turns round upon her own Axis, every four and twenty Hours, from Weſt to Eaſt, I ſhould at firſt ſee in the Middle of the Body of this new Star, the Earth, a Spot like a Pear with a Morſel bit out on one Side, in ſome Hours I ſhould obſerve this Spot move away towards the Eaſt, this no doubt was the main Land of *Africa*; then might I perceive a great ſhining Brightneſs in that Place which continued about the ſame Time, and was queſtionleſs the vaſt *Atlantick* Ocean: After this ſucceeded a Spot almoſt Oval, juſt as we ſee *America* deſcribed in our Maps; then another immenſe Clearneſs repreſenting *Mare del Zur*, or the *South Sea*; and laſtly a Number of Spots like the Countries and Iſlands in the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſo that it ſeemed to me no other than an huge Mathematical Globe turned round leiſurely before me, wherein ſucceſſively all the Countries of our Earthly World were within twenty-four Hours repreſented to my View; and this was all the Means I now had to number the Days, and reckon the Time.

I could now wiſh that Philoſophers and Mathematicians would confeſs their own Blindneſs, who have hitherto made the World believe that the Earth hath no Motion, and to confirm it are forced to attribute to every one of the celeſtial Bodies two Motions directly contrary to each other; one from the Eaſt to the Weſt, to be performed in twenty-four Hours with an impetuous rapid Motion; the other from Weſt to Eaſt in ſeveral Proportions. O incredible Suppoſition! That thoſe huge Bodies of the fixed Stars in the higheſt Orb, whereof they confeſs divers are above an hundred Times bigger than the whole Earth, ſhould like ſo many Nails in a Cart-wheel be whirled about in ſo ſhort a Time; whereas it is many thouſand Years, no leſs (ſay they) than thirty-thouſand, before that Orb finiſhes his Courſe from Weſt to Eaſt, which they call his natural Motion; now whereas they allow their natural Courſe, from Weſt to Eaſt, to every one of them therein, they do well; the Moon performs it in twenty-ſeven Days, the Sun, *Venus*, and *Mercury* in a Year, or thereabouts; *Mars* in three Years, *Jupiter* in twelve, and *Saturn* in thirty. But to attribute to theſe celeſtial Bodies contrary Motions, at once, is an abſured Conceit, and much more to imagine that the ſame Orb, wherein the fixed Stars are, whoſe natural Courſe takes up ſo many Thouſands of Years, ſhould be turned about every twenty-four Hours. I will not go ſo far as *Copernicus*, who makes the Sun the Center of the Earth, and immoveable, neither will I be poſitive in any thing, only this I ſay Allow the Earth its Motion, which theſe Eyes of mine can teſtify to be true, and all thoſe Abſurdities are removed, every one having only his own ſingle and proper Motion.

But where am I? I promiſed an Hiſtory, and am unawares turned Diſputer. One Accident more befel me worth Mention, that during my Stay, I ſay, I ſaw a Kind of a reddiſh Cloud coming toward me, and continually approaching nearer, which at laſt I perceived was nothing but a huge Swarm of Locuſts. He that reads the Diſcourſes of learned Men concerning them (as *John Leo*, of *Africa*, and others who relate that they are ſeen in the Air, ſeveral Days before they fall on the Earth) and adds thereto this Experience of mine, will eaſily conclude that they can come from no other Place, than the Globe of the Moon. But now give me Leave to go on quietly in my Journey for eleven or twelve Days, during all which Time I was carried directly toward the Globe,

or

or Body of the Moon, with ſuch a violent Whirling as is inexpreſſible, for I cannot imagine a Bullet out of a Cannon could make Way through the vaporous and muddy Air near the Earth with half that Celerity; which is the more ſtrange, ſince my Ganſa's moved their Wings but now and then, and ſometimes for a Quarter of an Hour, not at all, only holding them ſtretched out, as we ſee Kites and Eagles ſometimes do for a ſhort Space; during which Pauſes, I ſuppoſe they took their Naps, and Times of Sleeping, for other Times I could perceive they never had any; for myſelf, I was ſo faſtened to my Engine that I durſt ſlumber enough to ſerve my Turn, which I took with as great Eaſe as if I had lain on the beſt Down Bed in *Spain*.

After eleven Days Paſſage, in this violent Flight, I perceived we began to approach to another Earth (if I may ſo call it) being the Globe or very Body of that Star, which we call *the Moon*. The firſt Difference I found, between this and our Earth, was, that it appeared in its natural Colours, as ſoon as ever I was free from the Attraction of the Earth; whereas, with us, a Thing, a League or two from us, puts on that deadly Colour of Blue. I then perceived alſo, that this World was the greateſt Part covered with a huge mighty Sea, thoſe Parts only being dry Land, which are to us ſomewhat darker than the reſt of her Body, I mean, what the Country People call, *The Man in the Moon*; and that Part, which ſhines ſo bright, is another Ocean, beſprinkled with Iſlands, which, for their Smallneſs, we cannot diſcern ſo far off; ſo that the Splendor, which appears to us in the Night, is nothing but the Reflexion of the Sunbeams, returned to us out of the Water as from a Looking-glaſs. How much this diſagrees with what our Philoſophers teach in the Schools is evident; but alas! how many of their Errors hath Time and Experience refuted, in this our Age! And among other vain Conjectures, Who hath not hitherto believed the upper Region of the Air to be very hot, as being next, forſooth, to the natural Place of the Element of Fire? Mere Vanities, Fancies, and Dreams. For, after I was once free from the attractive Beams of that tyrannous Loadſtone, the Earth, I found the Air altogether ſerene, without Winds, Rain, Miſts or Clouds, neither hot nor cold, but conſtantly pleaſant, calm, and comfortable, till my Arrival in that new World of the Moon; as for that Region of Fire, our Philoſophers talk of, I heard no News of it; my Eyes have ſufficiently informed me, there is no ſuch Thing.

The Earth had now, by Turning about, ſhewed me all her Parts twelve Times, when I finiſhed my Courſe; for when, by my Reckoning, it ſeemed to be (as indeed it was) *Tueſday*, *September* the Eleventh; at which Time, the Moon, being two Days old, was in the twentieth Degree of *Libra*; my Ganſa's ſeemed, by one Conſent, to ſtay their Courſe, and reſted for certain Hours, after which they took their Flight, and in leſs than an Hour ſet me on the Top of an high Hill in that other World, where many wonderful Things were preſented to my Sight: For I obſerved firſt, that, though the Globe of the Earth appeared much greater there than the Moon doth to us, even three Times bigger, yet all Things there were ten, twenty, yea thirty Times larger than ours; their Trees were thrice as high, and above five Times broader and thicker; ſo were their Herbs, Birds, and Beaſts, though I cannot well compare them to ours, becauſe I found not any Kind of Beaſt or Bird there, which any Way reſembled ours, except Swallows, Nightingales, Cuckows, Woodcocks, Batts, and ſome Kind of wild Fowl; and likewiſe, ſuch Birds as my Ganſa's, all which, as I now perceived, ſpend their Time, in their Abſence from us, in that World; neither do they differ in any Thing from ours, but are the very ſame Kind.

No ſooner was I upon the Ground, but I found myſelf extremely hungry; ſtepping, then, to the next Tree, I faſtened my Engine and Ganſa's thereto, and in great Haſte fell to examining my Pockets, for the Victuals I had reſerved there; but, to my great Surpriſe and Vexation, inſtead of Partridges and Capons, which I thought I had hoarded there, I found nothing but a Medley of dry Leaves, Goats Hair, Sheep or Goats Dung, Moſs, and the like; my Canary-wine was turned, and ſtunk like Horſe-piſs: Oh the Villainy and Cheats of theſe curſed Spirits, whoſe Aſſiſtance if I had depended on, in what a Condition had I been! While I ſtood muſing at this ſtrange Metamorphoſis, on a Sudden, I heard my Ganſa's fluttering behind me, and, looking back, I eſpied them falling greedily upon a Shrub, within the Reach of their Lines, whoſe Leaves they fed earneſtly upon, whereas, before, I had never ſeen them eat any green Thing whatſoever; ſo ſtepping to the Shrub, I put a Leaf to my Mouth; the Taſte was ſo excellent,

excellent, that I cannot expreſs it, and, if I had not with Diſcretion moderated my Appetite, I ſhould have ſurfeited thereon; yet it happened to be a good Bait for both me, and my Birds, when we had moſt Need of Refreſhment.

Scarce had we ended our Banquet, when I ſaw myſelf ſurrounded with a ſtrange Kind of People, both in Feature, Manners and Apparel; their Stature was very different, but they were generally twice as high as ours; their Shape and Countenance pleaſant, and their Habit hardly to be deſcribed; for I never ſaw either Cloth, Silk, nor other Stuff, like that whereof their Cloaths were made; neither can I poſſibly relate their Colour, they being in a Manner,* all cloathed alike; it was neither Black, White, Yellow, Red, nor Blue, nor any Colour compoſed of theſe; if you aſk what was it then, I muſt tell you, it was a Colour never ſeen in our Earthly World, and ſo neither to be deſcribed nor conceived by us; for, as it is hard to make a Man, born blind, underſtand the Difference between Green and Blue, ſo neither can I decipher this Moon Colour, as having no Affinity with any I ever beheld; I can only ſay, it was the moſt glorious and delightful that can be imagined, neither was any Thing more pleaſant to me, during my Stay there.

Being ſurpriſed at the Appearance of theſe People, ſo ſuddenly and in ſuch Accoutrements, I croſſed myſelf, and cried out, *Jeſu Maria*; no ſooner was the Word *Jeſu* pronounced, but Young and Old fell on their Knees (whereat I not a little rejoiced) holding up their Hands on high, and repeating certain Words which I underſtood not; and, preſently riſing again, one much taller than the reſt came and kindly embraced me, and ordering, as I perceived, ſome of the reſt to attend my Birds, he took me by the Hand, and led me to his Dwelling, down toward the Foot of the Hill, which was a Building ſo great and beautiful, as nothing in our World is comparable thereto; yet afterwards I ſaw ſuch as this ſeemed but a Cottage, in Reſpect of them: There was no Door about the Houſe leſs than thirty Feet high, and twelve broad; the Rooms were forty or fifty Feet in Heighth, and anſwerable in Proportion; neither could they be much leſs, the Maſter thereof being full Twenty-eight high, and I ſuppoſe his Body would weigh twenty-five or thirty of ours; after I had reſted with him about one of our Days, he led me five Leagues off to the Palace of the Prince of the Country, the Statelineſs whereof I have not now Leiſure to deſcribe: This Prince was much taller than the former, and called (as near as I can, by Letters declare it, for their Sounds are not perfectly to be expreſſed by our Characters) *Pylonas*, which, in their Language, is *Firſt* or *Chief*, if it doth not rather denote his Authority and Dignity, as being the principal Man in all thoſe Parts; though yet there is one ſupreme Monarch amongſt them, much greater of Stature than he, commanding over all that whole World, having under him twenty-nine other Princes of great Power; and every one of theſe has twenty-four inferior Governors, whereof this *Pylonas* was one. The firſt Anceſtor of this great Monarch came out of the Earth, as they relate, and by marrying the Heireſs of that vaſt Monarchy, obtaining the Government, left it to his Poſterity, who have enjoyed it ever ſince, even forty-thouſand Moons, which is three-thouſand and ſeventy-ſeven Years; his Name was *Irdonozur*, whoſe Heirs to this Day aſſume the ſame Name; he, they ſay, having continued thereabout four-hundred Moons, and begot divers Children, returned (though by what Means, they know not) to the Earth again. I doubt, they have their Fables as well as we, ſince our Hiſtorians never mention any Earthly Man to have been in that World, before myſelf, and much leſs to have returned again. I cannot therefore but condemn this Tradition, as falſe and romantick, though I found Learning was in great Eſteem among them, and they ſeem to deteſt Lying and Falſhood, which is there ſeverely puniſhed, and which may yield ſome Credit to their hiſtorical Narrations. Many of them live wonderful long, even beyond Belief, affirming to me, that ſome ſurvived thirty-thouſand Moons, which is above a thouſand Years, ſo that the Ages of three or four Men might eaſily reach to the Time of the firſt *Irdonozur*; and this is generally noted, that, the taller People are of Stature, the more excellent are their Endowments of Mind, and the longer Time they live; for their Stature is very different, great Numbers not much exceeding ours, who ſeldom live above a thouſand Moons, which is fourſcore of our Years; theſe they account baſe, unworthy Creatures, but one Degree above brute Beaſts, and employ in mean and ſervile Offices, calling them *Baſtards*, *Counterfeits*, or *Changelings*: Thoſe, whom they account true

* *Natural*

Natural Lunars, or *Moon-Men*, exceed ours generally thirty Times, both in Quantity of Body, and Length of Life, proportionable to the Quality of the Day in both Worlds, theirs containing almoſt thirty of our Days.

The Manner of our Travel to the Palace of *Pylonas* was more ſtrange and incredible than any Thing we have related, for, at our firſt Setting forth, there were delivered to each of us two Feather-Fans, like thoſe our Ladies in *Spain* cool themſelves with in Summer: You muſt underſtand, that the Globe of the Moon has likewiſe an attractive Power, yet ſo much weaker than the Earth, that if a Man do but ſpring upward with all his Strength, as Dancers do, in ſhewing their Tricks, he will be able to mount fifty or ſixty Feet high; and, being then above all Attraction from the Moon's Earth, he falls down no more, but by the Help of theſe Fans, as with Wings, they convey themſelves in the Air, in a ſhort Space (though not quite ſo ſwift as Birds) whither they pleaſe. In two Hours Time, as I could gueſs, by the Help of theſe Fans, we were carried through the Air thoſe five Leagues, in all about ſixty Perſons. Being arrived at the Palace of *Pylonas*, after our Conductor had declared what Manner of Preſent he had brought, I was called in to him by his Attendants: By the Statelineſs of his Palace, and the Reverence done him, I ſoon perceived his Greatneſs, and managed my Affairs, in order to procure his Favour accordingly; and having, as you may remember, a certain little Box or Caſket of Jewels, the Remainder of thoſe I brought from the *Eaſt-Indies*, before I was introduced, I ſecretly took them out of my Pocket, and chuſing ſome of each Sort, I made them ready to be preſented, as I ſhould think convenient.

I found him ſitting in a magnificent Chair of State, with his Wife or Queen on one Hand, and his eldeſt Son on the other, one attended by a Troop of Ladies, and the other of young Men; and, all along the Side of the Room, ſtood a great Number of handſome Perſonages, whereof, ſcarce one was lower of Stature than *Pylonas*, whoſe Age, they report, is now one and twenty thouſand Moons. At my Entrance, I fell on my Knees, and taking out my Jewels, I preſented to the King ſeven Stones of ſeveral Sorts, a Diamond, a Ruby, an Emerald, a Sapphire, a Topaz, and an Ophal, which he accepted with Joy and Admiration. Then I offered the Queen and Prince ſome others, and deſigned to have beſtowed divers more upon his Attendants; but *Pylonas* forbid them to accept any, ſuppoſing, as I heard, they were all I had, which he would have me reſerve for *Irdonozur*, his Sovereign; he then embraced me with much Indearedneſs, and inquired divers Things by Signs, which I anſwered in the ſame Manner, to the beſt of my Skill; which not contenting him, he delivered me to the Guard of a hundred of his Giants, as I may well call them, ſtrictly charging them, that I ſhould want nothing fit for me; that they ſhould ſuffer none of the Dwarf *Lunars*, or little *Moon-Men*, to come near me. That I ſhould be inſtructed in their Language; and laſtly, that they ſhould, by no Means, impart to me the Knowledge of ſeveral Things, by him ſpecified; what they were I could never underſtand. It may be, you long to know what *Pylonas* inquired of me, Why, what ſhould it be but, Whence I came, How I arrived there, What was my Name and Buſineſs, with the like? To all which, I anſwered, as near the Truth as poſſible.

Being diſmiſſed, I was provided with all Neceſſaries as my Heart could wiſh, ſo that I ſeemed to be in a Paradiſe, the Pleaſures whereof did not yet ſo tranſport me, but I was much concerned with the Thoughts of my Wife and Children, and ſtill retaining ſome Hope that I might again return to them. I tended my Ganſa's daily with much Care, which yet had ſignified little, if other Men had not done more than I could; for now the Time came, when, of Neceſſity, all People of our Stature, and myſelf likewiſe, muſt needs ſleep thirteen or fourteen whole Days together; for, by a ſecret and irreſiſtible Decree of Nature, when the Day begins to appear, and the Moon to be enlightened by the Sun-Beams, which is in the firſt Quarter of the Moon, all the People of our Stature, inhabiting thoſe Parts, fall into a dead Sleep, and are not poſſibly to be wakened till the Sun ſet, and is withdrawn; for as Owls and Bats with us cannot endure the Light, ſo, at the firſt Approach of the Day, we begin to be amazed therewith, and fall into a Slumber, which grows by Degrees into a dead Sleep, till the Light be gone, which is in fourteen or fifteen Days, that is, till the laſt Quarter. During the Sun's Abſence, there is a twofold Light, one of the Sun, which I could not endure to behold, and another of the Earth: Now that of the Earth was at the Height, for, when the Moon is at the Change, then is the

Earth

Earth a Full Moon to them; and as the Moon increaſes with us, ſo the Light of the Earth decreaſeth with them. I found the Light, though the Sun was abſent, equal to that with us in the Day when the Sun is clouded; but toward the Quarter it daily diminiſheth, yet leaving ſtill a competent Light, which ſeems very ſtrange; though not ſo remarkable as what they there report, That in the other Hemiſphere of the Moon, contrary to that I fell upon, where during half the Moon they ſee not the Sun, and the Earth never appears to them, they have yet a Kind of Light not unlike our Moon-light, which it ſeems the Nearneſs of the Stars and other Planets, that are at a far leſs Diſtance than from us, affords them.

You muſt underſtand, that of the true *Lunars*, or *Moon-Men*, there are three Kinds, ſome a little taller than we, as perhaps ten or twelve Feet high; theſe can endure the Day of the Moon, when the Earth ſhines but little, but not the Beams of both, and ſo muſt then be laid aſleep: Others are twenty Feet high or above, who can ſuffer all the Light both of the Earth and Sun. There is in a certain Iſland (the Myſteries whereof are carefully concealed) Men whoſe Stature is at leaſt twenty-ſeven Feet high: If any other come aland there in the Moon's Day-time, they inſtantly fall aſleep: This is called *Inſula Martini*, and hath a particular Governor, who, as they report, is ſixty-five-thouſand Moons old, which makes five-thouſand of our Years; his Name is ſaid to be *Hiruch*, and he, in a Manner, commands *Irdonozur* himſelf, eſpecially in that Iſland, out of which he never removes. There is another comes often thither, who, they ſay, is not above half his Age, that is, about thirty-three-thouſand Moons, or two-thouſand ſix-hundred of our Years, and he orders all Things through the Globe of the Moon, in Matters of Religion, as abſolutely as the Pope doth in any Part of *Italy*. I would fain have ſeen this Man, but was not permitted to come near him, his Name is *Imozes*.

Now let me ſettle myſelf to a long Night's Sleep, to which End my Attendants take Charge of my Birds, prepare my Lodging, and ſignify to me by Signs how I muſt order myſelf. It was then about the Middle of *September*, when I perceived the Air more clear than ordinary, and with the Increaſe of the Light I began to feel myſelf firſt dull, and then heavy to Sleep, though I had not been lately diſturbed of my Reſt: At length I delivered myſelf into the Cuſtody of this Siſter of Death, whoſe Priſoner I was for almoſt a Fortnight after, and then awaking, it is not to be believed how briſk and vigorous I found the Faculties both of my Body and Mind: I then applied myſelf to Learning the Language, which is the ſame throughout all the Regions of the Moon, yet not ſo wonderful, ſince I believe all the Earth of Moon does not amount to the fortieth Part of our inhabited Earth; partly beſides the Globe of the Moon is far leſs, and becauſe the Sea or Ocean covers very nigh three Parts of four, whereas the Land and Sea in our World may be judged of an equal Meaſure. Their Language is very difficult, ſince it hath no Affinity with any other I ever heard, and conſiſts not ſo much of Words and Letters, as Tunes and ſtrange Sounds, which no Letters can expreſs; for there are few Words but ſignify ſeveral Things, and are diſtinguiſhed only by their Sounds, which are ſung, as it were, in uttering: Yea, many Words conſiſt of Tunes only, without Words; by Occaſion whereof, I find a Language may be framed, and eaſily learned, as copious as any other in the World, only of Tunes, which is an Experiment worth Searching after. Notwithſtanding theſe Difficulties, within two Months I attained to ſuch Knowledge therein, that I underſtood moſt Queſtions demanded of me, and, with Signs and Words, made reaſonable Shift to utter my Mind; which *Pylonas* having Notice of, he oftentimes ſent for me, and was pleaſed to inform me of many Things my Guardians durſt not diſcloſe; though I muſt needs ſay, I never found they abuſed me with an Untruth, but, if I asked a Queſtion they were unwilling to reſolve, they would ſhake their Heads, and, with a *Spaniſh* Shrug, divert to ſome other Diſcourſe.

After ſeven Months Time, the great *Irdonozur*, making his Progreſs to a Place about two-hundred Leagues, from the Palace of *Pylonas*, ſent for me; yet would not admit me into his Preſence, but diſcourſed me through a Window, where I might hear him, and he hear and ſee me at Pleaſure. I preſented him with the Remainder of my Jewels, which he thankfully accepted, ſaying, He would requite them with Gifts of more conſiderable Value. I ſtaid there above a Quarter of a Moon, when I was again ſent back to *Pylonas*, for if we had ſtaid a Day or two longer, the Sun would have overtaken us,

before

before we could have recovered our Home. The Gifts he beſtowed on me were ſuch, that a Man would part with Mountains of Gold to purchaſe; they were all Stones, nine only in Number, of three Sorts, one called, *Poleaſtis*, another *Machrus*, and the third *Ebelus*, of each Sort three; the firſt are about the Bigneſs of an Haſle-nut, very like Jet, which among many other incredible Virtues hath this Property, that being once put in the Fire, they ever after retain their Heat, though without any outward Appearance, till quenched with ſome Kind of Liquor, which no Way damages them, though heated and cooled therein a thouſand Times; their Heat is ſo vehement, that it will make any Metal, within a Foot of it, red-hot, and being in a Chimney, warms the Room as if a great Fire were kindled therein. The *Machrus* is yet more precious, in Colour like a Topaz, ſo clear and reſplendent, as though not above the Bigneſs of a Bean, yet being placed in the Night, in the Midſt of a large Church, it makes all as light, as if an hundred Lamps were hanged round; Can any Man wiſh for more uſeful Properties in a Stone than theſe? Yet my Ebelus is ſo excellent, that it may be much preferred before them, yea, prized above all the Diamonds, Sapphires, Rubies, and Emeralds, that our World can afford. The Lunar Colour is ſo exceeding beautiful, that a Man would travel a thouſand Leagues to behold it; the Shape is ſomewhat flat, of the Breadth of a Piece of Eight, and twice the Thickneſs; one Side is of a more orient Colour than the other, which, being clapped to a Man's bare Skin, takes away all the Weight and Ponderouſneſs of his Body, but turning the other Side, it adds Force to the attractive Beams of the Earth, either in this World or that, and makes the Body half as heavy again; Do you not wonder now why I ſhould ſo overprize this Stone? Before you ſee me on Earth again, you will find I have Reaſon to value this invaluable Jewel. I inquired whether they had not any Kind of Gem, or other Means, to make a Man inviſible, which I judged a Thing of admirable Uſe, and could mention divers of our learned Men, who had written to this Purpoſe; they anſwered, That if it were poſſible, yet they were ſure, Heaven would not ſuffer it to be revealed to us Creatures, ſubject to ſo many Imperfections, and which might be eaſily abuſed to ill Purpoſes, and this was all I could get of them.

Now after it was known that *Irdouszur* the great Monarch had done me this Honour, it is ſtrange how much all reſpected me, more than before; my Guardians, who had been hitherto cautious in relating any Thing of the Government of that World, grew now more open, ſo that from them, and *Pylonas* together, I underſtood many notable Particulars; as that, in a thouſand Years, there is found neither Thief, nor Whoremonger, for firſt there is no Want of any Thing neceſſary for the Uſe of Man, Food growing every where without Labour, of all Sorts that can be deſired. As for Clothes, Houſes, or whatever elſe a Man may be ſuppoſed to want, it is provided by their Superiors, though not without ſome Labour, but yet ſo eaſy, as if they did it for Pleaſure; again their Females are all abſolute Beauties, and by a ſecret Diſpoſition of Nature, a Man there having once known a Woman never deſires any other; Murder was never heard of amongſt them, neither is it hardly poſſible to be committed, for there can be no Wound made but what is curable; yea, they aſſured me, and for my Part I believe it, that though a Man's Head be cut off, yet if within three Moons it be joined to the Carcaſs again, and the Juice of a certain Herb there growing applied, it will be ſo conſolidated as the wounded Party ſhall be perfectly cured. But the chief Cauſe of their good Government is an excellent Diſpoſition in the Nature of the People, ſo that all, both old and young, hate all Manner of Vice, and live in ſuch Love, Peace, and Amity, as it ſeems to be another Paradiſe; though it is true likewiſe, that ſome are of a better Diſpoſition than others, which they diſcern immediately at their Birth: And becauſe it is an inviolable Law amongſt them, that none ſhall be put to Death, therefore perceiving by their Stature, or ſome other Signs, who are like to be of a wicked and debauched Humour, they ſend them, I know not by what Means, into the Earth, and change them for other Children, before they have either Opportunity or Ability to do amiſs among them; but firſt, they ſay, they are fain to keep them there for ſome Time, till the Air of the Earth alters their Colour like ours. Their ordinary Vent for them is a certain high Hill, in the North of *America*, whoſe People, I am apt to believe, are wholly deſcended from them, both in Re-

gard of their Colour, and their continual Uſe of Tobacco, which the *Lunars*, or *Moon-Men*, ſmoak exceedingly, the Place abounding much with Moiſture, together with the Pleaſure they take therein, and ſome other Reſpects, too long to rehearſe: Sometimes, though but ſeldom, they miſtake their Aim, and fall upon *Europe*, *Aſia*, or *Africa*. I remember ſome Years ſince, I read certain Stories tending to confirm what is related by theſe *Lunars*, and eſpecially one Chapter of *Neubrigenſis*. *Inigo Mondejar*, in his Deſcription of *Nova Granata*; alſo *Joſeph Deſia de Carana*, in his Hiſtory of *Mexico*, if my Memory fail not, recount what will make my Report more credible; but I value not Teſtimonies.

If you inquire how Juſtice is executed, alas! what Need is there of exemplary Puniſhment, where no Offences are committed? Neither need they any Lawyers, for there is no Contention, the Seeds whereof, when they begin to ſprout, are by the Wiſdom of the next Superior plucked up by the Roots. And as little Want is there of Phyſicians, they never ſurfeit themſelves; the Air is always pure and temperate, neither is there any Cauſe of Sickneſs; I could never hear of any that were diſtempered. But, the Time aſſigned them by Nature being ſpent, they die without the leaſt Pain, or rather ceaſe to live, as a Candle does to give Light, when what nouriſhes it is conſumed. I was once at the Departure of one of them, and was much ſurpriſed that notwithſtanding the happy Life he lived, and the Multitude of Friends and Children he ſhould forſake, yet as ſoon as he underſtood his End to approach, he prepared a great Feaſt, and inviting all whom he eſteemed, exhorts them, 'To be 'merry, and rejoice with him, ſince the Time 'was come he ſhould now leave the counter-'feit Pleaſures of that World, and be made 'Partaker of all true Joy and perfect Happi-'neſs. I did not ſo much admire his own Conſtancy, as the Behaviour of his Friends; with us in the like Caſe all ſeem to mourn, when many of them do often but laugh in their Sleeves, or under a Vizard. But here all, both young and old, did, on my Conſcience, not pretendedly but really rejoice thereat, and if any diſſembled, it was only Grief for their own particular Loſs. Being dead, their Bodies putrefy not, and ſo are not buried, but kept in certain Rooms appointed to that Purpoſe, ſo that moſt of them can ſhew their Anceſtors Bodies uncorrupt for many Generations; there is never any Rain, Wind, or Change of Weather, never either Summer or Winter, but as it were a perpetual Spring, yielding all Pleaſure and Content, free from the leaſt Trouble or Annoyance; O my Wife and Children, what Wrong have you done me, to bereave me of the Happineſs of that Place! But it is no great Matter, for by this Voyage, I am ſufficiently aſſured, that when the Race of my mortal Life is run, I ſhall attain a greater Happineſs elſewhere.

It was on the 9th of *September*, that I began to aſcend from the Pike of *Teneriffe*; twelve Days I was upon my Voyage, and arrived in that Province of the *Moon* called *Semiri*, *September* the 21ſt. *May* the 12th, we came to the Court of the great *Irdonozur*, and returned back the 17th to the Palace of *Pylonas*, where I continued till *March* 1601, when I earneſtly requeſted *Pylonas*, as I had often done before, to give me Leave to depart, though with Hazard of my Life, back into the Earth again. He diſſuaded me, inſiſting on the Danger of the Voyage, the Miſery of that Place from whence I came, and the abundant Happineſs I now enjoyed, but the Remembrance of my Wife and Children outweighed all theſe Reaſons; and, to ſay the Truth, I was ſo elated with a Deſire of the Glory I ſhould purchaſe at my Return, as, methought, I deſerved not the Name of a *Spaniard*, if I would not hazard twenty Lives, rather than loſe the leaſt Particle thereof. I replied, I had ſo ſtrong a Deſire to ſee my Children, that I could not poſſibly live any longer without going to them. He then requeſted me to ſtay one Year longer; I told him, I muſt needs depart now or never; my Birds began to droop for Want of their uſual Voyage, three were already dead, and, if a few more failed, I was deſtitute of all Poſſibility of Return. At length, with much Solliciting, I prevailed, having firſt acquainted the great *Irdonozur* with my Intentions, and perceiving, by the often Baying of my Birds, a great Longing in them to be gone, I trimmed up my Engine, and took my Leave of *Pylonas*; and, *March* the 29th, three Days after my Waking from the laſt Moon's Light, I faſtened myſelf to my Engine, not forgetting to take the Jewels *Irdonozur* had given me, with the Virtues and Uſe whereof *Pylonas* had acquainted

me

me at large, with a ſmall Quantity of Victuals, whereof, afterwards, I had great Occaſion. A vaſt Multitude of People being preſent, and, amongſt them, *Pylonas* himſelf, after I had given them all the laſt Farewel, I let looſe the Reins to my Birds, who, with much Greedineſs, taking Wing, quickly carried me out of Sight: It happened to me as in my firſt Paſſage, for I never felt either Hunger or Thirſt till I fell upon an high Mountain in *China*, about five Leagues from the high and mighty City of *Pequin*. This Voyage was performed in leſs than nine Days, neither heard I any News of theſe airy Men I met with in my Aſcending; Nothing ſtaid me in my Journey; whether, becauſe of the earneſt Deſire of my Birds to return to the Earth, having already miſſed their Seaſon, or that the Attraction of the Earth was ſo much ſtronger than that of the Moon, and ſo made it eaſier, yet ſo it was, though I had three Birds leſs than before. For the firſt eight Days my Birds flew before me, and I on the Engine was, as it were, drawn after; but the ninth Day, when I began to approach the Cloud, I perceived myſelf and Engine to ſink towards the Earth, and go before them. I was then horribly afraid leſt my Birds, unable to bear our Weight, being ſo few, ſhould be conſtrained to precipitate both me and themſelves headlong to the Earth, and thought it very neceſſary to make Uſe of my Stone *Ebelus*, which I clapped to my bare Skin within my Clothes, and inſtantly I perceived my Birds made Way with greater Eaſe than before, as ſeeming freed from a great Burden, neither do I think they could poſſibly have let me down ſafely to the Earth without that Help.

China is a Country ſo populous, that I think there is ſcarce a Piece of Ground thrice a Man's Length which is not carefully manured; I being yet in the Air, ſome of the Country-people, eſpying me, came running by Troops, and, ſeizing me, would needs carry me before a Magiſtrate, and, ſeeing no other Remedy, I yielded to them. But, when I tried to go, I found myſelf ſo light, that, one Foot being on the Ground, I had much ado to ſet down the other, which was, by Reaſon my *Ebelus* took all Weight away from my Body; therefore I pretended a Deſire of Performing the Neceſſities of Nature; which being made known to them by Signs, for they underſtood not a Word of any Language I could ſpeak, they permitted me to go aſide amongſt a few Buſhes, aſſuring themſelves it was impoſſible I ſhould eſcape from them; being there, I remembered *Pylonas's* Directions about the Uſe of my Stones, and knit them up, with a few remaining Jewels, into an Handkerchief, all, except the leaſt and worſt *Ebelus*, which I found Means to apply in ſuch a Manner to my Body, that but the Half of its Side touched my Skin: This done, I drew towards my Guardians, till coming ſo near, that, they could not croſs my Way, I ſhewed them a fair Pair of Heels, that I might have Time to hide my Jewels, which I knew they would have robbed me of, if not prevented. Being thus lightened, I led them ſuch a Dance, that, had they been all upon the Backs of ſo many Race-horſes, they could never have overtaken me. I directed my Courſe to a thick Wood, wherein I entered about a Quarter of a League, and there finding a fine Spring, which I took for my Mark, I thruſt my Jewels into a Hole made by a Mole hard by.

I then took my Victuals out of my Pocket, to which, till now, in all my Voyage, I had not the leaſt Appetite, and refreſhed myſelf therewith, till the People, who purſued, overtook me, into whoſe Hands I quietly ſurrendered myſelf: They led me to an inferior Officer, who, underſtanding that I eſcaped from thoſe who firſt apprehended me, cauſed an Incloſure of Boards to be made, wherein they put me, ſo that only my Head was at Liberty, and then carried me upon the Shoulders of four Slaves, like ſome notorious Malefactor, before a Perſon of great Authority, who, in their Language, I learned was called a *Mandarin*, and reſided a League off the famous City of *Pequin*. I could not underſtand them, but found I was accuſed for ſomething with much Vehemence; the Subſtance of this Accuſation, it ſeems, was, That I was a Magician, as appeared by my being ſo ſtrangely carried in the Air; and that, being a Stranger, as both my Language and Habit did declare, I, contrary to the Laws of *China*, had entered the Kingdom without a Warrant, and probably for no good Intent. The Mandarin heard them with a great Deal of Gravity, and, being a Man of quick Apprehenſion, and ſtudious of Novelties, he told them he would take ſuch Order as the Caſe required, and my bold Attempt ſhould not go unpuniſhed. Having diſmiſſed them, he ordered his Servants I ſhould be kept in a remote Part of his vaſt Palace, be ſtrictly guarded and kindly uſed: This I conjecture by my Treatment,

ment, and what followed, for my Accommodation was much better than I could expect; I lodged well, eat well, was well attended, and could complain of Nothing but my Reſtraint. Thus continued I many Months, afflicted more with the Thoughts of my Ganſa's than any Thing elſe, who I knew muſt be irrecoverably loſt, as indeed they were.

In this Time by my own Induſtry, and the Aſſiſtance of thoſe who accompanied me, I learned to ſpeak indifferently the Language of that Province (for almoſt every Province in *China* hath its proper Tongue) whereat I perceived they were much pleaſed. At length I was permitted to take the Air, and brought into the ſpacious Garden of that Palace, a Place of extraordinary Pleaſure and Delight, adorned with Herbs and Flowers of admirable Sweetneſs and Beauty, with almoſt infinite Variety of Fruits, *European*, and others, all compoſed with that rare Curioſity, as even raviſhed my Senſes in the Contemplation of ſuch delightful Objects. I had not long recreated myſelf here, when the Mandarin entered the Garden on that Side I was walking, of which, having Notice by his Servants, and that I ought to kneel to him (a uſual Reverence I found towards great Officers) I did ſo, and humbly intreated his Favour towards a poor Stranger who arrived in theſe Parts, not deſignedly, but by the ſecret Diſpoſal of the Heavens: He anſwered in a different Language, which I hear all the Mandarins uſe, and like that of the *Lunars*, conſiſting chiefly of Tunes, which was interpreted by one of his Attendants, wiſhing me to be of good Comfort, ſince he intended no Harm to me. Next Day I was ordered to come before him, and, being conducted into a noble Dining-room exquiſitely painted, the Mandarin, commanding all to avoid, vouchſafed to confer with me in the vulgar Language; inquiring into the State of my Country, the Power of my Prince, and the Religion and Manners of the People; wherein having ſatisfied him, he aſked me about my Education, and what brought me into this remote Country: I then declared to him the Adventures of my Life, omitting what I thought convenient, and eſpecially forbearing to mention the Stones given me by *Irdonizur*.

The Strangeneſs of my Story did much amaze him; and finding, in all my Diſcourſe, Nothing tending to Magick, wherein he hoped, by my Means, to be inſtructed, he began to admire the Excellency of my Wit, applauding me for the happieſt Man that this World ever ſaw; and, wiſhing me to repoſe myſelf after my long Narration, he, for that Time, diſmiſſed me. After which, the Mandarin took ſo much Delight in me, that no Day paſſed wherein he did not ſend for me: At length he adviſed me to clothe myſelf in the Habit of that Country, which I willingly did, and gave me not only the Liberty of his Houſe, but took me alſo with him when he went to *Pequin*, whereby I had Opportunity to learn the Diſpoſition of the People, and the Policy of the Country; neither did I, by my Attendance on him, gain only the Knowledge of theſe Things, but the Poſſibility likewiſe of being reſtored to my native Soil, and to thoſe dear Pledges which I value above the World, even my Wife and Children; for, by often frequenting *Pequin*, I at length heard of ſome Fathers of the Society of *Jeſus*, who were become famous for their extraordinary Favour with the King, to whom they had preſented ſome *European* Gifts, as Clocks, Watches, Dials, and the like, which, by them, were counted exquiſite Curioſities. To theſe, by the Mandarin's Leave, I repaired, and was welcomed by them, they much wondering to ſee a lay *Spaniard* there, whither they had, with ſo much Difficulty, obtained Leave to arrive. There did I relate to Father *Pantoja*, and others of the Society, the foremention'd Adventures, by whoſe Directions I put them in Writing, and ſent this Story of my Fortunes to *Macao*, from thence to be conveyed to *Spain* as a Forerunner of my Return: And, the Mandarin being indulgent to me, I came often to the Fathers, with whom I conſulted about many Secrets, and, with them alſo, laid the Foundation of my Return, the bleſſed Hour whereof I do, with Patience, expect; that, by inriching my Country with the Knowledge of theſe hidden Myſteries, I may at laſt reap the Glory of my fortunate Misfortunes.

Sir

Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Obſervations * in his Travels, upon the State of the Seventeen Provinces as they ſtood, *Anno Domini* 1609, the Treaty of Peace being then on Foot. Printed in 1626. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages.

And, firſt, *of the Provinces United.*

ALL Things concurred for the Riſing and Maintenance of this State, the Diſpoſition of the People being, as mutinous, ſo induſtrious and frugal; the Nature of the Country, every-where fortifiable with Water; the Situation of it having behind them the *Baltick* Sea, which yields them all Materials for Ships, and many other Commodities; and, for Men, hard before them *France* and *England*, both fearing the *Spaniſh* Greatneſs, and therefore both concurring for their Aid; the Remoteneſs of their Maſter from them; the Change of Religion falling out about the Time of their Revolt, and now the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, a Proteſtant, like to become Duke of *Cleves*. The Diſcontentments of the *Low-Countries* did firſt appear ſoon after the Going away of the Kings of *Spain*, while the Ducheſs of *Parma* governed; to ſuppreſs which Beginnings the Duke of *Alva*, being ſent, inflamed them more, upon Attempting to bring in the Inquiſition and *Spaniſh* Decimation, upon the Beheading Count *Horne* and Count *Egmont*, perſecuting thoſe of the Religion, and undertaking to build Citadels upon all their Towns; which he effected at *Antwerp*; but, enterpriſing the like at *Fluſhing*, that Town revolted firſt, and under it began the War.

But the more general Revolt of the Provinces happened after the Death of Don *Lewis de Requiſens*, and upon the Coming down of Don *John* of *Auſtria*, when all the Provinces, excepting *Luxemburgh*, upon the Sacking of *Antwerp*, and other Inſolencies, proclaimed the *Spaniards* Rebels and Enemies to the King; yet the Abjuring of their Obedience from the Crown of *Spain* was not till a Year or two after.

Holland and *Zealand*, upon their firſt Standing out, offered the Sovereignty of themſelves to the Queen, then the Protection (both which ſhe neglected) and that, while the *French* ſent greater Aid, and more Men of Quality, than we; but, after the Civil War began in *France*, that kept them buſy at Home, and then the Queen, ſeeing the Neceſſity of their being ſupported, upon the Pawning of *Brill* and *Fluſhing*, ſent Money and Men: And, ſince that, moſt Part of the great Exploits there have been done by the *Engliſh*, who were commonly the third Part of the Army, being four Regiments, beſides Eleven-hundred in *Fluſhing* and the *Ramekins*, and Five-hundred in the *Brill*; but of late, the King of *France* appearing more for them than ours, and paying himſelf the *French* that are there, they give equal, if not more Countenance to that Nation: But upon theſe two Kings they make their whole Dependence; and, though with more Reſpect to him that is ſtronger, for the Time, yet ſo, as it may give no Diſtaſte unto the other.

For the Manner of their Government: They have, upon Occaſion, an Aſſembly of the General States, like our Parliament, being compoſed of thoſe which are ſent from every Province upon Summons; and what theſe enact ſtands for Law. Then is there, beſides, a Council of State, reſiding for the moſt Part at the *Hague*, which attends daily Occaſions, being rather employed upon Affairs of State, than of particular Juſtice. The moſt potent in this Council was *Barnavelt*, by Reaſon of his Advocates of *Holland*. And, beſides both theſe, every Province and great Town have particular Councils of their own: To all which Aſſemblies, as well of the General States as the reſt, the Gentry is called for Order's Sake, but the State indeed is Democratical, the Merchant and the Tradeſman being predominant, the Gentry now but few and poor; and even at the Beginning the Prince of *Orange* ſaw it ſafer to rely upon the Towns, than

* *Vide* the 536th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets.

them;

them: Neither are the Gentry ſo much engaged in the Cauſe, the People having more Advantages in a Free State, they in a Monarchy. Their Care in Government is very exact and particular, by Reaſon that every one hath an immediate Intereſt in the State: Such is the Equality of Juſtice, that it renders every Man ſatisfied; ſuch the publick Regularity, that a Man may ſee their Laws were made to guide, not to intrap; ſuch their Exactneſs in caſting the Expence of an Army, as that it ſhall be equally far from Superfluity and Want, and as much Order and Certainty in their Acts of War, as in ours of Peace, teaching it to be both civil and rich. And they ſtill retain that Sign of a Commonwealth yet uncorrupted, *Private Poverty and publick Wealth*; for no one private Man there is exceeding rich, and few very poor, and no State more ſumptuous in all publick Things. But the Queſtion is, Whether this, being a Free State, will as well ſubſiſt in Peace, as it hath done hitherto in War? Peace leaving every one to attend his particular Wealth, when Fear, while the War laſts, makes them concur for their common Safety: And *Zealand*, upon the leaſt Security, hath ever been envious at the Predominancy of *Holland* and *Utrecht*, ready to mutiny for Religion; and, beſides, it is a Doubt, whether the ſame Care and Sincerity would continue, if they were at their Conſiſtence, as appears yet, while they are but in Riſing. The Revenue of this State ariſeth chiefly from the Earl of *Holland*'s Demeſnes, and confiſcated Church-livings; the Riſing and Falling of Money, which they uſe with much Advantage; their Fiſhing upon our Coaſts and thoſe of *Norway*; Contribution out of the Enemies Country; Taxes upon all Things at Home, and Impoſitions upon all Merchandiſes from Abroad; their Expences upon their Ambaſſadors, their Shippings, their Ditches, their Rampires, and Ammunition; and commonly they have in Pay, by Sea and Land, ſixty-thouſand Men.

For the Strength: The Nature of the Country makes them able to defend themſelves long by Land; neither could any Thing have endangered them ſo much as the laſt great Froſt, had not the Treaty been then on Foot; becauſe, the Enemy being then Maſter of the Field, that rendered their Ditches, Marſhes, and Rivers as firm Ground.

There belong to that State twenty-thouſand Veſſels of all Sorts, ſo that, if the *Spaniards* were intirely beaten out of thoſe Parts, the Kings of *France* and *England* would take as much Pains to ſuppreſs, as ever they did to raiſe them; for, being our Enemies, they are able to give us the Law at Sea, and eat us out of all Trade, much more the *French*, having at this Time three Ships to our one, though none ſo good as our beſt.

Now that, whereupon the moſt Part of their Revenue and Strength depends, is their Traffick, in which Myſtery of State they are at this Day the wiſeſt; for all the Commodities, that this Part of the World wants, and the *Indies* have (as, Spice, Silk, Jewels, and Gold) they are become the Conveyers of them for the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, except us, as the *Venetians* were of old; and all thoſe Commodities, that thoſe Northern Countries abound with, and theſe Southern ſtand in Need of, they likewiſe convey thither; which was the ancient Trade of the Eaſterlings: And this they do, having little to export of their own, by buying of their Neighbour-countries the former, and ſelling them again what they bring back, at their own Prices; and ſo, conſequently, live upon the Idleneſs of others. And to this Purpoſe the Situation ſerves fitly; for the Rivers of the *Rhine*, the *Maeſe*, and *Schelde* end all in their Dominions, and the *Baltick* Sea lies not far from them; all which afford them whatever the great Continent of *Germany*, *Ruſſia*, and *Poland* yields; then they, again, lying between *Germany* and the Sea, do furniſh it back with all Commodities foreign.

To remember ſome Pieces of their Diſcipline, as Patterns of the reſt: The Watches at Night are never all of one Nation, ſo that they can hardly concur to give up any one Town. The Commiſſaries are no-where ſo ſtrict upon Muſters, and, where he finds a Company, thither he reduceth them; ſo that, when an Army marcheth, the Liſt and the Poll are never far diſagreeing. Their Army is ever well clothed and well armed, and had never yet Occaſion to mutiny for Pay or Victuals. The Soldiers commit no-where fewer Inſolencies upon the Burghers, or fewer Robberies upon the Country; nor the Officers fewer Deceits upon the Soldiers: And, laſtly, they provide well, that their General ſhall have ſmall Means to invade their Liberties. For, *firſt*, their Army is compoſed of many Nations, which have their ſeveral Commanders, and the Commands are diſpoſed by the

States

States themſelves, not by the General. And, *ſecondly*, he hath never an implicit Commiſſion left to Diſcretion, but, by Reaſon their Country hath no great Bounds, receives daily Commands what to do.

Their Territory contains ſix intire Provinces, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Groninghen*, *Overyſſell*, and *Frieſland*, beſides three Parts of *Guelderland*, and certain Towns in *Brabant* and *Flanders*; the Ground of which is for the moſt Part fruitful; the Towns no-where ſo equally beautiful, ſtrong, and rich; which Equality grows, by Reaſon that they appropriate ſome one Staple Commodity to every Town of Note: Only *Amſterdam* not only paſſeth them all, but even *Seville*, *Liſbon*, or any other Mart-town in *Chriſtendom*; and to it is appropriated the Trade of the *Eaſt-Indies*, where they maintain commonly forty Ships, beſides which there go twice a Year, from it and the adjoining Towns, a great Fleet to the *Baltick* Sea. Upon the Fall of *Antwerp*, that roſe rather than *Middleburgh*, though it ſtands at the ſame River's Mouth, and is their ſecond Mart-town, to which is appropriated our *Engliſh* Cloth.

Concerning the People: They are neither much devout, nor much wicked; given all to Drink, and eminently to no other Vice; hard in Bargaining, but juſt; ſurly and reſpectleſs, as in all Democracies; thirſty, induſtrious, and cleanly; diſheartened upon the leaſt ill Succeſs, and inſolent upon good; inventive in Manufactures, and cunning in Traffick: And generally, for Matter of Action, that natural Slowneſs of theirs ſuits better, by Reaſon of the Adviſedneſs and Perſeverance it brings with it, than the Raſhneſs and Changeableneſs of the *French* and *Florentine* Wits; and the Equality of Spirits, which is among them and *Switzers*, renders them ſo fit for a Democracy: Which Kind of Government Nations of more ſtable Wits, being once come to a conſiſtent Greatneſs, have ſeldom long endured.

Obſervations upon the State of the Archduke's Country, 1609, *by Sir* Thomas Overbury.

AS ſoon as I entered into the Archduke's Country, which begins after *Lillow*, preſently, I beheld Works of a Province, and thoſe of a Province diſtreſſed with War; the People heartleſs, and rather repining againſt their Governors, than revengeful againſt their Enemies; the Bravery of that Gentry which was left, and the Induſtry of the Merchant, quite decayed; the Husbandman labouring only to live, without Deſire to be rich to another's Uſe; the Towns (whatſoever concerned not the Strength of them) ruinous: And to conclude, the People here growing poor with leſs Taxes, than they flouriſh with on the States Side.

This War hath kept the King of *Spain* buſy ever ſince it began, which was thirty-eight Years ago, and ſpending all the Money that the *Indies*, and all the Men that *Spain* and *Italy* could afford, hath withdrawn him from perſevering in any other Enterpriſe; neither could he give over this, without foregoing the Meaps to undertake any Thing hereafter upon *France* or *England*, and conſequently the Hope of the Weſtern Monarchy. For, without that Handle, the Mines of *Peru* had done little Hurt in theſe Parts, in Compariſon of what they have. The Cauſe of the Expencefulneſs of it is the Remoteneſs of thoſe Provinces from *Spain*, by Reaſon of which, every Soldier of *Spain* or *Italy*, before he can arrive there, coſts the King an hundred Crowns, and not above one of ten that arrives proves good; beſides, by Reaſon of the Diſtance, a great Part of the Money is drunk up betwixt the Officers, that convey it and pay it. The Cauſe of the Continuance of it is, not only the Strength of the Enemy, but partly, by Reaſon that the Commanders themſelves are content the War ſhall laſt, ſo to maintain and render themſelves Neceſſaries, and partly, becauſe the People of thoſe Countries are not ſo eager to have the other reduced, as willing to be in the like State themſelves.

The uſual Revenue of thoſe Provinces which the Archduke hath amounts to twelve-hundred Thouſand Crowns a Year; beſides which, there come from *Spain* every Month, to maintain the War, a hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns. It was, at the firſt, three-hundred Thouſand Crowns a Month, but it fell by Fifties to this, at the Time when the Treaty began; *Flanders* pays more toward the War, than all the reſt, as *Holland* doth with the States. There

is no *Spaniard* of the Council of State, nor Governor of any Province, but of the Council of War, which is only active: There they only are, and have in their Hands all the ſtrong Towns and Caſtles of thoſe Provinces, of which the Governors have but only the Title.

The Nations, of which their Army conſiſts, are chiefly *Spaniards* and *Italians*, emulous one of another there, as on the other Side the *French* and *Engliſh*; and of the Country, chiefly *Burgundians* and *Walloons*. The Pope's Letters and *Spinola*'s Inclination keep the *Italians* there almoſt in Equality of Command with the *Spaniard* himſelf.

The Governors for the King of *Spain* there ſucceſſively have been the Duke of *Alva*, Don *Lewis de Requieſens*, Don *John d'Auſtria*, the Prince of *Parma*, the Archduke *Erneſtus*, the Cardinal *Andrew* of *Auſtrich*, and the Cardinal *Albert*, till he married the Infanta.

Where the Dominion of the Archduke and the States part, there alſo changeth the Nature of the Country, that is, about *Antwerp*: For, all below being flat, and betwixt Meadow and Marſh, thence it begins to riſe and become Champion, and, conſequently, the People are more quick and ſpiritful, as the *Brabanters*, *Flemings*, and *Walloons*.

The moſt remarkable Place, in that Side, is *Antwerp*, which roſe upon the Fall of *Bruges*, equally ſtrong and beautiful, remaining yet ſo, upon the Strength of its former Greatneſs; twice ſpoiled by the *Spaniards*, and the like attempted by the *French*. The Citadel was built there, by the Duke of *Alva*, but renewed by the Prince of *Parma*, after his eighteen Months Beſieging it; the Town accepting a Caſtle rather than a Gariſon, to mingle among them. There are yet in the Town of Citizens thirty-thouſand fighting Men, Six-hundred of which kept Watch Nightly, but they allowed neither Cannon upon the Rampire, nor Magazines of Powder. In the Caſtle, are two-hundred Pieces of Ordnance, and commonly ſeven or eight-hundred Soldiers. *Flanders* is the beſt of the ſeventeen Provinces, but the Havens thereof are naught.

Obſervations on the State of France, 1609, *under* Henry the Fourth, *by Sir* Thomas Overbury.

HAVING ſeen the Form of a Commonwealth and a Province, with the different Effects of Wars in them; I entered *France*, flouriſhing with Peace, and of Monarchies the moſt abſolute, becauſe the King there not only makes Peace and Wars, calls and diſſolves Parliaments, pardoneth, naturaliſeth, innobleth, names the Value of Money, preſſeth to the War, but even makes Laws, and impoſes Taxes at his Pleaſure: And all this he doth alone, for as for that Form, that his Edicts muſt be authoriſed by the next Court of Parliament, that is, the next Court of Sovereign Juſtice: Firſt, the Preſidents thereof are to be choſen by him, and to be put out by him: And ſecondly, when they concur not with the King, he paſſeth any Thing without them, as he did the laſt Edict for the Proteſtants: And, for the Aſſembly of the three Eſtates, it is grown now almoſt as extraordinary as a General Council; with the Loſs of which, their Liberty fell, and, when Occaſion urgeth, it is poſſible for the King to procure, that all thoſe, that ſhall be ſent thither, ſhall be his Inſtruments; for the Duke of *Guiſe* effected as much at the Aſſembly of *Bloys*.

The Occaſion that firſt procured the King that Supremacy, that his Edicts ſhould be Laws, was the laſt Invaſion of the *Engliſh*; for, at that Time, they poſſeſſing two Parts of *France*, the three Eſtates could not aſſemble, whereupon they did then grant that Power unto *Charles the Seventh*, during the War; and that which made it eaſy for *Lewis the Eleventh*, and his Succeſſors, to continue the ſame, the Occaſion ceaſing, was, that the Clergy and Gentry did not run the ſame Fortune with the People there, as in *England*; for, moſt of the Taxes falling only upon the People, the Clergy and Gentry, being forborne, were eaſily induced to leave them to the King's Mercy. But the King, having got Strength upon the Peaſants, hath been ſince the bolder to invade Part of both their Liberties.

For the Succeſſion of this Monarchy, it hath ſubſiſted, without Intermiſſion, theſe twelve-hundred Years, under three Races of Kings. No Nation hath heretofore done greater Things

Abroad,

Abroad, in *Paleſtine* and *Egypt*, beſides all Parts of *Europe*; but, for theſe laſt four-hundred Years, they have only made Sallies into *Italy*, and often ſuffered at Home.

Three-hundred Years the *Engliſh* afflicted them, making two firm Invaſions upon them, and taking their King Priſoner; the ſecond Greatneſs of *Chriſtendom*, next the Emperor, being then in Competition betwixt us and them; and to ſecure themſelves againſt us, rather than the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as it then ſtood, they choſe to marry the Heir of *Bretagne*, before that of *Burgundy*. And, for this laſt hundred Years, the *Spaniard*, undertaking them, hath eaten them out of all but *France*, and endangered that too. But, for this Preſent, *France* had never, as *France*, a more intire Greatneſs, though it hath often been richer. For, ſince the War, the King is only got afore-hand, the Country is but yet in Recovering, the War having laſted, by Spaces, thirty-two Years, and ſo generally, that no Man, but had an Enemy within three Miles; and ſo the Country became Frontier all over. Now, that which hath made them, at this Time, ſo largely great at Home, is their Adopting into themſelves the leſſer adjoining Nations, without Deſtruction, or leaving any Mark of Strangeneſs upon them, as the *Bretons*, *Gaſcoigns*, *Provencials*, and others, which are not *French*; towards the which Unions, their Nature, which is eaſy and harborous to Strangers, hath done more than any Laws could have effected, but with long Time.

The King, as I ſaid, enjoying what *Lewis the Eleventh* did gain, hath the intire Sovereignty in himſelf, becauſe he can make the Parliament do what he pleaſe, or elſe do what he pleaſe without them. For the other three Eſtates, the Church is there very rich, being eſtimated to enjoy the third Part of the Revenue of *France*, but otherwiſe nothing ſo potent as elſewhere, partly, becauſe the Inquiſition is not admitted in *France*, but principally, becauſe, the Pope's ordinary Power is much reſtrained there, by the Liberties which the *French* Church claimeth; which Liberties do not ſo much enfranchiſe the Church itſelf, as confer the Authority the Pope loſeth upon the King, as Firſt-fruits, and the Diſpoſing of all Spiritual Preferments. And, by Reaſon of this Neutrality of Authority, the Church-men ſuffer more there, than either in *England*, where they wholly depend upon the King, or in *Spain* and *Italy*, where they wholly ſubſiſt by the Pope; becauſe the Pope is not able totally to ſupport them, and the King takes Occaſion ever to ſuppreſs them, as being not intirely his Subjects; and to him they pay yearly both the Tenth of all their Tythe, and of all their Temporal Land.

The Gentry are the only intire Body there, which participate with the Prerogatives of the Crown; for from it they receive Privileges above all other Men, and a Kind of limited Regality upon their Tenants, beſides real Supply to their Eſtates, by Governments and Penſions, and Freedom from Tallies upon their own Lands; that is, upon their Demeſns, and whatſoever elſe they manure by their Servants; but ſo much, as they let to Tenants, is preſently talliable, which cauſeth proportionable Abatement in the Rent; and, in Recompence of this, they owe to the King the *Ban* and the *Arriereban*, that is, to ſerve him and his Lieutenant three Months within the Land, at their own Charges. And, as in War they undergo the greateſt Part of the Danger, ſo then is their Power moſt peremptory above the reſt; whereas, in Time of Peace, the King is ready to ſupport inferior Perſons againſt them, and is glad to ſee them to waſte one another by Contention in Law, for Fear they grow rich, becauſe he foreſees, that, as the Nobility only can do him Service, ſo they only miſapplied can do him Harm.

The ancient Gentry of *France* was moſt of it conſumed in the Wars of *Godfrey* of *Bulloign*, and ſome in thoſe of St. *Lewis*, becauſe, upon their Setting out, they pawned all their Fiefs to the Church, and few of them were after redeemed; by Reaſon whereof, the Church poſſeſſeth, at this Day, the third Part of the beſt Fiefs in *France*; and that Gentry was after made up by Advocates, Financers, and Merchants ennobled, which now are reputed ancient, and are daily eaten out again and repaired by the ſame Kind of Men.

For the People, all thoſe that have any Kind of Profeſſion, or Trade, live well; but for the mere Peaſants, that labour the Ground, they are only Spunges to the King, to the Church, and the Nobility, having nothing their own, but the Uſe of them; and are ſcarce allowed (as Beaſts) enough to keep them able to do Service; for, beſides their Rent, they pay uſually two Thirds to the King.

The Manner of Government, in *France*, is mixed, betwixt Peace and War, being compoſed as well of Military Diſcipline, as Civil Juſtice, becauſe, having open Frontiers and ſtrong Neighbours, and, therefore, obnoxious to ſudden Invaſions, they cannot, as in *England*, join ever Peace and Security together.

For the Military Part, there is ever a Conſtable and a Marſhal in Being, Troops of Horſe, and Regiments of Foot in Pay, and, in all Provinces and Places of Strength, Governors and Gariſons diſtributed, all which are Means for the Preferment of the Gentry; but thoſe, as they give Security againſt the Enemy, ſo, when there is none, they diſturb the Enjoying of Peace, by making the Countries taſte ſomewhat of a Province. For the Gentry find a Difference betwixt the Governors Favour and Diſfavour, and the Soldiers commit often Inſolencies upon the People.

The Governments there are ſo well diſpoſed by the King, as no Governor hath Means to give over a Province into the Enemy's Hand, the Commands thereof are ſo ſcattered; for the Governor commands the Country, and for the moſt Part the chief Town; then is there a Lieutenant, to the King, not to him of the ſame, and betwixt theſe two there is ever Jealouſy nouriſhed; then hath every Town and Fortreſs particular Governors, which are not ſubaltern to that of the Province, but hold immediately from the Prince, and many Times the Town hath one Governor, and the Caſtle another.

The Advantages of Governors, beſides their Pay from the King, are Preſents from the Country, dead Pays, making their Magazines of Corn, and Powder, more than they need at the King's Price, and, where they ſtand upon the Sea, overſeeing of unlawful Goods; thus much in Peace: In War they are worth as much as they will exact. *Languedoc* is the beſt, then *Bretagne*. *Provence* is worth by all theſe Means, to the Duke of *Guiſe*, twenty-thouſand Crowns a Year; but *Provence* only he holds without a Lieutenant.

Concerning the Civil Juſtice there, it is no where more corrupt nor expenſive. The Corruptneſs of it proceeds, *firſt*, by Reaſon that the King ſells the Places of Juſtice at as high a Rate, as can be honeſtly made of them; ſo that all Thriving is left to Corruption, and the Gain, the King hath that Way, tempts him to make a Multitude of Officers, which is another Burden to the Subject. *Secondly*, the Preſidents are not bound to judge according to the written Law, but according to the Equity drawn out of it, which Liberty doth not ſo much admit Conſcience, as leave Wit without Limits. The Expenſiveneſs of it ariſeth from the Multitude of Laws, and Multiplicity of Forms of Proceſſes, the which two both beget Doubt, and make them long in Reſolving. And all this *Chiquanery*, as they call it, is brought into *France* from *Rome*, upon the Pope's Coming to reſide at *Avignon*.

For the Strength of *France*, it is, at this Day, the greateſt united Force of *Chriſtendom*; the Particulars in which it conſiſts are theſe: The Shape of the Country, which being round, no one Part is far from ſuccouring another; the Multitude of good Towns and Places of Strength therein are able to ſtay an Army, if not to waſte it, as *Metz* did the Emperor's; the Maſs of Treaſure, which the King hath in the *Baſtile*; the Number of Arſenals diſtributed upon the Frontiers, beſides that of *Paris*, all which are full of good Arms and Artillery: And for ready Men, the five Regiments beſtowed up and down in Gariſons, together with the Two-thouſand of the Guard; the Troops of ordinary and light Horſe, all ever in Pay; beſides their Gentry, all bred Soldiers, and of which they think there are, at this Preſent, Fifty-thouſand, fit to bear Arms: And to command all theſe, they have, at this Day, the beſt Generals of *Chriſtendom*, which is the only Commodity the Civil Wars did leave them.

The Weakneſs of it are: *Firſt*, The Want of a ſufficient Infantry, which proceeds from the ill Diſtribution of their Wealth; for the Peaſant, which contains the greateſt Part of the People, having no Share allowed him, is heartleſs and conſequently unſerviceable for all Military Uſes, by Reaſon of which, they are, *firſt*, forced to borrow Aid of the *Switzs*, at a great Charge, and *ſecondly*, to compoſe their Armies, for the moſt Part of Gentlemen, which makes the Loſs of a Battle there almoſt irrecoverable. The *Second* is the unproportionable Part of the Land, which the Church holds, all which is likewiſe dead to Military Uſes. For, as they ſay there, The Church will loſe nothing, nor defend nothing. The *Third* is the Want of a competent Number of Ships

and

and Gallies, by Reaſon of which Defect, *firſt*, the *Spaniards* over-maſter them upon the *Mediterranean*, and the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, upon the Ocean; and, *ſecondly*, it renders them poor in foreign Trade, ſo that, all the great Actions of *Chriſtendom*, for theſe fifty Years, having been bent upon the *Indies*, they only have ſat idle. The *Fourth* is the Weakneſs of their Frontiers, which is ſo much the more dangerous, becauſe they are poſſeſſed, all but the Ocean, by the *Spaniard*; for *Savoy* hath been always, as his own, for all Uſes againſt *France*. The *Laſt* is the Difference of Religion among themſelves, which will ever yield Matter of Civil Diſſenſion, and conſequently cauſe the Weaker to ſtand in Need of foreign Succours. The ordinary Revenue of the King is, as they ſay now, ſome fourteen Millions of Crowns, which ariſe principally from the Demeſns of the Crown, the Gabel of Salt, Tallies upon the Country, Cuſtoms upon the Merchandiſe, Sale of Offices, the yearly Tythe of all that belongs to the Church, the Riſing and Falling of Money, Fines and Confiſcations caſt upon him by the Law; but, as for Wardſhips, they are only known in *Normandy*. His Expence is chiefly Ambaſſadors, Ammunition, Building, Fortifying, and Maintaining of Gallies. As for Ships, when he needs them, he makes an Embarque, in Pay for Soldiers, Wages for Officers, Penſions at Home and Abroad, upon the entertaining his Houſe, his State, and his private Pleaſures. And all the firſt, but the Demeſns, were granted, in the Beginning, upon ſome urgent Occaſion, and after by Kings made perpetual, the Occaſion ceaſing; and the Demeſns themſelves granted, becauſe the King ſhould live upon their own, without oppreſſing their Subjects. But at this Day, tho' the Revenue be thus great, and the Taxes unſupportable, yet do they little more than ſerve for neceſſary publick Uſes. For the King of *Spain*'s Greatneſs, and Neighbourhood, forceth the King there to live continually upon his Guard; and the Treaſure, which the *Spaniard* receives from his *Indies*, conſtrains him to raiſe his Revenue thus by Taxes, ſo to be able, in ſome Proportion, to beat up againſt him, for Fear elſe he ſhould be bought out of all his Confederates and Servants.

For the Relation of this State to others, it is firſt to be conſidered, that this Part of *Chriſtendom* is balanced betwixt the three Kings of *Spain*, *France*, and *England*, as the other Part betwixt the *Ruſſian*, the Kings of *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*. For as for *Germany*, which, if it were intirely ſubject to one Monarchy, would be terrible to all the reſt, ſo being divided betwixt ſo many Princes, and thoſe of ſo equal Power, it ſerves only to balance itſelf, and entertain eaſy War with the *Turk*, while the *Perſian* with-holds him in a greater. And every one of thoſe firſt three hath his particular Strength, and his particular Weakneſs: *Spain* hath the Advantage of both the reſt in Treaſure, but is defective in Men, his Dominions are ſcattered, and the Conveyance of his Treaſure from the *Indies* lies obnoxious to the Power of any Nation that is ſtronger by Sea. *France* abounds with Men, lies cloſe together, and hath Money ſufficiently. *England*, being an Iſland, is hard to be invaded, abounds with Men, but wants Money to employ them. For their particular Weakneſs, *Spain* is to be kept buſy in the *Low-Countries*: *France* is to be afflicted with Proteſtants, and *England* in *Ireland*. *England* is not able to ſubſiſt againſt any of the other, Hand to Hand, but, joined with the *Low-Countries*, it can give Law to, both by Sea, and joined with either of them two, it is able to oppreſs the Third, as *Henry the Eighth* did.

Now the only intire Body in *Chriſtendom*, that makes Head againſt the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, is *France*; and therefore they ſay in *France*, that the Day of the Ruin of *France* is the Eve of the Ruin of *England*: And thereupon *England* hath, ever ſince the *Spaniſh* Greatneſs, inclined rather to maintain *France*, than to ruin it; as, when King *Francis* was taken Priſoner, the King of *England* lent Money towards the Payment of his Ranſom: And the late Queen, when the Leaguers, after the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Death, had a Deſign to cantoniſe *France*, though offered a Part, would not conſent. So then, this Reaſon of State, of mutual Preſervation, conjoining them, *England* may be accounted a ſure Confederate of *France*, and *Holland*, by Reaſon it partly ſubſiſts by it; the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, becauſe they have Countenance from it, againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*; the Proteſtant *Switzs*, for Religion and Money; the *Venetians*, for Protection againſt the *Spaniards* in *Italy*: So that all their Friends are either Proteſtants, or inclining, and whoſoever is extreme Catholick, is their Enemy,

and Factors for the *Spaniſh* Monarch, as the Pope, the Cardinals for the moſt Part, and totally the Jeſuits, the Catholick Princes of *Germany*, and the Catholicks of *England* and *Ireland*. For the Jeſuits, which are the Eccleſiaſtical Strength of *Chriſtendom*, *France*, notwithſtanding the many late Obligations, hath Cauſe to deſpair of them; for they intending, as one Pope, ſo one King, to ſuppreſs the Proteſtants, and for the better Support of *Chriſtendom* againſt the *Turk*, and ſeeing *Spain* the likelier to bring this to paſs, they follow the nearer Probability of effecting their End.

No Addition could make *France* ſo dangerous to us, as that of our *Low Countries*; for ſo it were worſe than if the *Spaniard* himſelf had them intirely. As for their Hopes of regaining *Italy*, it concerns the *Spaniard* immediately rather than us.

Concerning the State of the Proteſtants in *France*, during Peace they are protected by their Edict; for their two Agents at Court defend the General from Wrong; and their *Chambres-Imparties*, every particular Perſon: And, if Troubles ſhould ariſe, ſome ſcattered Particulars might be in Danger, but the main Body is ſafe, ſafe to defend themſelves, though all *France* join againſt them, and, if it break out into Factions, the ſafeſt, becauſe they are both ready and united.

The Particulars of their Strength are, Firſt, their Towns of Surety, two of which command the River of *Loyre*.

Secondly, their Situation, the greateſt Part of them lying near together, as *Poictou*, *Xautoigne*, *High Gaſcoigne*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*, near the Sea, ſo, conſequently, fit to receive Succours from Abroad, and remote from *Paris*, ſo that the Quality of an Army is much waſted before it can approach them.

The Third is the Sufficiency of their preſent Governors, *Bulloigne* and *Deſdeguiers*, and other ſecond Commanders. And, for the Princes of the Blood, whom the reſt may, in Shew, without Emulation, obey, when they come once to open Action, thoſe which want a Party will quickly ſeek them.

The Laſt is the Aid they are ſure of from Foreign Princes; for whoſoever are Friends to *France*, in General, are more particularly their Friends.

And, beſides, the Proteſtant Party being grown ſtronger of late, as the *Low-Countries*, and more united, as *England* and *Scotland*, Part of that Strength reflects upon them; and even the King of *Spain* himſelf, who is Enemy to *France* in General, would rather give them Succour, than ſee them utterly extirpated: And yet no Foreign Prince can ever make further Uſe of them, than to diſturb *France*, not to invade it himſelf. For, as ſoon as they get an Edict with better Conditions, they turn Head againſt him that now ſuccoured them, as they did againſt us at *Newhaven*.

Concerning the Proportion of their Number, they are not above the ſeventeenth or eighteenth Part of the People, but of the Gentlemen there are Six thouſand of the Religion; but, ſince the Peace, they have increaſed in People, as principally in *Paris*, *Normandy*, and *Dauphine*, but loſt in the Gentry; which Loſs cometh to paſs, by Reaſon that the King, when he finds any Gentleman that will but hearken, tempts him with Preferment, and thoſe he finds utterly obſtinate ſuppreſſeth, and, by ſuch Means, he hath done them more Harm in Peace, than both his Predeceſſors in War. For, in all their Aſſemblies, he corrupts ſome of their Miniſters to betray their Counſel in Hand; and, of the hundred and ſix-thouſand Crowns a Year, which he pays the Proteſtants to entertain their Miniſters, and pay their Gariſons, he hath gotten the Beſtowing of Sixteen-thouſand of them upon what Gentleman of the Religion he pleaſeth, when, by that Means, he moderates, if not gains; and beſides, they were wont to impoſe upon him their two Deputies, which are to ſtay at Court, but now he makes them propoſe ſix, out of which he chuſeth the two, and, by that, obligeth thoſe; and yet, notwithſtanding all this, in ſome Occaſions he makes good Uſe of them too: For, as towards *England* he placeth none in any Place of Strength but firm Catholicks; ſo, towards *Spain* and *Savoy*, he often gives Charge to Proteſtants, as to *la Force* in *Bern*, *Deſdeguiers* and *Bois* in *Breſſe*.

Concerning the King himſelf, he is a Perſon wonderful both in War and Peace: For his Acts in War, he hath manumiſed *France* from the *Spaniard*, and ſubdued the League, being the moſt dangerous Plot that hath been laid, weakening it by Arms, but utterly diſſolving it by Wit, that is, by letting the Duke of *Guiſe* out of Priſon, and capitulating with the Heads of it every one a-part, by which Means

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he hath yet left a continual Hatred amongſt them, becauſe every one fought, by preventing the other, to make his Conditions the better; ſo that now there remains little Connexion of it amongſt the Gentry, only there continues ſome Dregs ſtill amongſt the Prieſts, and conſequently the People, eſpecially, when they are angered with the Increaſe and Proſperity of the Proteſtants.

For his Acts of Peace, he hath inriched *France* with a greater Proportion of Wool and Silk, erected goodly Buildings, cut Paſſages betwixt River and River, and is about to do the ſame betwixt Sea and Sea; redeemed much of the mortgaged Demeſns of the Crown, better huſbanded the Money (which was wont to be drunk up two Parts of it in the Officers Hands, got aforehand in Treaſure, Arms, and Ammunition, increaſed the Infantry, and ſuppreſſed the unproportionable Cavalry, and left Nothing undone but the Building of a Navy.

And all this may be atributed to himſelf only, becauſe, in a Monarchy, Officers are accordingly active or careleſs, as the Prince is able to judge and diſtinguiſh of their Labours, and, withal, to participate of them ſomewhat himſelf.

Sure it is, that the Peace of *France*, and ſomewhat that of *Chriſtendom* itſelf, is ſecured by this Prince's Life; for all Titles and Diſcontents, all Factions of Religion there, ſuppreſs themſelves till his Death; but what will enſue after; what the reſt of the Houſe of *Bourbon* will enterpriſe upon the King's Children, what the Houſe of *Guiſe* upon the Houſe of *Bourbon*, what the League, what the Proteſtants, what the Kings of *Spain* and *England*, if they ſee a Breach made by Civil Diſſenſion, I chuſe rather to expect than conjecture, becauſe God hath ſo many Ways to turn aſide from human Foreſight, as he gave us a Teſtimony upon the Death of our late Queen.

The Country of *France*, conſidering the Quantity, is the faireſt and richeſt of all *Chriſtendom*, and contains in it moſt of the Countries adjoining: For *Picardy*, *Normandy*, and *Britanny* reſemble *England*; *Languedoc*, *Spain*; *Provence*, *Italy*; and the reſt is *France*.

Beſides, all the Rivers, that paſs through it, end in it. It abounds with Corn, Wine, and Salt, and hath a Competency of Silk; but is defective in Wool, Leather, Metals, and Horſes; and hath but very good Havens, eſpecially on the North-ſide.

Concerning the People: Their Children, at firſt Sight, ſeem Men, and their Men Children; but who ſo, in Negotiating, preſumes upon Appearance, ſhall be deceived; compaſſionate towards their own Nation and Country; loving to the Prince, and ſo they may have Liberty in Ceremony, and free Acceſs to him, they will be the better content that he ſhall be abſolute in Matter of Subſtance; impatient of Peace any longer than whilſt they are in Recovering the Ruins of War; the Preſentneſs of Danger inflames their Courage, but any Expectation makes it languiſh; for the moſt, they are all Imagination, and no Judgment, but thoſe that prove ſolid excel; their Gentlemen are all good outward Men, good Courtiers, good Soldiers, and knowing enough in Men and Buſineſs, but merely ignorant in Matters of Letters, becauſe at Fifteen they quit Books, and begin to live in the World, when, indeed, a Mediocrity betwixt their Form of Education and ours would do better than either. No Men ſtand more punctually upon their Honours in Matters of Valour, and, which is ſtrange, in Nothing elſe; for, otherwiſe, in their Converſation, the Cuſtom of Shifting and Overſpeaking hath quite overcome the Shame of it.

Reaſons for ſettling Admiralty-Juriſdiction, and giving Encouragement to Merchants, Owners, Commanders, Maſters of Ships, Material-Men, and Mariners. Humbly offered to the Conſideration of his Majeſty, and the two Houſes of Parliament. Printed in the Year 1690. *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages.

THERE is nothing can conduce more to the Peopling and Inriching a Kingdom, or Commonwealth, than a free and open Trade; and, as that by Sea is the principal Source of ſuch Happineſs, it may very well deſerve the Government's moſt particular Care and Application to advance it.

And ſince this is no other Way to be done, but by enabling the King to ſet forth Fleets for the Merchants Security Abroad, and eſtabliſhing good Laws for defending them in their Rights and Properties at Home, it is moſt humbly propoſed, Whether this may not be effected with the greateſt Eaſe and Advantage, by reſettling the Admiralty-Juriſdiction, and reſtoring the ancient Power of enrolling Mariners.

Uſage and Experience were always accounted very good Directors; and therefore, the better to accompliſh this Deſign, it may not be improper, in the firſt Place, to give a ſhort Account of the Methods obſerved by our Anceſtors, in whoſe Times our Sea-Dominion was at the greateſt Height, and Trade in as flouriſhing Condition as thoſe Ages would admit: And, in the next Place, to conſider of the beſt Means to improve theſe Methods, and adapt them to the preſent Times.

The Sea-Coaſts of *England* were anciently divided into ſeveral Vice-Admiralties, *viz.* 1. *Northumberland*, *Durham*, and *York*. 2. *Lincoln*. 3. *Norfolk*. 4. *Suffolk*. 5. *Eſſex*. 6. *Kent*. 7. *Suſſex*. 8. *Southampton*. 9. *Dorſet*. 10. *Devon*. 11. *South Cornwall*. 12. *North Cornwall*. 13. *Somerſet*. 14. *Glouceſter*. 15. *South Wales*. 16. *North Wales*. 17. *Cheſter*. 18. *Lancaſter*. 19. *Weſtmorland* and *Cumberland*.

Each of theſe Places (the Port of *London* being immediately under the Admiralty-Court, as to this Matter) had a particular Vice-Admiral, who had Power to hold a Seſſions once in the Year, or oftener, if Occaſion required, and to call before him, or his Officer, all Seafaring Men and Mariners, living within his Diſtrict or Diviſion, and then and there to enroll all their Names and Places of Abode, taking Account, likewiſe, of all Ships within their Juriſdiction.

This was the Method uſed ſeveral Hundreds of Years ſince, as appears by certain Maritime Laws and Ordinances, regiſtered in the ancient authentick *Black Book* of the Admiralty; four Articles of which are as follow:

1. Puiſque l'homme eſt fait * Admiral, premierement luy fault Ordonner & ſubſtituer deſſoubs luy pour eſtre ſes Lieutenants, Deputez, & autres Officiers, des plus loyaulx, ſages, & diſcrets en la Loy Marine, & anciens Couſtomes de la Mer qu'il pourra en aucune part trouver, par ainſy que par l'aide de Dieu, & leur bonne & droitture Governaill l'office pourra eſtre gouverne a l'honneur & prouffit du Royalme.

2. *Item*, Apres doit l'Admiral en toute la haſte qu'il bonnement pourra eſcripte a tous ſes Lieutenants, Deputez, & autres Officiers quelconques par tous les coſtez de la Mer, parmy tout la Royalme pour ſavoir combien de Nefs, Barges, Balengers, & autres Veſſeaulx de guerre le Roy pourra avoig en ſon Royalme, quant lui pleſt, ou meſtier lui fera,

* Litera A. n. 1, 2, 3.

& de quel portage ils ſont, & auſſi les noms des Seigneurs & Poſſeſſeurs d'icelles.

3. *Item*, Pour ſavoir auſſi par bonne, & loyalles enqueſtes pris par devant les dits Lieutenants, Deputez, ou autres Officiers de l'Admiral combien des Mariniers defenſibles ſont ou Royalme, & la cauſe eſt pourceque s'il ſoit de ce demande de l'Admiral par le Roy ou ſon Conſeil, qu'ily donques bonnement & juſtement a eulx monſtrer le nombre tant de Nefs, Barges, Balingers, & d'autres Veſſeaulx de guerre & auſſi les noms des Seigneurs & Poſſeſſeurs d'icelles, comme le nombre de tous Mariners defenſibles parmy le Royalme, & ainſy ſaura le Roy & ſon Conſeil de certain tousjours ſa force par la Mer.

4. Et pource qu'il a ete pluſieurs fois debatu en * Angleterre pour leſs Arrers des Nefs quant le Roy † a mande Sergeants d'armes ou autres Miniſtres pour arreſter Nefs al ceps du Roy, & les Seigneurs des Nefs ſont venus devant l'Admiral, & alleguent qui leur Nefs n'eſtoyent mye arreſtees, ordonne eſtoit *au tems du Roy Richard le premier a Trymnesby par advis de pluſieurs Seigneurs du Royalme* que quant-nefs ſerent arreſtees pour ſervice du Roy que le Roy eſcripta par ſes Lettres Patentes a l'Admiral d'arreſter les Nefs, *&c.*

If the Sea-faring Men were not obedient to the Vice Admiral's Summons and Orders, made according to the Maritime Laws, they had a coercive Power ſufficient to oblige them to be enrolled, and to go into the King's Service, whenever Occaſion required.

This Method of raiſing Seamen was continued in good Order, down to the End of the proſperous Reign of Queen *Eliſabeth*, from which Time, it began to be neglected, and ſo dwindled by Degrees, till at laſt the Uſe and Practice of it quite vaniſhed, inſomuch that, at this Day, the very Remembrance of it is almoſt loſt; and it is not at all ſtrange, that it ſhould be ſo, if we conſider the Temper of King *James the Firſt*, the Circumſtances of King *Charles the Firſt*, the late Troubles, the Remiſſneſs of the Reign of King *Charles the Second*, and the Deſigns of the late King.

During the two laſt Reigns, Who would not think, but the Deſign was to transfer the Sovereignty of the Seas, and Trade of the World, to *France*; ſince ſuch Induſtry was uſed by the Kings themſelves, not only to inſtruct the *French* King, in the Building Ships of War, and Setting out Fleets, but alſo in the Giving him Aſſiſtance in the Compiling of his Sea-Laws, ſet forth in the Ordinances of that King, in the Year 1681? The *French* had from hence alſo the firſt Foot-ſteps of their exquiſite Method of enrolling Mariners. And, if it ſhall be thought fit for the Kingdom's Service, or in any Meaſure conducing to our Happineſs, Why ſhall we not follow likewiſe the more glorious Example of our preſent King, in endeavouring to retrieve it? We have certainly the greateſt Motives that ever *Engliſhmen* had, to excite every one in his reſpective Station, to give his Majeſty thoſe hearty Aſſiſtances, as may, under the Bleſſing of God, regain the betrayed Honour of the Nation, and ſettle the Peace, Plenty, and Glory thereof, for which, next to the Eſtabliſhment of our Religion, our Royal Leader hath hazarded more than ever any of our Kings did before him.

And therefore, ſince a ready Way of raiſing a ſufficient Number of Seamen to man the Fleet is of the greateſt Concern in this Affair, and the Encouraging of them voluntarily to enter into their Majeſties Service is of no leſs Importance, it is humbly propoſed, whether this may not be done moſt effectually by improving the ancient Methods of preſſing Seamen, with a Bill in Parliament, to this Purpoſe, *viz.*

1. That ſuch Seamen, as ſhall voluntarily enroll themſelves in the Admiralties, or Vice-Admiralties, may be exempt from petty Offices, in the Pariſhes where they live, and alſo, from the Payment of Pariſh Duties, Taxes, and the like, during their Lives, or ſo long as they ſhall continue enrolled.

2. That all Prizes be divided into three Parts, one Third to the Captor, and his Ship's Crew; another to go to the Cheſt at *Chatham*, towards a Proviſion for ſick and wounded Mariners, and the Widows and Children of ſuch as are

* Liber. C. n. 16. † If ancient Uſage and Cuſtom be Law in *England*, there is litt'e Doubt of their Majeſties Authority for preſſing Ships and Mariners; but, for the Satisfaction of the Curious, they may conſult the Records quoted by Mr. *Prynne* in his Animadverſions, Fol. 127, and alſo conſider the Statute 2 *R.* II. 4. 18 *H.* VI. 19. 2 & 3 *P.* & *M.* 16. 5 *El.* 5. 43 *El.* 3.

ſlain;

ſlain; the remaining Third, to pay the Charge of Prize-Officers.

3. That the Act of Parliament, 43 *Eliz.* 3. Concerning the Relief of Soldiers and Mariners, be amended, and the Money collected, by Vertue thereof, tranſmitted to the *Chatham* Cheſt, for the Uſes aforeſaid: That Money amounts to about fourteen-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, and may with Care be made as much more, if it ſhall be found requiſite, and, as it is now ordered, is of little or no Uſe to the Government.

4. If it may conſiſt with their Majeſties Affairs, that the Wages of Captains, Officers, and Seamen be a little advanced, they being not ſo good, conſidering the preſent Value of Money, as they were formerly.

5. That ſuch Mariners, as ſhall not voluntarily enroll themſelves, or appear upon the Vice-Admiral's Summons, or ſtand out till they are preſſed, ſhall not have the Benefit of the aforeſaid Privileges and Exemptions.

6. That no Captains, Commanders, or Seamen remain in foreign Service in Time of War, without Licence, and that they return upon their Majeſties Proclamation, under ſuch a Penalty as ſhall be thought fit.

If ſuch a Re-eſtabliſhment of the Admiralties and Vice-Admiralties were made, beſides the Benefit of eaſily Supplying the Fleet with Mariners, theſe further Advantages would accrue to their Majeſties, and ſuch of their Subjects and Allies, as ſhould be concerned in Sea-affairs, which will tend very much to the Advancement of Trade and Navigation.

1. In Time of War, the Officers of the ſeveral Vice-Admiralties might take the Care and Charge of all Prizes brought into their reſpective Diſtricts, which would make the Buſineſs much more eaſy, and alſo ſave a great Part of the Charge to their Majeſties; for it may be eaſily demonſtrated, whenever it ſhall be required, that this Buſineſs may be managed for one third Part of the Proceed of Prizes, and the other two Thirds may be applied to the Cheſt at *Chatham*, and given to the Captor and his Crew, as is before hinted.

2. Their Majeſties and the Lord Admiral's Rights and Perquiſites, in Time of Peace, as well as War, would be preſerved; whereas, at preſent, no Manner of Care is taken thereof, notwithſtanding that they are many Times of a conſiderable Value.

3. The Cuſtoms of Goods ſhipwrecked, as well as the Lord Admiral's Due, will be better preſerved, and their Majeſties will not be ſo eaſily defrauded thereof, by People that ſteal ſuch Goods, or by inferior Officers conniving at, or combining with them; not only becauſe the Vice-Admirals, who have the Care thereof, are uſually Noblemen, or Gentlemen of the beſt Qualities and Eſtates, and ſo have great Authority and Power, in their ſeveral Countries; but alſo, becauſe the Vice-Admiral or his Officer, and the Cuſtomer, will each of them be obliged to ſet a Lock on the ſalved Goods, and one will be a Check upon the other.

4. Where Merchants are in Diſtreſs at Sea, near the Shore, or run a-ground, the Officers of the Vice-Admirals would be ready to aſſiſt, knowing, that they ſhall be recompenſed according to their Pains, and puniſhed, if they refuſe: Whereas, at preſent, the Country People make a Prey of thoſe miſerable Merchants, and will afford no Manner of Aſſiſtance, but rather contrive all they can, that the Ship may be caſt away; nay, many Times, are ſo barbarous to kill or drown People making Eſcape to Land, that thereby they might have a Pretence to a Wreck.

5. When Ships or Goods are caſt away, and any Part thereof driven on Shore, the Vice-Admirals would take Care to keep off the Rabble, and ſecure all for their true Proprietors, upon moderate Salvage, whereas, at preſent, every one taketh away what he can get, and no Remedy.

6. If the Vice-Admirals, or their Officers, happened not to be preſent at the Time, when any Ship was caſt away, or Goods driven on Shore, they would, as they did uſually in that Caſe heretofore, iſſue out Commiſſions of Enquiry, or procure ſuch Commiſſions from the High Court of Admiralty, and ſummon what Perſons they pleaſed before them, and ſo examine by Maritime Evidence, and make immediate Reſtitution of all that was ſaved to the Owners, upon ſuch Salvage as was meet, and puniſh all the Offenders that ſtole away, or embezzled the ſaid Goods; whereas, that Juriſdiction being now interrupted, there is no Relief for the Sufferers, but by Way of Trover, Treſpaſs, or other Actions at Common Law,

which

which muſt be brought ſeparately againſt the ſeveral Parties offending; the Multiplicity of ſuch Suits will, in the End, but add to their Affliction, in Spending their Time and Money; for many Times, at the laſt, when they have ſtaid Half a Year or more for the Aſſizes, and thoſe Things are brought on to a Trial, it ſo happens, that the Witneſſes (whoſe whole Livelihood conſiſts in Trade, and being on Board Ships) are gone to Sea; and ſo Evidence cannot be brought, *viva voce*, to prove the Intereſt in the Goods, as thoſe Ways of Action require.

7. Mariners will have a quick and eaſy Diſpatch in the Admiralty-Courts, they being always open and ready to determine at one Hearing in a Week's Time, or leſs, whenever they come on Shore; and they may alſo join a whole Crew in one Action, whereas, at Common Law, they muſt be ſeveral, and muſt alſo attend the Terms or Aſſizes, which they cannot do without loſing their Employments.

8. Builders of Ships, and Material-Men, who furniſh them with all Sorts of Proviſion for Setting them forth to Sea, would in the Admiralty-Courts have likewiſe a quick Diſpatch and Remedy againſt the Ship by them built, repaired, and furniſhed; whereas, at preſent, if the Party, that they contracted with for the ſame, proves inſolvent, and procures a Prohibition, which is uſually done, they have no Remedy at all, which is a great Diſcouragement to Setting out of Ships, and has occaſioned frequent and very grievous Complaints.

9. Upon the Eſtabliſhment of thoſe Courts, the Fiſheries on all the Coaſts and navigable Rivers would be preſerved; about which, no effectual Care is taken at the preſent.

10. All Annoyances in Ports and navigable Rivers would be preſented in the Admiralty-Courts, and Offenders puniſhed, and made reſponſible for Damages done thereby; which of late has been neglected, and no Relief to be had for ſuch as have ſuffered thereby, eſpecially, where a Ship or Anchor doth Damage, and the Maſter thereof proves inſolvent.

11. The Reſettling of theſe Courts would be an Encouragement to Men of Parts, to apply themſelves to the Study of the Law of Nations, and of the Sea; whereas, at this Time, that Profeſſion, heretofore thought to be of ſome Uſe to the Government, ſeems to be altogether diſcontinued and neglected. However, it is not the Benefit of any Profeſſion that is to be regarded in this Matter, but the general Advantage of the People, for which End, all Laws are made; and, if thoſe Laws afford the beſt Remedy, in all Reaſon, they ought to take Place, and be promoted.

The Common Law, although moſt excellent in its Kind, yet, being framed for Land Affairs only, will be found too narrow for the Deciſion of all the Differences ariſing among Seafaring Men and Merchants. Nay, the very *Roman* Laws, acknowledged by all to be the moſt comprehenſive, are deficient in thoſe Caſes, unleſs they take in the Maritime Laws, the Excellency of which doth not only conſiſt in proper Rules, made by the long Obſervation of Traders, but alſo, in the incomparable Diſpatch that is given to Maritime Affairs at all Times and Seaſons; a Thing abſolutely neceſſary for the Encouragement of Trade and Navigation, and no where elſe to be had but in the Courts of Juſtice eſtabliſhed for that End and Purpoſe: And this may be plainly demonſtrated in the following Caſes: Concerning,

1. Building, Repairing, Victualling, and Furniſhing Ships to Sea.
2. Contributing towards Setting forth upon Voyages.
3. Caſes of Bottomry.
4. Contracts made beyond Sea.
5. Damages on the Sea, and navigable Rivers.
6. Mariners Wages.
7. Freight and Charter-Parties.
8. Miſdemeanors and Nuiſances in navigable Rivers.
9. Foreigners Debts.

1. By the Sea Laws, the Ship is liable to the Builders, Amenders, and Victuallers thereof: But, by the Common Law, the Perſon that made the Agreement, who often is an inſolvent Maſter, or Part-Owner, and ſometimes ſet up for that very End, is only liable; ſo that, if the Builder, Repairer, or Victualler, ſhould be conſtrained to ſue at Common Law, they would not only loſe their chief Security, but would alſo be forced to bring each Man his ſeparate Action; whereas they might be all joined in one Action in the Admiralty.

Beſides, the Ship or Veſſel being proceeded againſt in the Admiralty, every Part-Owner is liable for his Share; whereas, if the Maſter, or Part-

Part-Owner, that made the Contract, be ſued at Common Law, if he be ſolvent, will be conſtrained to pay the Whole; and yet, many Times, cannot recover the reſpective Shares of his Part-Owners; at leaſt, without beginning another Suit in *Chancery*.

2. If a Part-Owner refuſes to contribute to the Setting out of a Ship, the Admiralty-Court uſes to take Bail of thoſe that would ſet the Ship forth, to return her within a competent Time, or elſe to pay the other Part-Owner, that refuſes, to contribute for his Part, according to an Appraiſement then made: And, if this Practice of the Admiralty ſhould be interrupted, it would be in the Power of one croſs Part-Owner to keep the Ship by the Walls, the Conſequence whereof may be eaſily imagined; and yet the Admiralty is many Times obſtructed in the Caſes following, *viz.*

1. Differences, about Setting forth Ships upon Voyages, often happen, in regard more Parts are ſold than are in the Ship; and then, if the Admiralty goes to examine into the Truth of ſuch Bills of Sale, the Party obtains a Prohibition.

2. Sometimes a Part-Owner mortgages his Part, and both the Lender and Borrower come in upon the Proceedings of the Admiralty to contribute, and, if any Party cannot obtain his End, he preſently moves for a Prohibition.

3. Frequently a Part-Owner, that is called to contribute, will firſt deſire, that the Maſter may give his Accounts, which the Court cannot, in Juſtice, deny; and yet, if it be ordered, ſuch croſs Part-Owner has his End, and immediately thereupon obtains a Prohibition or an Injunction; in all which Caſes, it is requiſite, that the Admiralty, that has an undoubted Juriſdiction in the principal Cauſe of Contributing to ſet a Ship forth, ſhould likewiſe have Power to determine thoſe incident Queſtions, or elſe Trade and Navigation will be much diſcouraged.

3. By the Common Law, the Maſter cannot pawn the Ship for Neceſſaries, although in the greateſt Extremity, and, therefore, a Voyage is many Times loſt; but, by the Laws of the Admiralty, the Ship is chargeable upon Bills of Bottomry, provided that the Money advanced be proved to be laid out for Things actually employed in and about the Ship, being in abſolute Neceſſity, and, without which, ſhe could not proceed, whereby the Voyage is performed. And, if the Admiralty-Juriſdiction be obſtructed in this, a neceſſary Expedient of Navigation would be loſt, and our Ships, when driven into foreign Parts, muſt lie there, till the Maſter can ſend Home, and procure Money to be remitted to him; whereas the Ship, with other Nations, is the ſtanding Credit in ſuch Caſes of Neceſſity.

4. Contracts, made beyond Sea concerning Maritime Affairs, may more conveniently be tried in the Admiralty than at the Common Law, becauſe the Witneſſes cannot oftentimes attend at the Trial, as the Courſe of that Law requires; but, in the Admiralty, they may be, at any Time, taken in Writing, or, if there be Occaſion, examined by Commiſſion in foreign Parts.

Contracts beyond Sea are made by the Rules of the Maritime Laws, and by Perſons experienced therein, and, therefore, Foreigners have Reaſon to expect to be tried by the ſame Laws here, as well as in their own Country: For, if the Validity of ſuch Contracts ſhould be tried by the Common Law, which differs from the Rules of the Maritime Laws, the Contract, that was as well and firmly made by them as was poſſible, may, in the End, have no Effect and Force.

5. If Damages happen by ill Stowage, or Inſufficiency of the Ship, or by Reaſon of Storms, or the like, there are known Laws whereby the Admiralty-Court uſes to proceed.

If Damage be done by one Ship running againſt another at Sea, or in navigable Rivers, or by Anchors for Want of Buoys, or the like, the utmoſt Remedy, that the Common Law gives, is againſt the Maſter and Mariners, which are, for the moſt Part, inſolvent, unknown, or abſent: In all which Caſes, the Laws uſed in the Admiralty give Remedy againſt the Ship.

In Caſe of the Loſs of a Ship before it comes to the Port of Delivery, by the Maritime Laws, the Mariners ſhall receive Wages, and the Owners Freight to the laſt Port of Delivery, and no farther; but, by the Common Law, for ſo long as they have ſerved, Loſs or not Loſs, they may recover: Likewiſe in Caſe of Average, or Caſting Goods over-board in a Storm, the Maſter, Mariners, and Owners ſhall bear their

their Proportion of the Loſs; which Things, although they are very juſt and equitable, and great Obligations to uſe Care and Diligence, yet are unknown, and not obſerved in Proceedings at Common Law.

6. If the Mariner knows he muſt ſue for his Wages in the Admiralty, and not at the Common Law, he will be thereby obliged to more Diligence and Obedience; for, if he be mutinous, diſobedient, or deſert the Ship, he makes a total Forfeiture of all his Wages. If he purloin, or embezzle any of the Goods, or be faulty in the due Stowage thereof, or Damage happens for Want of Pumping, or through his Default, his Wages will be liable to a proportionable Satisfaction; whereas, at Common Law, the Mariner will recover his Wages for ſo long Time as he has ſerved, and leave the Commander, or Owner of the Ship or Goods, to ſeek his Satisfaction for the Damages aforeſaid; and this may alſo be done by Letter of Attorney, and ſo there is no Remedy, which is a great Diſcouragement to Foreigners to lade their Goods on *Engliſh* Veſſels: And, as the Mariner is puniſhed, if he be faulty, ſo he has an eaſy Relief in the Admiralty, if he doth his Duty.

The Neceſſity of a Mariner's Condition requires a quick Diſpatch, which is accordingly provided for by the Court of Admiralty, kept Weekly in the Vacations, as well as in the Terms; and, although forty Mariners may be included in one Action, yet the Whole may be determined in a Week's Time; whereas, at the Common Law, every Mariner muſt bring his ſeveral Action, to the great Charge of the ſeveral Defendants, as well as themſelves, and muſt all attend till the Term or Aſſizes for a Trial, and, perhaps, at laſt want Evidence, when in the Admiralty he can have the Oath of the Contractor for diſcovering the Contract, which is uſually private, and not to be proved by Witneſſes. Beſides, by the Courſe of Common Law, the Remedy for the Mariner is only againſt the Contractor, who may not be found, or elſe inſolvent; but, in Caſe he be found, and ſolvent, there is another Inconvenience on the other Side, for the Contractor will be forced to pay the whole Wages, and yet many Times cannot recover the Shares that are due from his Part-owners, without a *Chancery* Suit; whereas, in the Admiralty, the Mariner may have Relief againſt the Ship or Freight that is due, and the whole Difference be determined at once.

7. There is ſo neceſſary a Relation betwixt Freight and Wages, that it will be very inconvenient to try them in ſeparate Judicatures; becauſe,

1. Uſually the Wages are paid out of the Freight.

2. There are divers Caſes, wherein Mariners Wages are to be abated, in Reſpect of an Abatement of Freight; as, in Caſe of Loſs, or Spoiling the Merchants Goods.

3. If the Maſter and Owner are ſued in the Admiralty for Wages, and forced to ſue at Common Law for Freight, out of which they ſhould pay ſuch Wages, perhaps a Judgment may paſs againſt them immediately upon a ſummary Hearing in the Admiralty, and yet they ſhall not be able to recover their Freight in three Months Time, or longer, at the Common Law.

4. There is Neceſſity, in many Caſes, to depart from the Letter of the Charter-party; otherwiſe the Merchant, Maſter, and Owner may be ruined: This the Maritime Laws and Court of Admiralty do permit, which the Common Law doth not. For Inſtance:

A Contract is made for ſix Months, payable Monthly by the Charter-party; yet, if within the Time the Ship be embargoed, no Freight ſhall be paid for that Time: Likewiſe, if the Goods periſh, before a Port be made, there is no Freight or Wages to be paid.

5. The Freight of one Voyage is the Supply of another, and therefore requires a very quick Diſpatch for the Advancement of Trade and Navigation, which is ſettled by the Courſe of Admiralty, and cannot be by the Courſe of Common Law.

6. The Freighter may be upon, or beyond the Sea, and cannot be arreſted, or may be inſolvent, whereby the Maſter and the Owner of the Ship is remedileſs at the Common Law; but, by the Maritime Law, the Goods may be arreſted, and, upon Default, condemned for the Payment of the Freight; and this is the great Security of the Maſter and Owner.

7. If Freight muſt be ſued for at Common Law, the Maſter and Owners of the Ship may

ſue for the ſame by Letter of Attorney, and the Freight ſhall not be ſtopped for Damage done to the Goods, or Embezzlements: For the Courſe of Common Law is not to ſtop by Way of Compenſation, but a Verdict paſſes for the Freight upon the Charter-party, according to Agreement, and ſo the Owner of the Goods is defeated of his Satisfaction, according to the Maritime Law for Damage or Embezzlements, beſides the Inconveniency of multiplying Actions; whereas the Whole may be more properly decided by one and the ſame Action in the Admiralty, and many Times is done upon a ſummary Hearing, in a Week or Fortnight's Time; by which Means the great Expence of Money and Time, two of the moſt neceſſary Supplies of Trade, is prevented.

8. Miſdemeanors and Nuiſances in navigable Rivers were formerly, and may again, with great Conveniency, be ſettled under the Admiralty-Juriſdiction: The Common Law doth not, and, if the Admiralty ſhould not intermeddle, there will be a Failure of Juſtice in thoſe Caſes.

A Merchant lives beyond Sea, or cannot be found, but has a Ship come into a Port, or navigable River, or, it may be, has Goods on Board, and owes ſome of their Majeſties Subjects Money; one of theſe arreſteth the Ship or Goods by an Admiralty-warrant, and thereupon Bail is given to the Action: Is it not reaſonable, that their Majeſties Subjects ſhould proceed to Sentence, and have the Benefit of the Law of Nations? Shall a Prohibition be ſent, to ſtop Proceedings, when the Common Law can give him no Remedy? Or, That one of their Majeſties Courts ſhould hinder the other, when they can give no Manner of Relief themſelves? This is certainly to be redreſſed, if Trade is to be encouraged, ſince it preſerves Foreigners and Fugitives from Paying their juſt Debts, by Reaſon that their Perſons cannot be apprehended.

If theſe Matters may be thought fit to be reſettled in the Admiralty-court, it is humbly deſired, That Leave may be obtained for Bringing a Bill into Parliament for that End, ſo that it may be poſitively determined what Cauſes ſhall belong to that Juriſdiction; for the old Statutes that reſtrain it, as they have in the late Reigns been put in Execution, are the Terror of Merchants, Owners, Material-Men, and others that live by Sea-trade, inſomuch that they dare not think of Suing in the Admiralty for their juſt Damages and Debts contracted by Maritime Employments, but are forced contentedly to ſit down with ſuch their Loſſes, for Fear of being ſued at the Common Law upon the Action of double Damages; which is very hard, when thereby they are not only deprived of the beſt Relief, but, in many of the foregoing Caſes, have no Ways to begin an Action at Common Law.

This Juriſdiction has been ſeveral Times ſettled, particularly by the King in Council, in the Year 1632, after which it being interrupted, it was in the late Times thought neceſſary to be reſettled by Ordinances of Parliament, as may be ſeen in *Scobell's* Collection, *C.* 112. *Anno* 1648. *f.* 147. and *C.* 23. *Anno* 1649. *f.* 16. Since the Reſtoration, it has been again interrupted by Prohibitions, which gave Occaſion for ſeveral Petitions from many conſiderable Merchants, Maſters, Owners, and Material-Men; one of which Petitions is hereunto annexed, but they could have no Relief during the two laſt Reigns. However it is hoped, that this Parliament will reſtore ſo neceſſary an Encouragement of Trade and Navigation, the chiefeſt Wealth and Support of the Kingdom.

It muſt be expected, that ſome of the Common Lawyers will oppoſe ſuch a Bill, for the ſame Reaſons that ſome Civilians will promote it: But either of their private Advantages is not to be regarded, but only the publick Good. It may be eaſily demonſtrated, that the Admiralty anciently had Cogniſance of many more Cauſes than are abovementioned: And on the other Side it is as plain, that Prohibitions have been awarded in moſt, if not all of them: But Arguments, drawn from thence, would do no more than tell the World, than one Juriſdiction oppreſſed the other, according as it had Power, and between both did grind and harraſs the Subject, and is a better Reaſon for ſetling the Juriſdiction, than for ſerving the private Ends of either Party. And there need be no more other Weight laid upon what is urged from thence, but rather to paſs by all Diſputes of that Kind, and not ſo much examine, whether Prohibitions have been duly, or unduly, ſent to the Admiralty, of which there will be no End; (as may appear by the ſeveral fruitleſs Tracts that have been publiſhed to that Purpoſe on each Side) but rather to conſider,

what

what is fit and expedient to be done for the general Advantage of the Kingdom; and what Courts, what Laws, and which Profeſſion can moſt eaſily and readily adminiſter Juſtice to the Subject in the foregoing Caſes.

APPENDIX.

At Whitehall, *the Eighteenth of* February, 1632. *Preſent the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.*

Lord Keeper,
Lord Archbiſhop of *York*,
Lord Treaſurer,
Lord Privy-Seal,
Earl Marſhal,
Lord Chamberlain,
Earl of *Dorſet*,
Earl of *Carliſle*,
Earl of *Holland*,
Earl of *Danby*,
Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*,
Earl of *Morton*.
Lord Viſcount *Wimbledon*,
Lord Viſcount *Wentworth*,
Lord Viſcount *Falkland*,
Lord Biſhop of *London*,
Lord *Cottington*,
Lord *Newburgh*,
Mr. Treaſurer,
Mr. Comptroller,
Mr. Vice-Chamberlain,
Mr. Secretary *Coke*,
Mr. Secretary *Windebancke*.

THis Day his Majeſty being preſent in Council, the Articles and Propoſitions following, for the Accommodating and Setling the Differences concerning Prohibitions ariſing between his Majeſty's Courts at *Weſtminſter*, and his Court of Admiralty, were fully debated, and reſolved by the Board. And were then likewiſe, upon Reading the ſame, as well before the Judges of his Highneſs's ſaid Courts at *Weſtminſter*, as before the Judge of his ſaid Court of Admiralty, and his Attorney-General, agreed unto, and ſubſigned by them all in his Majeſty's Preſence. And the Tranſcript thereof ordered to be entered into the Regiſter of Council-Cauſes: And the Original to remain in the Council-Cheſt.

1. If Suit ſhall be commenced in the Court of Admiralty, upon Contracts made, or other things perſonally done beyond the Sea, or upon the Sea, no Prohibition is to be awarded.
2. If Suit be before the Admiral for Freight or Mariners Wages, or for the Breach of Charter-Parties, for Voyages to be made beyond the Sea, though the Charter-Parties happen to be made within the Realm, and although the Money be payable within the Realm, ſo as the Penalty be not demanded, a Prohibition is not to be granted. But if Suits be for the Penalty, or if the Queſtion be made, Whether the Charter-party were made or not, or whether the Plaintiff did releaſe, or otherwiſe diſcharge the ſame within the Realm? That is to be tried in the King's Court at *Weſtminſter*, and not in the King's Court of the Admiralty; ſo that firſt it be denied upon Oath, that a Charter-party was made, or a Denial upon an Oath, tendered.
3. If Suit ſhall be in the Court of Admiralty, for Building, Amending, Saving, or neceſſary Victualling of a Ship againſt the Ship itſelf, and not againſt any Party by Name, but ſuch as for his Intereſt makes himſelf a Party, no Prohibition is to be granted, though this be done within the Realm.
4. Likewiſe the Admiral may inquire of, and redreſs all Annoyances and Obſtructions in all navigable Rivers, beneath the firſt Bridges that are any Impediments to Navigation, or Paſſage to, or from the Sea; and alſo try perſonal Contracts, and Injuries done there, which concern Navigation upon the Sea: And no Prohibition is to be granted in ſuch Caſes.
5. If any be impriſoned, and upon *Habeas Corpus*, if any of theſe be the Cauſe of the Impriſonment,

Impriſonment, and that be ſo certified, the Party ſhall be remanded.

Signed,

Thomas Richardſon, Thomas Trevor,
Robert Heath, George Vernon,
Humphry Davenport, James Weſton,
John Denham, Robert Barkley,
Richard Hutton, Francis Crawley,
William Jones, Henry Marten,
George Croke, William Noye.

Examinat. T. Meautys.

At Whitehall, *the Twenty-ſecond of* February, 1632.

PRESENT,

Lord Keeper,
Lord Archbiſhop of *York*,
Lord Privy-Seal,
Earl Marſhal,
Lord Chamberlain,
Earl of *Salisbury*,
Lord Viſcount *Wentworth*,
Lord Viſcount *Falkland*,
Lord *Cottington*,
Lord *Newburgh*,
Mr. Treaſurer,
Mr. Comptroller,
Mr. Secretary *Coke*,
Mr. Secretary *Windebanck*.

IT was this Day thought fit and ordered, that ſuch Prohibitions as have been ſent into the Admiralty-Court, from any of his Majeſty's Courts at *Weſtminſter*, falling under the Rules contained in the Articles agreed on, and ſigned in his Majeſty's Preſence, the Eighteenth of this Inſtant, as well by all the Judges of his Majeſty's ſaid Courts at *Weſtminſter*, as by his Judge of the Admiralty, and his Attorney-General, ſhould be withdrawn, and ſuperſeded; whereof the Judges of the ſaid Courts, from whence ſuch Prohibitions have iſſued, are hereby prayed and required to take Knowledge, and to give Order therein accordingly.

Examinat. Meautys.

The Juriſdiction of the Court of Admiralty ſettled.

THE Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, finding many Inconveniences daily to ariſe, in Relation both to the Trade of this Kingdom, and to the Commerce with foreign Parts, through the Uncertainty of Juriſdiction, in the Trial of Maritime Cauſes, do ordain, and be it ordained, by Authority of Parliament, That the Court of Admiralty ſhall have Cogniſance and Juriſdiction againſt the Ship or Veſſel, with the Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture thereof, in all Cauſes, which concern the Repairing, Victualling, and Furniſhing Proviſions, for the Setting of ſuch Ships or Veſſels to Sea, and in all Caſes of Bottomry; and likewiſe, in all Caſes of Contracts made beyond the Seas, concerning Shipping or Navigation, or Damages happening thereon, or ariſing at Sea in any Voyage; and likewiſe, in all Caſes of Charter-Parties, or Contracts for Freight, Bills of Lading, Mariners Wages, or Damages on Goods laden on Board Ships, or other Damages done by one Ship or Veſſel to another, or by Anchors, or Want of laying of Buoys; except, always, that the ſaid Court of Admiralty ſhall not hold Pleas, or admit Actions upon any Bills of Exchange, or Accounts betwixt Merchant and Merchant, or their Factors.

And be it ordained, That, in all and every the Matters aforeſaid, the ſaid Admiralty-Court ſhall and may proceed, and take Recogniſances in due Form, and hear, examine, and finally end, decree, ſentence, and determine the ſame, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Sea, and put the ſame Decrees and Sentences in Execution, without any Let, Trouble, or Impeachment whatſoever, any Law, Statute, or Uſage to the Contrary heretofore made, in any wiſe notwithſtanding; ſaving always, and reſerving to all and every Perſon and Perſons, that ſhall find or think themſelves aggrieved by any Sentence definitive

tive or Decree, having the Force of a definitive Sentence, or importing a Damage not to be repaired in the definitive Sentence, given or interpoſed in the Court of Admiralty, in all or any of the Caſes aforeſaid, their Right of Appeal, in ſuch Form as hath heretofore been uſed, from ſuch Decrees or Sentences in the ſaid Court of Admiralty.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble Petition of ſeveral Merchants, Owners, and Maſters of Ships, Victuallers, and Material-men, belonging to the City and Port of London.

Sheweth,

THAT it has been anciently the Wiſdom of the Kings of *England*, your Majeſty's moſt Royal Progenitors, ſo to provide for the Wealth and Good of Commerce, and Navigation, as to give it all Encouragement, and to remove all Obſtructions from it, your Wealth, Happineſs, and Honour much conſiſting in it.

And more particularly, your Majeſty's moſt Royal Father of bleſſed Memory, in the Year 1632, taking Notice of ſome Differences, concerning Prohibitions then ariſen, betwixt his Majeſty's then Courts at *Weſtminſter*, and his Majeſty's Court of Admiralty, was graciouſly pleaſed to hear them himſelf in full Council, and upon full Debate thereof had, the Eighteenth of *February*, 1632, Propoſitions for Accommodating thereof were by his Majeſty and the Board reſolved upon, and upon Reading thereof, as well before the Judges of his Majeſty's Court at *Weſtminſter-hall*, as before the Judge of his Highneſs's ſaid Court of Admiralty, and his Attorney-General, agreed unto, and ſubſigned by them all, in his Majeſty's Preſence, and entered in the Council Book, and the Original to remain in the Council-Cheſt, a Copy of which Order, Agreement, and Propoſitions is hereunto annexed.

That the ſame Order, ſo made by your Majeſties ſaid Royal Father, and the Board, and agreed unto, and ſubſcribed by all the then Judges of *England*, did very much tend to the Advancement of the Navigation and Commerce of this Nation, to the Encouragement both of the Merchants and Seamen, to the Credit of Shipping, with the Material-men, to the Furtherance of Ship-maſters, and Building of Ships, the wooden Walls of the Kingdom, and to the Keeping a right Underſtanding Abroad; for that the foreign Contracts made beyond the Sea, and the Matter of Charter-Parties for Voyages, all Ship-building, Repairing, Victualling of Ships, Mariners Wages, and other Matters of mere Admiralty, did from thenceforth proceed in their due Courſe in the ſaid Court of Admiralty, by the Rule of the Civil and Maritime Laws, well known Abroad as well as here, and that without either being prohibited or interrupted: By which Encouragement, and for that as well the People here, as Foreigners, had ſpeedy Juſtice in the Admiralty, by one common Rule, well known to them all, more Ships were builded, freighted, ſet out to Sea, more Voyages and Returns made, Commerce flouriſhed, the Wealth of the Kingdom increaſed, and his late Majeſty's Cuſtoms and Revenues were advanced.

But foraſmuch as there have been of late Obſtructions ariſen by the Grant of Prohibitions, in Cauſes of Charter-Parties, Repairing and Building of Ships, Mariners Wages, and other the Cauſes and Caſes ſo ſettled as aforeſaid, by his late Majeſty and the Board, with the Conſent and Agreement of all the then Judges; your Petitioners do ſenſibly perceive, that unleſs, by the Piety and Wiſdom of your Majeſty, your Majeſty's Court of Admiralty be eſtabliſhed in its Juriſdiction, that it may miniſter due Juſtice, in all theſe and other Caſes of Admiralty, without being prohibited, or obſtructed, the Building of Ships will be diſcouraged, the Material-men will not truſt upon the Credit of the Ship, fewer Voyages to Sea and Returns from thence will be made, Trade and a right Underſtanding Abroad, eſpecially ſince all ſuch Cauſes and Matters are Abroad referred to the Admiralty, will decreaſe, and your Majeſty's Cuſtoms be leſſened, and Ship-maſters, and Seamen, as well as Merchants be damaged, and much more Inconveniences enſue alſo.

THE

THE Petitioners, who do heartily, upon their bended Knees, bleſs God for your Majeſty's moſt happy and glorious Reſtoration to your Crowns and Kingdoms, and do humbly and devotedly pray, that the ſame may flouriſh, and that your Majeſty may enjoy a long, peaceable, and proſperous Reign, do humbly ſubmit it to your Majeſty's moſt wiſe and prudent Conſideration, whether your Majeſty, in a Matter of this univerſal Concernment, will not be pleaſed, upon the Peruſal of the ſaid Order annexed, to tread in your Majeſty's moſt Royal Father's Steps, and to call your Majeſty's Judges, or ſuch others as your Majeſty ſhall hold requiſite to be preſent, at your Majeſty's Council-Board, and cauſe the ſaid former Order to be renewed and confirmed, and to be inviolably obſerved, that your Majeſty will in your own great Wiſdom do therein, for the Good of your Kingdoms, Commerce, Shipping, and Navigation, as to your Majeſty ſhall ſeem requiſite.

And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray.

William Batten,
William Penn,
William Rider,
Nicholas Harleſtone,
Lawrence Moyer,
Brian Harriſon,
Edward Jonſon,
Daniel Gates,
John Lainbery,
Thomas White,
Thomas Harman,
John Caſſe,
John Prowd,
John Swanley,
William Wilde,
James Modyford,
Robert Lant,
Gregory Weſcomb,
William Weſcomb,
Nicholas Warren,
Richard Lant,
James St. Hill,
John Marſhal,
John Harbin,
Philip Paine,
William Wood,
Nicholas Bradley,
William Green,
Tho. Gates,
Joſhua Waters,
William Clarke,
Robert Wood,
George Percy,
John Frederick,
Thomas Bludworth,
Thomas Brodrick,
John Bull,
Richard Weſcomb,
John Maſcal,
David Skinner,
Thomas Andrews,
John Lemkuele,
Lawrence Blancart,
Thomas Bantry,
Godfrey Lee,
John Page,
Chriſtopher Boone,
Peter Vandeput,
John Moone,
Alexander Bence,
John Soame,
Charles Michel,
Nathaniel Houldings,
Peter Leare,
Richard Ford,
John Jollife,
Robert Canning.
John Harris,
Thomas Warren,
Joſeph Debins,
Joſeph Campbel,
Thomas Davies,
William Walker,
Rich. Adams,
Robert Ellis,
Charles Bennet,
Edward Lopegood,
Nicholas Meade,
Samuel Put,
Thomas Canham,
Timothy Alſop,
Thomas Tyte,
Daniel Ford,
Robert Hooker,
Nicholas Corſellis,
Peter Proby,
Andrew King,
George Smith,
John Dickens,
William Parker,
John Heath,
Edward Wambwel,
Anthony Nicholetts,
Edward Lewes,
Thomas Culling,
Richard David,
James Young,
Nathaniel Tenche,
George Maryet,
Richard Church, *jun.*
Nathaniel Townſend,
Jacob Wachter,
Peter Heninghook,
Robert Gale,
Gerard Weyman,
Nicholas Skinner,
Edward Bouvery,
Michael Godfrey,
Andrew Weſt.

Theeves

whoſe Office is to ſet the Great *Turk*'s Name to all Letters Patents, and publick Inſtruments, that are granted and ſent out by him. On the other Side of Cahimachan, a reaſonable or indifferent Space being left, ſat the two Cadileſchers, or chief Judges, of the whole Realm of *Turkey*, and on a Seat alone the great Treaſurer, being a Viſier alſo. Over againſt him, in a Chamber a-part, there ſat about three-hundred Secretaries, or Clerks, of the Treaſury, each of them being Auditors of a ſeveral Province, and under them their Clerks.

The Ambaſſador having, for a While, ſpoken and conferred with the Baſhaws, there were four round ſilver Tables brought in, whereof one was ſet between the Ambaſſador and the Cahimachan, the Second before the other Baſhaws, the Third before the Cadileſchers and the Treaſurer, and the fourth before the *Niſchanzi* Baſhaw and his Company; and there they were feaſted in ſumptuous Manner, with many Sorts of Meat, ſerved in great Porcelane Diſhes, ſetting but one Diſh down at once after the *Dutch* Manner: The Ambaſſador eating with the Cahimachan, Captain Baſhaw, and *Dahut* Baſhaw. In the Middle of Dinner, each of the Baſhaws, and the Ambaſſador, drank Sorbetta, in Diſhes of Gold, which is a Kind of Drink made of Water, Sugar, and Juice of Lemons, mixed with Amber and Muſk; whereof they drank but once and no more; for the *Turks* are very ſober Drinkers, and the great Lords uſe to drink no Wine. The Mutpac Emini, or the Great *Turk*'s chief Cook, having under him above two-thouſand Cooks and Officers in the Kitchen, ſtood to ſerve at the Table, and, below him, ſtood about one-hundred Teſchnegers, or Waiters, all with Caſſocks of Cloth of Gold, ſetting the Meat upon the Tables, and ſerving at them. Of them the Beyes, that is, the Governors of Towns, and Barons, are made.

The Cahimachan gave the Ambaſſador the firſt Cut of every Diſh of Meat; in the mean Time the Gentlemen and their Servants were entertained in a Gallery a-part, with about three-hundred Sorts and Diſhes of Meat; in like Sort the Janiſaries and Saphers, and the reſt that are in ordinary under the Great *Turk*, were ſerved. This Dinner coſt about ſix-thouſand Gilders, which is ſix hundred Pounds Sterling, as the Treaſurer brought in his Account.

Dinner, which laſted about an Hour, being done, a little While after the Ambaſſador roſe up, and, after their Manner, having ſaluted the Baſhaws, he went out of the Divan to have Audience, which, with this Solemnity, was performed: When he was gone out of the Divan, on the Right-hand there ſtood the aforeſaid Kihaia of the Capitſers, with Siaus Baſhaw, accompanied with three-hundred Capitſers, and five-hundred Siauſers, attending the Ambaſſador's Coming. On the Left-hand ſat the Chancellor of the Land, with about one-hundred Secretaries, who all roſe up on their Feet to ſalute the Ambaſſador. And there the aforeſaid Peichiis Sub-baſhaw met him, and led him to a Seat hanged with Tapiſtry, where being ſet down with the Gentlemen that accompanied him, to kiſs the Great *Turk*'s Hand, *Caſnader* Baſhaw, great Treaſurer of the common Treaſury, preſented him with fourteen Caſſocks of Cloth of Gold, but the Ambaſſador's Caſſock was brought out of the chief Treaſury, as of ſpecial Favour: Thoſe Caſſocks were put upon the Ambaſſador and the Gentlemen, which they wore under their Clokes, by the chief Officer of the Treaſury, who, by the *Italians*, is called *Capo della Guardarobba*. Then the Cahimachan, and all the Viſier Baſhaws one after another, went into the Privy-Chamber, wherein the Great *Turk* himſelf ſat: The Ambaſſador riſing up to ſalute them, and he by them being likewiſe ſaluted, he followed preſently after them, led, as aforeſaid, to the Gate thereof. Before the Chamber, in a Gallery ſupported with Pillars of Marble, and paved with the like, richly furniſhed, on the one Side there ſtood two-hundred Teſchnegers, with Teſchneger Baſhaw (who are they that carry up the Meat to the Great *Turk*'s Table) on the other Side one-hundred Eunuchs, or Gentlemen of the Chamber, who always ſerve the Great *Turk*, and are of great Authority, all apparelled in Cloth of Silver.

In a great Gallery on the Right-hand, the Capitſers held up the Preſents openly for all Men to ſee, every one, both great and little, by a ſeveral Capitſer, according to the Manner of the Land, thereby to make the greater Show, and ſo it was held to be a greater Honour for many Capitſers to carry the Preſents; who, in that Sort, orderly, one after another, paſſed along before the Great *Turk*. Before the Preſence-chamber there ſtood twelve Capitſers Baſhaws, with ſilver and gilt Wands, whereof two of them, by Couples, firſt led the Ambaſſador, then his Druggerman, or Interpreter, and then all the Gentlemen by the Arms, before the

the Great *Turk*, to kiſs his Hand; who, at that Time, ſat under a moſt rich and ſumptuous Cloth of State, ſupported by four Pillars of Marble, ſomewhat elevated from the Ground in Manner of a Bed, and ſerving for a Seat, covered over with moſt rich and coſtly Cloth of Gold, which was ſet ſo full of Diamonds, Rubies, Pearls, and other precious Stones, that it ſhewed like the Sky bedecked with a Multitude of Stars. Before him there ſtood a Standiſh of Ink beautified with many precious Stones, all the Chamber being hanged about with moſt coſtly Hangings, embroidered and emboſſed with Gold, the Ground being Crimſon Velvet, the Top thereof framed like a round Tabernacle all covered over with Gold, with divers Kinds of Works therein: This Chamber, being not very great (when it is decked and hanged richly for to give Audience to any Ambaſſador) is eſteemed and valued to be worth ten-hundred-thouſand *Hungarian* Ducats, in *Engliſh* Money, at ſeven Shillings a Ducat, three-hundred-fifty-thouſand Pounds.

When the Ambaſſador came before the Great *Turk*, one of the Capitſer Baſhaws took up the Skirt of the *Turk*'s Gown, which the Ambaſſador, ſtooping down, kiſſed; and then, having done the accuſtomed Reverence unto his Majeſty, two of the Capitſer Baſhaws led him backward to the Side of the Chamber, where, in the Side of the Wall there, there is a Seat furniſhed with rich Hangings and Cuſhions, but it is not the Manner that any Ambaſſador doth ſit down in the *Turk*'s Preſence. The two Capitſer Baſhaws ſtood ſtill by the Ambaſſador, then the Druggerman was led before the Great *Turk*, and brought backward again by the Ambaſſador, and after them, the twelve Gentlemen orderly one after another; that done, the firſt Viſier or Cahimachan, read a Petition before the Great *Turk*, thereby briefly beſeeching his Majeſty, graciouſly to vouchſafe Audience unto the Ambaſſador.

After that the Ambaſſador made an Oration in *Latin*, which by the Druggerman was preſently interpreted in *Turkiſh* Speech; and ſo, when the Ambaſſador had delivered his Letters of Credit, together with the Propoſitions aforeſaid, in Writing, in a Bag of Gold Cloth, according to their accuſtomed Manner, by his Interpreter, to the Cahimachan, he was led out of the Chamber again, doing the accuſtomed Honour and Reverence, unto the Great *Turk*, going backwards as aforeſaid, without any Anſwer from the *Turk* himſelf, or any of his Baſhaws, it being not their Manner nor Cuſtom to do it; and ſo went out with a great Number of Courtiers and Officers, until he came out of the Gate aforeſaid, on both Sides ſaluting Janiſary Aga, and Saphiler Aga, being by them, and the Janiſaries and Saphilers, likewiſe ſaluted as before. It is to be wondered at, that in the *Turk*'s Court, when they ſit in Council, which is ordinarily four Days in a Week, there aſſemble, at the leaſt, thirty-thouſand Men, all in Pay, and Wages under the Great *Turk*, beſides the Baſhaws, who ſtand there ſo quietly, and with ſo great Silence, that in a Manner they ſhew to be ſo many Images, without Life or Soul.

The Ambaſſador, with his Train, being on Horſeback again, they were led a little aſide, as the Manner in that Country is, to ſee the Court and Train of the Great *Turk* paſs along before them, partly to honour the Ambaſſadors, and partly to ſhew the Great *Turk*'s Power. And, firſt, all the Janiſaries, about Ten-thouſand in Number, with a great Noiſe, came out of the Gate, and marched before him, well apparelled, but without Weapons. Then followed five-hundred Solachiis, or Buluc-baſhaw, which are Corporals, and other Officers of the Janiſaries; then about five-hundred Sub-baſhaws, with long white Feathers upon their Heads, which are Captains among others. Then on Horſeback followed Stampol Aga, being the Chief of all the Samoglanes, which are certain young Men and Children, which are given to the Great *Turk* as Tribute; then the Peichimaigis, *Janigſeris*, *Jagiſchiis*, the Clerk of the Janiſaries; Solach Baſhaw, Commander of the Solachiis; Tagerſchii Baſhaw, chief Hunter to the Great *Turk*; the Chahagraby, or Lieutenant to Janiſary Aga, and his Subſtitute. Then on Foot followed two-hundred Sub-baſhaws, and then Janiſary Aga himſelf, Commander over all the Janiſaries; after him followed one-hundred Menegeſians, all with Girdles of Silver about one of their Hands, which alſo are Janiſaries, and each of them carry a Torch before the Aga, when he goeth the Rounds by Night, through *Conſtantinople*, as all the great Viſiers, and Baſhaws, Night by Night, are bound in Perſon to go the Rounds, to prevent all ſuch as ſeek to do any Hurt or Miſchief, each of them having an Executioner

ner with them, to puniſh all thoſe that they find doing any Hurt or Wickedneſs, or that are in the Streets, according to the Deſert and Merit of their Offences, either by preſent Death, or otherwiſe. All the Great *Turk*'s Court having in this Manner paſſed along before the Ambaſſador, he was again conducted unto his Lodging as aforeſaid, and, for a further Honour, there were by the Baſhaws ſent unto him two Peichiis or Pages, belonging to the Great *Turk*, wearing ſilver and gilt Hats, whereof there are always a great many going about the Great *Turk*'s Horſe, who although they are not accuſtomed to wait upon any other Man, no not upon the great Viſier Baſhaw, yet they followed the Ambaſſador, on either Side of him, as he was on Horſeback, till he came to his Lodging. For this Amity and Friendſhip, made between the Great *Turk* and the United *Netherlands*, all the *Turks* in General much rejoiced, ſo that, as then, it ſeemed to be a Day of Triumph, and from that Time forward, when the ſaid League was firſt begun to be made, they begun to treat about the Releaſing of the *Netherlanders* out of Captivity, as alſo touching Negotiation and Traffick, to the which End, now already Commandment is ſent by the Great *Turk* into *Barbary*, and other Places, to declare the Peace made between the *Netherlands* and the ſaid Great *Turk*, and to command them, that from thenceforth the *Netherlanders* ſhall by them be holden and eſteemed to be his Friends. This Treaty with the Great *Turk*, for the which, the Lord be praiſed, concluded and agreed upon, with the greateſt Honour and Reputation of the *Netherlands*, that may be deviſed, being made and ſigned with the Great *Turk*'s own Hand, and with his Oath thereunto annexed, was delivered unto the Ambaſſador, upon the ſixteenth Day of *July*, laſt paſt, being by him before, for the Space of ſix Days, peruſed, read, and, in all defective Places, corrected, and amended, in the Preſence of certain Men, that underſtood the *Turkiſh* Language, and were requeſted thereunto by the ſaid Ambaſſador.

By which Means the *Netherlanders* have obtained the beſt and ſureſt Privileges in *Turky*, that ever heretofore have to any Nation been granted; for whatſoever the *Frenchmen*, *Engliſhmen*, and *Venetians* in General, or any of them in particular, by the *Turk*'s ſpecial Favour and Grace, have obtained of him, it is all ſpecially ſet down in their Recapitulation, and withal many other Privileges more granted unto them. Their Priſoners and Slaves are by the Great *Turk*, both in the Treaty, as alſo in his Letters ſent unto the States of the United Provinces, declared to be free, and ſet at Liberty, in ſuch Manner, that, of all thoſe that have by the *Turks* been bought as Slaves with Money, they may not aſk a Penny of any Man for their Ranſom, but muſt get their Money again, if they can, of him of whom they bought them. Which the Ambaſſador by ſpecial Favour hath procured to be granted, and ſo good Order appointed and ordained for the ſame, that by God's Grace, in Time, no *Netherlander* ſhall hereafter be made a Slave among the *Turks*.

The Copy of the Great *Turk*'s Letter, ſent to the General States of the United *Netherland* Provinces.

Sultan Achmet Cham, the Son of *Sultan Mahomet Cham*, always happy.

The SUPERSCRIPTION.

To the Honour and Greatneſs of Chriſtendom, *Chief of the Excellency and Greatneſs of the Law of Chriſt, Commanders in the Government of the common People of* Chriſtendom, *Protectors of Honour and Humanity, Lords of Power and Honour, and Superiors of the Provinces ſubject unto them in the* Netherlands, *that is, of* Guelderland, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Overyſſel, Groning, *and* Groninguen; *Lords over many Places in the* Eaſt *and* Weſt-Indies; *and ſole Commanders of all the Places aboveſaid, happy and proſperous Succeſs.*

THere came unto our Imperial Court, which is the Ground of all other Kingdoms, in the Sight of all the World, and the Defence and Preſervation of Lords and Princes, the worthy Perſon, choſen by you the noble Lords of the Law of Chriſt, *Cornelius Haga*, to whom we wiſh Increaſe of Honour, by whom your Letters of Amity and Friendſhip were preſented unto us. The Contents and Subſtance whereof were, that underſtanding the Majeſticalneſs of our Royal and Princely State, you were moved and incited to ſeek for our intire Friendſhip and Good-will; and to ſhew your great Deſires thereunto, have endeavoured yourſelves to the ſame End, to write unto us, and to make an Accord and Friendſhip with us, which might always be holden and obſerved, declaring that your Wills and Deſires have always been good and great in that Reſpect, to ſeek and crave Friendſhip at our Imperial Hands; and to ſhew and declare your good Affections unto us in like Sort, and in the ſame Manner as other Kings have done, which with us have entered into League and Friendſhip; deſiring to be holden and accounted among the Number of thoſe Kings that are our Friends, and that we would grant unto you our Letters of Agreement and Conſent therein, in ſuch Manner as we have given the ſame to other Kings of *Chriſtendom*. Which that it may be done with Sincerity and Truth, together with other Things which you further deſire and require at our Hands; whereof the Contents being imparted unto our Royal Council, and having fully and wholly underſtood your Wills and Meanings; we of our Imperial Grace and Favour have abundantly granted and given unto you by our Letters Patents, not only the ſame Privileges and Liberties, which we have in Times paſt imparted to the Kings aforeſaid, according to your own Deſires, but over and beſides the ſame, much more than you either have ſought or deſired by your Letters of us, which, with our own Hands, we have by our Letters Patents confirmed, and given Commandment from our Majeſty, that in all Places and Countries of our Empire, wherein any of your Countrymen and Subjects ſhall be known and found to be Slaves, they ſhall be freely ſet at Liberty, according to the Contents of our ſaid Letters Patents of Amity, Peace, and Friendſhip. Further, we give you to underſtand, that your aforeſaid Ambaſſador hath, with great Honour and Modeſty, as alſo with great Care and Diligence, performed and done his Duty and Service in his ſaid Ambaſſage, whereon he was ſent by you, in all Things, having obtained the Benefit of our Friendſhip, and, in good Manner and Faſhion, hath performed the ſame; and, when he came before us, was permitted, by Word of Mouth, to ſpeak and pronounce the Meſſage and Commiſſion by you given unto him, to be delivered unto us; which we having underſtood, as alſo well liked, allowed, and accepted of, together with the Preſents by you ſent, and delivered by him unto us (and which we will keep in our own Preſence and continual Sight) having received the ſame, as alſo the ſaid Ambaſſador, with great Love and Friendſhip. The ancient Cuſtom of our Majeſty is, that all our Gates of Grace, Favour, and Good-will

ſhall

ſhall ſtand continually open for all, and unto all Men, and at all Times; but eſpecially, to thoſe that come unto us, with ſo great a Deſire of faithful Friendſhip, to whom it is requiſite to ſhew and impart all Honour and Good-will that poſſibly may be. Therefore we ſay, that, you having received theſe our Letters, from thenceforth, as it is requiſite, we look and deſire, that you ſhall hold and obſerve the Treaty and Friendſhip, made by you with us, perpetually; according to your own Letters and Offers ſent unto us, and in the like Manner and Form, as the Kings of *England* and *France*, our Friends, long Time unto this Day, have held and maintained the like Friendſhip and Amity. Which, we hope, you will do in all Points, according to your Promiſes; and, that our Friendſhip may continue, and hold firm and ſtable, our Deſire is, that you ſhould, from Time to Time, certify us, by Letters, of your Eſtates and Healths; and we, for our Part, will not fail to fulfil and accompliſh all whatſoever ſhall tend unto your Good and Welfare, with all Favour and Grace, as near as we can; and promiſe you further, that our Good-will and Friendſhip ſhall not ceaſe continually to increaſe towards you, for your Good, and from good to better, whereof we would not have you to doubt.

Written in the Middle of the Month of , *Gematil Elebla*, in the Year 1021, in the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, which God preſerve from all Hurt and Misfortune.

The Copy of a Letter, ſent by the noble Lord *Cahimachan*, called *Mahomet Baſhaw*, Commiſſary-General of *Turky*, dated (according to the Calculation of *Chriſtendom*) in the Beginning of the Month of *July*, 1612.

The SUPERSCRIPTION.

To the Honour and Greatneſs of Chriſtendom, *Princes of the great Government of the Law of the* Meſſias, *Governors of the State of the People of* Chriſtendom, *Patrons of Courteſy, and of the Honour and Power of Princes; the Lords and States-General of the United Provinces of the* Netherlands, *and of all other Places ſubject unto them; a good End, and the Grace and Favour of God.*

ACcording to the Friendſhip which is convenient to be ſhewed unto Lords of your Degree, and the accuſtomed Favour and Amity of the great and mighty Emperor of *Turky*, which, at this Time, is given and granted unto your Honours: In Sign of Love, and Aſſurance of Friendſhip, I give you to underſtand, by the Grace and Help of God Almighty, whom I beſeech to preſerve and defend the King; and, by the Favour and Power of our holy Prophet, who is in Glory, and reſteth in Peace with God, protect and ſave the King of all Lands and Seas, Dominator from the Eaſt unto the Weſt, Commander over *Meccha* and *Jeruſalem*, the moſt noble Prince of the whole Commonwealth of the Inhabiters of the World, with Grace and Favour; the moſt righteous King, whom God long proſper and preſerve upon Earth, his Kingdom and Greatneſs with Honour, who therein is an Upholder in Poverty and Miſery of all Creatures, the Refuge of all poor oppreſſed People, an Advancer of the Banner of the holy Law; King of *Arabia* and *Aſia*; Dominator over the moſt mighty Monarchy in the World; Upholder by the Power of God, wherein he is King of all Kings, and who hath his Truſt and Confidence in the Favour and Promiſe of the true and only God; the great and moſt puiſſant Emperor, our gracious and mighty King, Sultan *Achmet Cham*, Protector of the *Alcoran*, whom God Almighty preſerve and maintain in all Power and Imperial Majeſty, and ſuffer him to command over the whole World, for his Welfare and Good, *&c.* that there was brought unto his Imperial Palace, which is the Upholding and Preſervation of Honour, and the Light of the World, ſhining above all the Powers and Majeſties of Kings, a Letter, ſignifying your great and kind Friendſhip and Good-wills, by your

Ambaſſador, *Cornelius Haga*, one of the chief Commanders amongſt you, in the Law of *Chriſtendom*, and of noble Blood (whoſe Honour God long preſerve) who, being arrived in this Imperial Palace, hath declared and fully ſignified your Honours great Good-wills and Meanings, as alſo the intire Affections, which your ſaid Honours bear unto his Majeſty. Which done, your ſaid Ambaſſador took his Reſt for certain Days, after his long, weary, and troubleſome Journey, as being not well at Eaſe, and, after certain Days of Reſt, communicated his Intent unto me, thereby to give me to underſtand the Effect and Meaning of your Affairs, according to your Commiſſion: To whom, in the Behalf of our great Emperor, we ſhewed that Favour, Reſpect, and Honour, which he well merited and deſerved; and therewithal took a true Copy of your Honours Letters, and, having imparted the ſame unto the Lords Viſiers of this Council, ſuch as deal in Matters of State, as alſo unto thoſe that are wiſe and learned in the holy Law; and having conferred and conſidered about the Contents, and of the hearty and good Affection by you therein ſhewed unto his Imperial Majeſty, being the Mirror and clear Light of the World (whoſe noble Perſon, and puiſſant Dominions, God preſerve and keep from all Troubles and Adverſities, which daily happen throughout the World:) And finding your Requeſt, to be good and very reaſonable, as ſoon as we were informed of your Meanings and Deſires, we delayed no Time to impart the ſame unto his Imperial Majeſty, who liking well, and allowing thereof, gave Commandment, that all due and reſpective Order ſhould ſpeedily be taken about the ſame, and that it ſhould be brought to good Effect, with all Diligence and Care; and therewithal Order was preſently taken, *ex motu proprio*, from the Emperor's Mouth, and by his own Conſent, that your Ambaſſador ſhould come unto his Princely Palace and Preſence, to ſalute his Majeſty; and, thereupon, your Honours ſaid Ambaſſador, accompanied and attended upon in ſuch Order, as was fitting and convenient for his Honour, having humbly ſaluted his Majeſty, and being apparelled, both himſelf and his Train, with honourable Suits, according to the Manner and Cuſtom of this Country; and that Honour and due Reſpect ſhewed unto him, which to his Place and Perſon was requiſite to be done: His Imperial Majeſty gave Licence and free Permiſſion unto him, to have Acceſs unto his Court, for the Execution of his Ambaſſage, as other Ambaſſadors and Governors of the Empire uſe to do, as alſo to conſult with the Lords Viſiers, the Protectors of the Law, and eſpecially the chief Judge of *Turky*, which is a Lord of the holy *Mufti Effendi*, together with the Lords *Cadi Eſquieri* (ſo the great Men of the Land are named) and with all other his Governors about the ſame, and, with his Majeſty's Advice and Conſent, your Motion of Amity and Friendſhip, ſought and propounded unto him, being well conſidered and adviſed of by them, and they having fully and wholly declared the ſame unto the great Monarch of the World, and the moſt mighty and uprighteſt King thereof (whom God preſerve) by the Help and Aſſiſtance of God: His Majeſty freely and thankfully accepted of your Good-wills and Friendſhips, and hath placed the ſame among the Number of thoſe that are united unto him, in perfect Amity and Friendſhip; and hath determined and ordained, that the ſame ſhall for ever be reſpected and maintained by him. And therewithal his Imperial Majeſty hath commanded, that we ſhould ſet down and record the Articles of Agreement and Unity on both Parts, according to your Deſires, and alſo to make and ſend you a Letter in his own Name.

And I alſo, for my Part, as your good Friend, have written this Letter, which, with his Majeſty's, we ſend unto your Honours, wiſhing that, by God's Grace, and in an happy and proſperous Hour, the perfect Amity and Friendſhip knit between us may in like Sort long continue; which with all my Heart I deſire; for it is moſt ſure and certain, that the ſupreme Lord of the noble Houſe of *Ottomans*, and the *Imperator* of all other Rulers and Lords in the World, our moſt puiſſant Lord and King, is ſo truly united in faſt and firm Friendſhip with your Honours, that from henceforth all the Favours and Honours, that may proceed and be imparted from his Imperial Hands unto his Friends and Well-willers, ſhall be given and ſhewed unto you (as, by the Capitulation and Agreement ſet down and recorded, he hath fully manifeſted and recorded) in ſuch Manner, that all Promiſes and Conditions, made and ſpecified to be granted unto you on his Behalf, within his Kingdoms and Dominions, ſhall be truly and

faithfully

faithfully obſerved, fulfilled, and kept. And myſelf, your good Friend, in like Manner, will not fail to ſhew you all the Honour and Reſpect that may be, and will by no Means endure, that the leaſt Hurt or Wrong whatſoever ſhall be done to your Honours (in your Subjects or Vaſſals) within theſe our Countries; for that the Word and Promiſe of our moſt righteous and honourable King (whom God preſerve) is for ever firm and ſtable, and moſt powerful, in Regard that his Majeſty's Mind hath been and is always addicted unto Peace and Quietneſs, and ſpecially deſireth that his People ſhould live in Unity and Peace, that under the Shadow of his Imperial Majeſty they may ſo live happily and at Heart's Eaſe. And, ſeeing that the Lord of all the World hath granted you ſo great Favour and happy Fortune to be united and joined in Friendſhip, Love, and Amity with ſo puiſſant, great, and magnanimous a King, repleniſhed with Benignity, Grace, Mercy, and Compaſſion, as our Emperor is, it is moſt certain, and you may aſſure yourſelves thereof, that his Commandments and Promiſes are firm and moſt ſure, and that there ſhall be no Contrariety found therein; and aſſure yourſelves for certain, that it ſhall not fail in any Manner, in Regard that his Majeſty's Word and Promiſes are grounded upon Truth, without any Pretence of Contrariety, for his Judgments are given with Uprightneſs and Sincerity; and, by the Help of God, as long as your Friendſhip and Promiſes made ſhall be truly obſerved and kept, this inward and intire Friendſhip, on his Part and Behalf, ſhall for ever be firm and ſtable; which is ordained and appointed to be obſerved among the Nations that are in theſe Parts of the World; and, throughout all the Dominions and States of Princes and Kings ſubject to his Imperial Majeſty, your Honour ſhall by his Majeſty be advanced, notwithſtanding all their Malices, and alſo among all other crowned Kings, and mighty Princes of the World, ſhall be eſteemed with great Affection. And be aſſured hereof, that I myſelf, in all your needful and neceſſary Buſineſſes, and ſerious Affairs, will be and remain your ſecret Friend and Furtherer; and, in all other your important Suits, will not fail, in any Point, to do that for you therein, which I may or can do, as in a Caſe of great Equity, that the Friendſhip begun (which, by my Means, hath to my Power been hitherto effected, inaſmuch as by my Office it hath paſſed through my Hands, and by my Furtherance and Advice might be brought to paſs) may continue firm and ſtable for ever; and by the Aid and Grace of God, together with the Favour of our great Prophet, now remaining in the Kingdom and Grace of God (as it hath fortunately fallen out, and as we have had the good Hap to bring the ſame unto an End) ſo we ſhall from henceforth, with all our Power and Will, procure, further, and be a Means, that the Articles of Amity and Friendſhip, already made between us, may always be obſerved and kept: And hereof be well aſſured, that, as long as there is no Default on your Behalfs found, concerning the Breach of this Peace and Amity, I will be and remain your Friend; and alſo all the reſt of the Lords Viſiers, together with the Judges of the Law, and the Vaſſals or Slaves belonging to his Imperial Chamber of Divan, and alſo thoſe that are in Pay within the great Empire of our moſt puiſſant Lord and Prince the King (whom God preſerve) by the Help of God, do together faithfully promiſe and take upon us (both great and mean of Degree as we are) that, on our Side, no one Point of the Princely Treaty, made by our King's Majeſty, ſhall in any Wiſe be broken or infringed, nor any Thing done to the Contrary thereof.

It is alſo neceſſary, convenient, right, and great Reaſon, that, on your Side, ſtrict Commandment be given to all Captains, Sailors, and Merchants, as alſo to your Admirals, that no Hurt or Hinderance be done in any Wiſe to our Nation and People upon the Seas, in their Ships, neither to their Men and Sailors, throughout our Dominions; neither to any the Caſtles or Villages under the Command of his Imperial Majeſty, nor unto any one of his Subjects in any Wiſe whatſoever. And, to that End, the Friendſhip, Peace, and great Honour, which, by you, is ſhewed unto the Majeſty of Kings, and to the Crown of the Prince, and great Dominator and Diſpenſer of all Good and Favour, the great and mighty Emperor, our Sovereign Lord, is moſt acceptable unto him in ſuch Manner, that your Honour ſhall, by his Imperial Majeſty, be furthered and advanced before all other Things which concern your Affairs, and ſhall ſtill be ſpecially recommended unto his ſaid Majeſty. And foraſmuch as his ſaid Majeſty's Pleaſure is, to have his Subjects and Friends maintained and governed in

Peace

Peace and Quietneſs, and that whatſoever may further the ſame, and be a Means to procure the Welfare of all God's Creatures to their everlaſting Benefit and Good: We, for a Concluſion, ſay, that if, on our Side, all the Articles of Agreement and Amity, ſet down and ſpecified in the Treaty concerning us, and alſo all that, which, on your Sides, is promiſed concerning the Peace in your Letters, be well performed, maintained, and kept, according to the inward and affectionate Friendſhip ſhewed and proffered by you with Heart and Good-will; that ſo, in Time to come, all our Affairs may the longer and the better have good and happy Succeſs, we hope and truſt in God that in all the Parts of the World where Kings and Princes reign, and ſhall hear and underſtand of the Friendſhip and Peace made between us, thoſe that are our Friends will rejoice thereat, and ſuch as withſtand the ſame ſhall feel the Smart thereof. God bring this our Proceeding to a good End, and for your Good and Proſperity.

Concerning your Ambaſſador aforeſaid, whom we muſt commend, we ſay, that not only touching his Ambaſſage, but alſo in all the reſt of the Things belonging to Matter of State, both in General and Particular, he hath done and performed the ſame with as much Care and Diligence as in him poſſible was, ſparing no Labour, Travel, nor Care, neither in Place nor Matter, nor in any of his Proceedings omitted any Thing whatſoever which he knew, or by any Means perceived, to be needful or neceſſary to be propounded or moved, to bring theſe Affairs to a good End. And eſpecially, coming into the Preſence of our moſt puiſſant Emperor, whom God preſerve, he appeared there before him with ſuch honourable Behaviour, Grace, and Courteſy, that it pleaſed his Majeſty exceeding well, and moved him, thereby, to take great Pleaſure and Contentment in him; and, in all his Actions, hath ſo behaved himſelf, that more could not have been done, nor required at his Hands, concerning his Charge. And, to conclude, ſuch a Perſonage as he, in the ſuperlative Degree, is fit to be an Ambaſſador; in ſuch Sort, that all the Lord Viſiers, my Fellows, and the reſt of the Lords of the Emperor's Court, wondered thereat, and ſaid, that a Man, that ſhould deal in publick Affairs, ought to be ſuch a one, as he ſhewed himſelf unto us to be; being altogether in great Admiration to ſee his Manner of Proceedings in all his Affairs, and, for that Cauſe, being ſo well pleaſed and contented with his Behaviour, were well content that he ſhould have daily Acceſs unto his Majeſty's Court. Your Honours ſhall do well to eſteem much of him, for that a Man of his Deſerts and Qualities meriteth to be preferred.

Thus having, at this Time, no more to ſay (having made a true Relation of all that hath here been done and paſt) but only to wiſh Health and long Proſperity unto your Honours, we leave to trouble you.

Written in the Beginning of the Month *Giamari Elebla*, in the Year 1021, in the City of *Conſtantinople*; which God preſerve.

The Copy of a Letter written by the Lord Mufti Effendi, *chief Judge of the* Turkiſh *Empire, unto the General States of the United Provinces of the* Netherlands.

Puiſſant Lords of the Chriſtian Law, and the Honour of the Nations under the Meſſias; *my Lords, the General States of the United* Netherland *Provinces, and moſt noble Lord Prince* Maurice:

MAY it pleaſe you to underſtand, that this Year was ſent unto the Imperial Palace of the moſt puiſſant King, highly magnified and exalted; the Executioner of the Commandments given to the World in the Temples, the Furtherer of Juſtice, and the Upholder or Reſtorer of Towns and Cities, the greateſt and mightieſt King and Monarch of the World (whoſe Honour I beſeech God always to continue, and that his Kingdom may flouriſh until the Day of Doom) your Honours Letters and Ambaſſador, to treat of Amity and Peace, with great Reverence and Reſpect unto the High Court of his Majeſty's Dominions; wherein your Honours have done a Thing worthy Commendations, and exceeding well accepted of, for that all thoſe that deſire to make Friendſhip, and to have Peace with the King

of

of the noble Houſe of *Ottomans* (whom God increaſe in Honour, Power, and Majeſty unto the World's End) until this Day, have not, by any Means, endured any Loſs or Hinderance whatſoever, but have, thereby, attained to great Profit and Advantage, which is manifeſtly known unto all the World, and amongſt all Nations; and all thoſe unto whom, or with whom, the moſt puiſſant King, whom God preſerve, doth make Peace, and contracteth Amity, or that, for their Parts, do endeavour themſelves to obſerve and hold Peace and Friendſhip with him, have well experienced and tried his great Favours, to whom his Majeſty hath continually doubled, and ſhewed his ſpecial Grace and Benignity; which is a certain Sign and Token, that, in Time to come, your Friendſhip proffered and obtained ſhall more and more increaſe, and be ſo well ratified and eſtabliſhed, that Nothing whatſoever ſhall be Cauſe to break or infringe the ſame. For that the Great *Turk* will ſhew your Honours ſuch Friendſhip, that, in his Empire of *Turky*, neither you, nor any of your Ships, ſhall need to fear any Hurt or Harm to be done unto you in any Thing whatſoever. To conclude, we all together will continue your perfect Friends, and be Friends to your Friends, and Foes to your Foes; and, the further that you proceed therein, ſo much the more ſhall the Benefit of his Majeſty's Favours be ſeen, and your Advantage procured thereby; and, in this Matter which by you hath been ſought, all Favour and Friendſhip afford unto you, although that, in this Point, it is not unknown to you, how many Adverſaries you have had, who, by all Means and Ways poſſible, have ſought to hinder your Proceedings herein, and to divert it, that it might take no Effect.

Therefore, as I have ſaid, ſeeing that your Enemies have wrought thus ſecretly againſt you, it is great Reaſon, that this League and Contract ſhould be ſurely made, and, according to your Letters, the Articles have been ſet down, certifying you, that all ſhall be done as you deſire; and, withal, we think that it was great Reaſon that this Peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed; and, therefore, our moſt puiſſant Emperor hath been contented graciouſly to accept of your Friendſhip, and, according to your Letters, the aforeſaid Privileges have been granted unto you; and that in all Things whatſoever, paſt concerning them, there hath Nothing been omitted that was requiſite to be put in according to your Deſires. And, for your Ambaſſador, *Cornelius Haga*, whom your Honours ſent hither, he hath performed his Charge in that Reſpect, in the ſuperlative Degree, and with great Grace and Honour gone through therewith, and hath executed the ſame, with as much Diligence as poſſible he might. Wherefore I muſt needs ſay, that ſuch a Man as he is deſerveth as well to be made an Ambaſſador, as any one whatſoever of his Degree, being of that Judgment that he is: The Reaſon is, for that, whatſoever he hath done concerning this Buſineſs of yours, he hath done it effectually, and, therefore, it is requiſite that you take Care, that no Scandal may, hereafter, be procured thereby unto you, and, before all Things, to do your Endeavours, that this Peace may continue firm and ſtable, for that it is every Way profitable and good for your Honours, and your Towns. And, upon Condition, that your Honours ſhall keep and firmly hold this Treaty, we alſo will endeavour ourſelves to maintain and uphold the ſame for ever; for our great and moſt puiſſant Emperor, whom God preſerve, is a courteous Prince, and exceeding gracious, and ſheweth all the Grace and Favour that he can unto his Friends, being an Emperor of great Honour and Majeſty, whoſe Cuſtom is always to do well.

The Concluſion, therefore, of our Letter is, that, whatſoever hath been concluded touching this Peace, you will take Care to perform it to your Powers. *Moſes Jeruſalmi*, a *Jew*, hath been a great Furtherer of your Affairs as much as in him lay, and hath made me acquainted with all your Proceedings.

Peace be with you all.

The Subſcription.

By him that executeth the Commandments that are ſent forth to be done for the Honour and Authority of the puiſſant and moſt princely Houſe of *Ottomans*, *Mahomet*, the Son of *G. Saalteldin*.

God have Mercy upon us all.

Reaſons

Reaſons humbly offered to both Houſes of Parliament, for Paſſing a Bill for Preventing Delays and Expences, in Suits in Law and Equity. *London*, printed, and are to be ſold by *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall*, 1707. *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages.

THE unavoidable Expence, as well as unneceſſary Delay, in the Proſecution of Suits in the Courts of Law and Equity, eſpecially in the latter, are become ſo exorbitantly great and burthenſome to the Subject, that they may juſtly be ranged among our firſt-rate Grievances. It muſt be granted by every Man of common Obſervation, that the Methods of Proceeding in our Courts, deſigned for ſpeedy Juſtice, are fully ripe for a Regulation, when a paſſive Submiſſion to Injuries, unleſs of a very high Nature, is much more for the Advantage of the injured Perſon, than an Application to our Courts for Redreſs. A Man's Prudence may very rationally be called in Queſtion, who brings an Action at Law for a ſlender Debt; but he muſt be perfectly ſenſeleſs, who ſeeks for Redreſs for a Debt of fifty or ſixty Pounds in a Court of Equity, ſince, as the Practice now ſtands, his Adverſary may make him ſpend twice his Debt before he can recover it. The Caſe therefore being thus, there is no Room to doubt, but that a Bill, that will effectually redreſs ſome of theſe Grievances, will meet with all imaginable Encouragement.

I. As to a Clauſe to enact, That any Plaintiff, at his Election, may deliver a Declaration to any Defendant, or his Wife cohabiting with him, or to the Servant of any Corporation capable of being ſued, and take Judgment for Want of an Appearance and a Plea.

The Way, now uſed, is to ſue out a Writ directed to the Sheriff of the County where the Defendant lives, which, with the Attorney's Fee that ſues the ſame out, comes to eight or nine Shillings; on which the Sheriff makes out his Warrant to his Bailiff, which in ſome Counties coſts one Shilling, in ſome two Shillings, and in others leſs: On this the Bailiff may inſiſt on a Bond of forty Pounds Penalty with Sureties from the Defendant to appear, though the Action be but for Words, Treſpaſs, or Aſſault, or in Debt, or Caſe, under ten Pounds; but it is moſt uſual to take a Warrant from ſuch Defendant, directed to ſome Attorney to appear for him, and, on the Bailiff's obaining ſuch Bond or Warrant, the loweſt Sum, that is paid for his Pains by the Plaintiff's Attorney, is five Shillings, and ſometimes more; beſides which, the Bailiff demands two Shillings and four Pence of the Defendant at the Time he arreſts him, as the Sheriff's Fee, and always takes much more for Waiting and Civility-Money: So that the leaſt that is ſpent by both Sides, on the firſt Beginning of the ſmalleſt Action, is twenty Shillings: But, if the Writ be for more than ten Pounds, the Bailiff demands of the Plaintiff's Attorney always ten Shillings at leaſt, on bringing him a Bail-Bond, and often extorts twenty Shillings or more from the Defendant, whilſt in his Cuſtody, beſides his Sheriff's Fee, and that he calls * *Civility-Money*, and is extorted from the Priſoner, to prevent his being carried directly to the County Gaol, and for being admitted to continue in the Bailiff's Houſe, commonly called the *Spunging-Houſe*, till he can ſend to his Friends to bail him, and there the Bailiff's Followers drink plentifully on his Score; and, if any Scruple be made of paying all the unreaſonable Demands that are made for the

* *Note*, The Plaintiff, or his Attorney, is very often forced to be as the Bailiff's Follower; otherwiſe the Defendant would either not be arreſted, or elſe privately diſcharged, on Payment of Civility-Money.

Reckoning,

Reckoning, then the beſt Bail, that can be found out, is rejected, and perhaps the Perſon is hurried into Gaol, where he is loaded with new Fees for Commitment, Diſcharge, *&c.* before he can obtain his Liberty, ſo that it very often coſts a Perſon arreſted for a ſmall Debt of thirty or forty Pounds, who lies in a Spunging-Houſe but one Night, three Pounds and upwards; beſides which, if he be able, he muſt at laſt pay the Plaintiff his Charges of the Writ and the Arreſt: However, to make the loweſt Computation poſſible, it coſts both Sides, where an Arreſt is made for ten Pounds or upwards, and a Bail-Bond taken, thirty-five Shillings; by this expenſive Way, to all Sides, a Plaintiff obtains either ſpecial Bail, or a common Appearance at the Return of the Writ; and, where a Defendant is minded to delay, he often ſuffers the Bail-Bond to be ſued, to the great Delay of the Plaintiff, and Keeping him out of his juſt Debt: And, in ſome Counties, though a Man appears publickly, yet, if he be protected by the Sheriff, or by the Bailiff of the Liberty or Hundred, where he lives, a Plaintiff ſhall loſe a Year's Time, or more, before he can get even a common Appearance, and without that, as the Law now ſtands, no Man can proceed to declare: But, if what is now propoſed, has the deſired Succeſs, moſt Cauſes will be ſhorter by a Term, and Perſons, who are neceſſitated to bring Actions, will ſooner recover their juſt Rights; and, when Judgment is obtained, a Defendant will be in a better Condition to pay, than when he has been pillaged by the Bailiffs, and their Followers: And, in ſhort, upon a modeſt Computation, it will ſave the Subjects of *England* thirty-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, and upwards, the greateſt Part whereof is, at preſent, diſtributed amongſt the Bailiffs and their Followers; the reſt of it comes in very ſmall Sums to the Curſitors, who make out Original Writs; to the Philizers of the *Common Pleas*, who make out all Writs of *Capias*; to the Attornies of the *Queen's Bench*, who make out all Bills of *Middleſex* and *Latitats*; to * the *Cuſtos Brevium*, belonging to the *Common-Pleas*, who has Four-pence for filing every Original Writ; to the Under Sheriffs, who make out the Warrants, and indeed to all Attornies that love to make Cauſes long and chargeable to their Clients.

And farther, this Clauſe will advance publick Credit, by framing a better Method of Suing Corporations, than any yet known, and providing a Way to ſue Perſons, in Trade and Credit, without Sending Bailiffs after them; and will alſo prevent many clandeſtine Outlawries.

And, if the People of *England* will be ſooner helped to their Rights, and ſo great a Sum ſaved in their Purſes, as is above-mentioned; it is hoped, there will be no Regard had to any particular Body, or Number of Men (eſpecially of this Sort) who inrich themſelves by doing that, which there is no Occaſion for.

Note, This is agreeable to the † Method, now uſed in the Bringing of an Ejectment, which turns a Man out of Poſſeſſion, and is of as tender a Conſideration, as any Thing can be; and any Plaintiff may now obtain Judgment as quick as he can, by this Clauſe, by being at the Charge of ſuing a ſpecial Writ, which contains the Declaration.

II. As to a Clauſe, for Giving Bail in all Caſes, where a Writ of Error is brought to reverſe a Judgment before Verdict, as it is now uſed on Writs of Error after Verdict.

This Clauſe will prevent Perſons from keeping their Creditors at Bail, with a Writ of Error for twelve Months, during which Time, they get in their Effects, and, when the Writ of Error is nigh ſpent, they run away with them.

* The *Curſitor*, *Philizer*, and *Cuſtos Brevium* have but two Shillings and Two-pence for every *Original* and *Capias*, but the Bailiff gets twenty or thirty Shillings, and very often a great Deal more, by making the Arreſt. And, if a Writ be ſued out, and a Copy thereof annexed to each Declaration delivered, and the Writ itſelf annexed to the Affidavit of Service; then, all the Objections of the *Curſitors*, *Philizers*, or *Cuſtos Brevium*, &c. will be fully anſwered, and the Attorney will alſo have his Fee for Suing the ſame out: The Poſtage will be likewiſe increaſed by ſending the Declaration down with the Writ, and returning them both back with the Affidavit; the Stamp-Duty will be advanced alſo by the Affidavits, Rules to plead, *&c.*

† The Method, here propoſed, is alſo agreeable to the Common Law, whereby a Summons was the firſt Proceſs, the *Capias* being given by Acts of Parliament.

And the very ſame Reaſon holds, for Giving Bail, on Bringing Writs of Error to reverſe a Judgment, when Damages are found on a Writ of Inquiry, as after Trial.

III. As to the Regulating Sheriffs Fees on *Elegits* and *Extents*, &c.

As the Law now ſtands, if a Sheriff takes an Inquiſition on an *Elegit*, and delivers a Moiety to the Plaintiff, by Virtue of ſuch Writ, or makes a Return that he has delivered Poſſeſſion, purſuant to any Writ of *Liberate*; he uſually takes Twelve-pence *per* Pound, for the firſt hundred Pound, and Six-pence *per* Pound afterwards, for all the Money due by the Statute or Judgment; and this he takes under Colour of an Act of Parliament, made in 29 *Eliſ. Cap.* v, which certainly intended, that the Sheriff ſhould deliver actual Poſſeſſion; but he really does no more than take an Inquiſition, or return his Writ; for the Plaintiff notwithſtanding ſuch fictitious Delivery by the Sheriff, muſt bring his Ejectment, and recover a Verdict at Law; and if, on the Trial, any prior Settlement, or other Incumbrance, is trumped up (as too often happens) the Plaintiff is nonſuited, and has only the Mortification to find himſelf ſo much more Money out of Purſe, perhaps, two or three-hundred Pounds for Sheriff's Fees in particular, without knowing how to remedy himſelf; or, if he recovers, he muſt pay the Sheriff over again, for his delivering him the actual Poſſeſſion, on a Writ of *Habere facias poſſeſſionem*; and, therefore, it is hoped, that it will not be thought reaſonable, that a Sheriff ſhould take ſuch large Fees, only for taking an Inquiſition, or returning a Writ.

IV. As to a Remedy for all Perſons, in the Recovery of their Debts by Judgments.

As the Law now ſtands, if an *Elegit* be returned and filed, or entered on Record, though the Plaintiff never recovers Six-pence by it; yet ſuch Returning and Filing, or Entering on Record, is a Bar upon ſuch Plaintiff, that he cannot take out any other *Elegit*, or Execution againſt the Body or Goods of the Defendant, though he be able to pay the Debt, which is, ſurely, ſuch a Grievance, as is fit to be remedied.

V. As to a Clauſe, to prevent the Subjects Paying double for the Ingroſſing Records of *Niſi prius*.

The proper Officer did anciently engroſs all Records of *Niſi prius*, but, as Buſineſs increaſed, he did not increaſe his Number of Clerks, and, thoſe he had not being able to diſpatch all the Buſineſs, the Attornies, to prevent Multiplicity of Attendances, and Giving Expedition-Money, did, and, for many Years laſt paſt, have engroſſed all their Records themſelves, for which they charge Four-pence *per* Sheet, to their Clients, and pay the proper Officer all his Fees alſo; ſo that, at preſent, the Client pays double, and therefore, by this Clauſe, it is intended, the Subject ſhould be eaſed, and the Attorney, who does all the Buſineſs, ſhould have Four-pence *per* Sheet, for doing ſomething, and that the Officer ſhould be content with Four-pence *per* Sheet more, for doing nothing.

VI. As to a Clauſe, touching the Filing of Affidavits, and to prevent the unneceſſary Expence thereof.

At Law, it is now cuſtomary to read Affidavits, before filed, if ſworn in Town; but otherwiſe, if ſworn in the Country, though there appears no material Difference; for he that forſwears himſelf, either before a Judge in Town, or Commiſſioner in the Country, is equally guilty of Perjury; and if they are filed, as ſoon as uſed, that will hereafter prevent all Opportunities of altering, as much as the Method now uſed, ſince the Attorney, in both Caſes, muſt have the Cuſtody of the Affidavit, from Swearing till Filing it; and ſince at Law there is no Fee due, on Filing an Affidavit, after read in Court (for which this Clauſe allows a Fee) the Officer will gain by Filing, though he loſes by Copies; and it ſeems as unreaſonable, as it is uſeleſs, to make a Perſon take and pay for a Copy of an Affidavit, which he had once in his Hands, and, conſequently, a Power of Copying it himſelf; and yet, as the Courſe and Practice of the Courts of Law and Equity now ſtand, the Party, who would uſe any Affidavit, muſt leave his Original with the Officer, and pay him large Fees for a Copy; ſo that in Matters, where many long Affidavits

are

are required, * it often coſts a Man ten or fifteen Pounds, for Copies of his own Affidavits, on one ſingle Motion, whereby the Charge of a Motion very often exceeds the whole Expence of a Trial at Law; which unneceſſary Charge this Clauſe will effectually prevent.

VII. As to a Clauſe, for Taking away all Copies of Interrogatories, and for the Filing Reports and Certificates, without being obliged to take Copies thereof.

It ſeems very ridiculous, that any one ſhould be obliged to take and pay for Copies of what he before had, or has no Occaſion for at all, and yet this is the Caſe here; for every one muſt take Copies of Interrogatories (which are of themſelves of no Uſe) if he will have Copies of the Depoſitions for which he has Occaſion: Nay, every Perſon is now obliged to take Copies of the Interrogatories exhibited by himſelf (and often twice over, both from the Examiners and Six-Clerks Office) although he had the Original before, if he will have a Copy of Depoſitions taken thereon. The ſame Reaſons hold againſt being obliged to take and pay for Copies of Reports and Certificates, for the Filing whereof, there is a Fee of Four-pence due; and yet the Officer makes every Perſon, who files a Report of Certificate to pay for a Copy, which is juſt as reaſonable as if every Perſon, who files a Bill or Anſwer in *Chancery*, ſhould be obliged to take and pay for a Copy thereof. Note, the Fees of this Office are very extravagant.

VIII. As to a Clauſe for Taking away all Recitals in Decrees and Orders in Courts of Equity.

The Deputy Regiſters in *Chancery* draw up and paſs all Orders, and take three Shillings for each Side, containing about an hundred and ſeventy Words; and, if the Order be by Conſent, ſix Shillings *per* Side; and, in all Orders on Hearing, they recite the Bills and Anſwers and, in other Orders, the Allegations of the Council *Pro* and *Con*. And, as Inſtructions for them to act by, they require one of the Council's Briefs, which neceſſarily contains the whole State of the Caſe, by which they furniſh themſelves with Matter for lengthening the Orders (of which their own Intereſt prompts them to make Uſe) by which Means the Recitals and Allegations are ſpun out to a tedious Length, and oftentimes the whole Brief inſerted, ſo that Orders on Hearing many Times come to ten or fifteen Pounds, and other Orders to twenty or thirty Shillings; whenas the Charge of the Ordering Part of the former ſeldom exceeds thirty Shillings, and, of the latter, ſcarce ever more than three Shillings: And, as the Length of the Orders increaſes the Charge, ſo it does the Delay, which gives Birth to the new Perquiſite of Expedition-money; and a Suitor muſt either attend two or three Months for an Order on Hearing, and proportionably for another Order, or be in the Caſe of a Criminal, who pays for Diſpatching a Buſineſs, he had rather ſhould be left undone; and yet all theſe Recitals and Allegations are perfectly uſeleſs and inſignificant to the Party; for neither Side is concluded thereby, and the † Bills and Anſwers recited are on Record in the proper Office, and each Party has a Copy of them too; and yet by theſe Recitals he muſt be told what he knew before, and pay dear too for being thus teazed. And the Allegations are, for the ſame Reaſons, as uſeleſs as the Recitals; and yet it is become a Rule now, with the Deputy Regiſters, That one Side ſhall not alter the Allegations of the other, though falſe, but muſt alledge the Contrary, by Way of Anſwer thereto; which ſtill ſerves to lengthen them; whence it happens, that the Orders often carry in them contradictory, and ſometimes very idle and impertinent Allegations, for which the Order itſelf has been afterwards diſcharged. And the Court is ſo ſenſible of theſe Matters, that they ſeldom permit any Thing more than the Ordering Part to be read, and there are no ſuch Recitals or Allegations in Orders on Appeals in Parliament, nor in Rules at Law.

The Objections to this Clauſe, therefore, if any, will ariſe from Intereſt, not from Rea-

* The *Affidavit-Office* in *Chancery*, which is ſaid to be formerly ſold for two-hundred and fifty Pounds, is now computed to bring in a thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

† For the Bills and Anſwers, the Party pays eight Pence a Sheet for Copies from the *Six-Clerks Office*; three Shillings a Side for the Recitals thereof from the *Regiſters Office*; and about two Shillings a Side for the like Recitals from the *Six-Clerks Office*, in Caſe the Decree be inrolled, and a Writ of Execution thereof made; ſo that the Suitor pays three Times for the ſame Thing.

ſon; and, it is true, it will take away ſome of the Perquiſites enjoyed by the Regiſter, or his Deputy.

In Anſwer to which, it is to be obſerved, that the Deputy Regiſters cannot pretend the common Plea of Purchaſing their Places; and the Regiſter himſelf has his Place by Gift from the Crown, and receives a yearly Sum from his Deputies, who have lately ſo exorbitantly abuſed this Method of Recitals and Allegations, that, though it is apparent that Buſineſs has decreaſed, yet their Profits have advanced: And this Abuſe of the Practice is a full Anſwer to the Reaſon that may be drawn from the ancient Uſe of the Recitals in Orders, ſince they were formerly very ſhort and conciſe, and, though uſeleſs, yet, being ſhort, did but little Hurt; but their Exorbitancy now ſeems to require ſuch a Remedy, as may take away all future Temptations to the like Exceſs.

If it be objected, That the Recitals of Bills and Anſwers ſhew the Reaſon of the Decree:

That is a vain Pretence; for moſt of the Suggeſtions of the Bill are fictitious, and the Anſwer frequently falſified by Depoſitions (which are the real Foundation of the Decree, but are never recited therein) ſo that the Recitals of a fictitious Bill, and untrue Anſwer, rather give the Decree an Aſpect of Injuſtice, than ſhew the true Reaſon of it, and oftentimes draw the Parties into Re-hearings and Appeals, upon a miſtaken Notion of the Hardſhip of their Caſe, ſo ſeemingly juſt as the preſent Recitals repreſent it.

So that it is hoped the Intereſt of the Deputy Regiſters (moſt of whom have already well filled their Pockets, by emptying thoſe of the Suitors) will not prevail againſt the publick Good; and the Deputy Regiſters will ſtill have Profit enough to encourage their Diligence, and to pay the Regiſter what they formerly did; and none, therefore, it is hoped, will oppoſe this Clauſe.

And, though the Exceſs of the other Courts of Equity are not ſo great, yet the Reaſon of the Clauſe will hold the ſame in all.

IX. As to the Clauſe for making Subpœna's to anſwer returnable *immediate* of Courſe.

The Subpœna to appear to the Bill, which is the firſt Proceſs, is at preſent made returnable in Term, unleſs Affidavit be made, that the Defendant reſides within ten Miles of *London*; whereupon the Court, upon Petition, grants a Subpœna returnable *immediate* of Courſe, and, on a ſecond Petition, all other Proceſs returnable *immediate*; which Subpœna being only for an Appearance (for Entering whereof the Defendant has four Days allowed after Service of the Subpœna) it is unneceſſary to apply to the Court to make the Subpœna, or any other Proceſs, returnable *immediate*, thoſe two Orders of Court (againſt which the Defendant has now no Liberty to make a Defence, nor is it needful) putting the Subject to twenty-ſeven or twenty-eight Shillings unneceſſary Charges.

X. As to a Clauſe touching Subpœna's to rejoin, and that Service thereof on the Clerk in Court be good Service of the Defendant.

It is what the Court always orders of Courſe; but the Obtaining it coſts the Subjects fifteen or twenty Shillings, which may as well be ſaved.

XI. As to a Clauſe to make a Sequeſtration, the ſecond Proceſs.

The preſent Practice is, that, after the Defendant is ſerved with a Subpœna, and will not appear or anſwer, Firſt, an Attachment iſſues againſt him; and, on Return of that (which is often a Quarter of a Year before it can be obtained) a ſecond Attachment, called a Proclamation, iſſues much the ſame with the Firſt: On both which the Sheriff will return *Non eſt inventus*, without giving the Defendant any Notice of ſuch Writs; and, on Return of the Proclamation, a Commiſſion of Rebellion iſſues directed to Commiſſioners to take the Defendant; and, upon their Return of *Non eſt inventus*, the Serjeant at Arms is ſent in Queſt of him, who puts the Plaintiff to a great Charge, whether he finds the Defendant or not, for his uſual daily Fee is thirteen Shillings and Fourpence (beſides Six pence *per* Mile, or more, for Travelling Charges while Abroad) and he is alſo paid, whether he takes the Defendant or not, three Pounds, ſix Shillings, and Eight-pence for returning his Warrant, and inſiſts on three Pounds, ſix Shillings, and Eight-pence for every Defendant named in ſuch Warrant (which Warrant, and the Order of Court, coſt above forty Shillings beſides, if but one Defendant; but,

but, if againſt more, then fifteen Shillings is demanded for every other Defendant's Name therein) and then a Sequeſtration iſſues, and cannot be obtained ſooner; ſo that the Charge, for getting only an Appearance, is often near as great as a Decree; and then, for an Anſwer, the ſame Circle is to be run again, and ſo, *toties quoties*, for every better Anſwer; and the ſame all over again, to oblige the Performance of any Order; whereby one Party is totally ruined before he gets half Way to the Hearing, or can have even a Sequeſtration.

I. *Objection.* That to make a Sequeſtration, the ſecond Proceſs, is too quick a Proceeding.

Anſwer. It is what both Houſes of Parliament have ſubjected themſelves to; And why ſhould thoſe, who are engaged in no National Affairs, have more Time or Favour allowed than they? And the Way of Proceeding againſt Members is, upon due Notice and reaſonable Time given, to ſhew Cauſe before the Sequeſtration iſſues, ſo as the Defendant may avoid it, if he pleaſes. And it not only avoids the Circuity and Delays abovementioned, but the Miſchiefs of a Proceſs being clandeſtinely returned by the Sheriffs and Commiſſioners; and the exceſſive Charge of being taken by a Serjeant at Arms (which ruins any Perſon of mean Condition) his Fees, if he takes the Defendant, being frequently fifty, ſixty, or an hundred Pounds: And, ſometimes, the Defendant never hears of any Proceſs of Contempt till the Serjeant takes him, all the Proceſs being returned privately; and the Court has ſtill Power, on the Defendant's Application, to indulge him with what Time ſhall appear neceſſary, in Caſe his Delays are not wilful.

II. *Objection.* That the Defendants are, for the moſt Part, arreſted upon the Attachment or Proclamation, which are but a ſmall Charge to either Plaintiff or Defendant in reſpect of a Sequeſtration.

Anſwer. If a Defendant happens to be taken without a Serjeant at Arms, if in *London*, he enters his Appearance with the Regiſter, and then often runs away; or, if in the Country, the Sheriff takes a forty Pounds Bail-Bond for his Appearance at the Return of the Writ (when, perhaps, the Matter in Queſtion is many thouſand Pounds Value) and the Plaintiff muſt ſue this Bond at Law; and, when the forty Pounds Penalty is recovered, the Plaintiff muſt take out another Attachment for his Anſwer, and ſo again, *toties quoties*; whereas the Intereſt of the Matter in Queſtion will pay that Penalty, and Coſts of Trial, ten Times over; and yet the Sheriff is obliged to accept of forty Pounds Bail, and is, thereupon, diſcharged from bringing in his Priſoner; and the Court will not grant a Meſſenger to bring the Defendant into the Court, unleſs the Attachment be made in *London* or *Middleſex*, or where the Amerciaments of Sheriffs are granted to a Subject, as few are; all which Inconveniences will be remedied by a Sequeſtration, if the Defendant hath any Eſtate, Real or Perſonal, to ſequeſter; and, if he has not, the Proſecutor may take the uſual Proceſs againſt his Body, notwithſtanding this Clauſe.

XII. As to a Clauſe for taking the Bill in Equity, *pro confeſſo*, for not Appearing and Anſwering in ſix Months after the Sequeſtration iſſues.

The preſent Practice is, that, although the Defendant is duly ſerved with a Subpœna to appear, yet, if he does not enter his Appearance, the Court cannot decree the Bill to be taken *pro confeſſo*, whereby it is in the Defendant's Power to elude Juſtice, and baffle the Plaintiff at Pleaſure, and is often of dangerous Conſequence; as where there are Co-partners, Co-executors, or Truſtees, and great Sums received or waſted by them, one of them is kept out of the Way and will not appear, therefore the Plaintiff cannot go to Hearing, nor have any Decree againſt the reſt; ſo the whole Demand is often ſpent, or loſt by Inſolvency, or by Death, and Repreſentatives know Nothing of the Management, or pretend the Perſon, who would not appear, if dead, had all the Eſtate, in Demand, in his Hands. This Clauſe alſo eſtabliſhes a better Method againſt Corporations than any yet known.

XIII. As to the Delivery of a Copy of the Bill to Priſoners.

It is upon the ſame Reaſon as Delivery of Declarations at Law, whereon, at the Expiration of a Rule, the Plaintiff ſigns Judgment, and is ſo eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament lately made: But the preſent Practice in Equity is, that

that the Priſoner muſt be brought up to Town by *Habeas Corpus*, and into Court; and, if he will not anſwer, he is brought up thrice before the Court by ſo many ſeveral Writs of *Habeas Corpus*, *viz.* The firſt *Habeas Corpus*, an *Alias*, & *plures Habeas Corpus*, at fifteen or twenty Pounds Expence to the Plaintiff; and, if he will not anſwer on the third Writ, the Court decrees the Bill *pro confeſſo*. But, if he puts in either Anſwer, Plea, or Demurrer, on the third Writ, although never ſo inſufficient or trifling, the Plaintiff is then to begin again *de novo*, as if no ſuch Delay or Expence had been, and ſo run the Gauntlope through the whole Courſe of Delays in Arguing the Plea or Demurrer, and in Maſter's Reports and Arguings and Re-arguings of Exceptions to inſufficient Anſwers and Reports as aforeſaid, before he can join Iſſue for Hearing.

XIV. That every Perſon to be ſworn an Attorney, or admitted a Sollicitor, ſhould ſerve five Years; and none but ſuch be allowed to practiſe.

It is certainly moſt reaſonable and neceſſary that they ſhould be well inſtructed and qualified who are to be Attornies and Sollicitors, whoſe Office and Buſineſs requires ſo much Skill and Judgment, that, upon their good or bad Conduct, the whole Fortunes of Men very often depend; and this will alſo prevent the Frauds, as well as the great Miſchiefs, which are occaſioned by thoſe who practiſe in other Perſons Names, and have had no other Inſtruction than what the Experience of their own Misfortunes has furniſhed them with, who, being become Bankrupts in Trade, do then frequently ſet up for ſkilful Practitioners in the Law, and the notorious Miſchiefs, that are daily occaſioned by them in Practice, are become ſo intolerable, that they may juſtly be reckoned among the greateſt Grievances of the Nation.

XV. That no Attornies or Sollicitors ſhould have more than two Clerks at one Time.

This will prevent the too great Increaſe of the Number of Attornies and Sollicitors, which, without Doubt, very often occaſions great Delays and Expences; for, when the Profeſſors grow very numerous, Buſineſs muſt neceſſarily be divided into a great many Hands, ſo that a great many Perſons will have but a ſmall Share of Buſineſs, and very often not ſo much as will maintain them; and they, having Nothing elſe to depend on for Subſiſtence, muſt neceſſarily be expoſed to the Temptation of doing little and poor Actions, and the Creating and Promoting of Buſineſs, in order to get their Liveſihood by it, or, at leaſt, they will be tempted, under ſuch Circumſtances, to keep Buſineſs in their Hands as long as they can; the Conſequence whereof is not only a Delay, but a great Charge to the Subject, which, it is hoped, this Clauſe will, in ſome Meaſure, redreſs.

Theſe Lines, being deſigned to ſhew the Reaſon of ſome of the Delays and Expences in Suits in Law and Equity, have therefore been confined to the Particulars before-mentioned: And, though it is too true, that there are many other dilatory, uſeleſs, and expenſive Proceedings, which have almoſt repealed *Magna Charta*; as to the Clauſe thereof, which ſays, *Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus aut differemus Juſtitiam vel Rectum*: Yet it is hoped the Example of a Bill now propoſed, if made a Law, would influence the Courts themſelves to regulate ſeveral more of the Abuſes, or give Foundation, to a further Regulation by the Legiſlature: But, till the Parliament has begun, till ſome good Law is made to redreſs the preſent extravagant Charges in Suits, little or nothing is to be expected from the inferior Courts, which have hitherto done nothing, or very little, for a Reformation, notwithſtanding the many Attempts in Parliament on this Subject, and the many Inſtances of Families, ruined by thoſe Expences and Delays. The Reaſon of all is this, That the Officers, who get by theſe Proceedings, buy their Places; and, no Doubt, but that the Bill now depending will be oppoſed by them, and, if by this Buying, the unneceſſary Charges, in the Methods of Proceedings, are become ſo much the Property of the Officers, as not to be abrogated or altered, without their Conſent, then, indeed, all Attempts of this Nature are vain; but the Courts having in ſome Inſtances altered the Manner of Proceeding, and ſeveral Acts of Parliament having done the like, and many of theſe Purchaſes being contrary to an expreſs Act of Parliament; it is humbly hoped, that it will be well remarked, who they are that oppoſe this Bill, and that no Oppoſition,

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ariſing from Principles of Profit, and not of Reaſon, of private, not publick Good, will prevail, ſo as to continue the Nation under theſe Delays, and unneceſſary Expences of Suits, which even render Right and Property precarious, and make wiſe Men compound, rather than contend for them.

Beſides, theſe Officers ought, in common Civility, quietly to part with the Profits ariſing by theſe dilatory and uſeleſs Proceedings, ſince they have gained many Fees and Perquiſites created by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, and Rules of their reſpective Courts. Thus the *Chancery* gained by the Laws, concerning Bankrupts, and the Courts of Law, by the *Habeas Corpus*, and Eſcape Acts; by Writs of Error into the *Exchequer*-Chamber; by common Recoveries, by entering and dog-getting Judgments, and by the new Method of Proceedings on Ejectments, and in many other Inſtances.

The late Act, for the Amendment of the Law, expreſly takes away the *Dedimus* Bill from Courts of Equity, as being uſeleſs, though belonging to ſuch who had purchaſed their Places; and that Act alſo, in Conſequence, took away above one Half of the Fees of the Clerks of the Papers of the *Queen's-Bench*, in requiring an Oath to the Truth of all dilatory Pleas; and yet neither the Clerks of the *Exchequer*, for the Loſs of their *Dedimus* Bill, nor the Clerks of the Papers, for the Loſs of their Fees, had any Recompence, and the Recompence to the Clerks in *Chancery* was out of ancient Fees of the Six-Clerks, who inſiſted on a Right by Purchaſe; ſo that the Reaſon of this, as well as many other Acts of Parliament, made for preventing vexatious and dilatory Proceedings, will hold the ſame in the Clauſes above.

The Delays and unneceſſary Expences, in Suits, having been univerſally agreed to be ſo exorbitant, as to want Redreſs: And, as the Caſe now ſtands, the Practiſers being accuſed for the Officers Faults, this occaſioned the Offering of theſe Reaſons for the Bill now depending, whereby it will appear, no other Intereſt has been conſulted, than that of the Publick; for, as the Philizers and Curſitors loſe their Writs, ſo the Attorney loſes much more than both, *viz.* his Fee of three Shillings and four Pence, for ſuing out each Writ. This Act likewiſe ſubjects all Sollicitors in *Chancery*, to be admitted as ſuch, which no Law or Cuſtom now in being obliges them to, and compels all Perſons who practiſe as Attornies, to be entered and ſworn; which will bring in ſeveral Thouſands to be ſworn, and each Attorney or Sollicitor being to pay four Pounds to the Stamp Duty: That will abundantly recompenſe the Publick, for any ſmall Loſs that may happen to that Part of the Revenue, by the Making of ſuch a Law, as is now deſired.

The Pretences of the *French* Invaſion examined *, for the Information of the People of *England*. *London*, printed for *R. Clavel*, at the *Peacock*, in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, 1692.

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THAT

THAT the Sword hath thus long been kept from deſtroying among us, is a Bleſſing which we cannot ſufficiently underſtand, unleſs we conſider the woeful Deſolation it hath made in all Neighbouring Nations: Nor are they at all ſenſible how much they own to God, and their Majeſties, for keeping us in Peace, who give the leaſt Encouragement to this intended Deſcent, which muſt turn our Land into an *Aceldama*, and will make ſuch woeful Havock of our Lives and Fortunes, while one Party fights for Safety, and the other for Revenge, that no Age can paralſel the horrid Conſequences of ſuch a Civil War as this will prove. And, if Papiſts only (blinded by Zeal for their Religion, and blown up with Hopes of abſolute Empire) encouraged this bloody Deſign, it would be no Wonder, and could have no Succeſs, conſidering the general Averſion of the People to them, and the freſh Inſtances of their Inſolence and Cruelty.

But alas! it appears that many, who call themſelves *Proteſtants*, are engaged in this fatal Conſpiracy againſt their Religion, and their native Country; which is ſo prodigious and amazing, that a Man would wonder who hath bewitched theſe fooliſh *Galatians* to puſh on their own and the Church's Ruin: And every one muſt be inquiſitive into the ſpecious Pretences by which theſe Men are induced to become their own Executioners.

Now the pretended Motives are theſe:

1. Repairing the Injury done to the late King.

2. Delivering us from the Oppreſſions we ſuffer under the preſent King.

3. Settling the Government upon its old Baſis.

4. Securing the Proteſtant Religion for all future Ages.

Now it becomes every true *Engliſh* Proteſtant to examine theſe Pretences very well, before he venture on a Thing of ſo evil Appearance and dangerous Conſequence, as is the Joining with theſe Invaders.

Firſt, It is pretended, the late King was unjuſtly deprived of his Birth-right by his Subjects, who, by Nature and Oaths, were bound to defend him in the Poſſeſſion of it: And, now that he comes to demand his own, all that ever were his Subjects muſt either aſſiſt, or at leaſt not oppoſe him.

But let it be conſidered, that all the late King's Sufferings were owing to, and cauſed by the Counſels of his Popiſh Prieſts, and the Bigots of that Perſuaſion: Proteſtants were not the Aggreſſors; he might have kept his Poſſeſſion to this Day undiſturbed, if he had not made ſuch open and bold Attempts upon our Laws, our Religion, and Properties; ſo that he was the firſt and only Cauſe of his own Sufferings: And why ſhould Millions be involved in Blood and Ruin, who are perfectly innocent of doing this Injury? No free Nation did ever bear more or greater Injuries, or endure ſuch *Violences ſo long, or ſo patiently as we did*: And, when ſome Stop was to be put to the final Ruin of our Liberties and Religion, it was done at firſt by Petitions and Complaints; and, when they were deſpiſed, none but Defenſive Arms were taken up by ſome few, and by a foreign Prince, only to cover their Heads, while the Grievances were fairly redreſſed; not to take away his Rights, but to ſecure our own. Nor did the Prince of *Orange*, or theſe Gentlemen, deveſt or deprive him of his Throne, but owned his Right by offering a Treaty, during the Continuance of which he diſbanded his Army, diſſolved his Government, and, as much as in him lay, attempted to deſert the Throne, and ſeek Aids from an Enemy's Country, which might ſecure him againſt Redreſſing any Grievances, and enable him to be revenged upon the injured Complainers. We did not make the Throne vacant; but the late Archbiſhop, and other Peers at *Guildhall*, believed he had left it void, or elſe they would not, without his Conſent, have ſeized on the Adminiſtration of Government, ſecured his Chancellor, taken Poſſeſſion of the *Tower*, and offered the Exerciſe of the ſupreme Power to the Prince of *Orange*. He left us in Anarchy, and we provided for ourſelves in the beſt Manner ſuch a Juncture would allow. I will not inquire now, whether theſe Subjects, who are ſo zealous for his Return, were not bound to do more than they did, to keep him in his Throne, while he had it; their Conſcience then permitted them to look on, and let him ſink, while his Security had been far more eaſily compaſſed: But they, who have now theſe unſeaſonable Pangs of their old Loyalty,

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muſt conſider, that a Man may leave his Right when he pleaſeth, but may not take it again at his Pleaſure, eſpecially not by Force, and this moſt eſpecially as to ſovereign Power. Somebody muſt govern, when he would not; the next undoubted Heir, in an Hereditary Monarchy, muſt; and whoever doth govern in Chief in this Nation muſt be King, by our Conſtitution, and muſt have Power ſufficient to protect himſelf and the Nation againſt all their Enemies; and that cannot be without Swearing new Allegiance. Now, when a King and Queen are declared, ſubmitted to, and owned by Oaths, and all other Methods required in ſuch Caſe, the King is not at Liberty to give up his own Power, and the Protection of us, nor are the People free to join with him that deſerted them, or to venture their Necks, or their Country's Ruin, to reſtore him. I dare ſay, that the *French* King will not grant, that the Citizens of thoſe Cities, who were Subjects to *Spain*, or the Emperor, and bound by Oath to thoſe Princes (but have now ſubmitted to him, and ſworn new Allegiance) are obliged to venture their Lives and Fortunes, by Vertue of their old Oaths, to reſtore thoſe Cities to their former Maſters; doubtleſs, he would ſolve their Scruples with a Halter, if he found they attempted it. Beſides, the *Injuries*, as they are called, done to the late King by his own Acts, if they were capable of Reparation, muſt not be repaired with the Injuring, yea, Ruining many thouſand innocent Perſons, who muſt unavoidably loſe their Lives, and be undone in their Eſtates by his Returning by Force. The preſent King and his Army are bound by Oaths, Duty, and Intereſt, to oppoſe him; ſo are all now protected by him, and who have ſworn Allegiance to him; and it is certain, all that are not perjured Hypocrites will do ſo; and then, What *Engliſhman's* Bowels muſt not bleed to conſider what Murders, Burning, Plundering, and Deſtruction he brings upon his native Country, who encourages the Aggreſſors? If he has any Kindneſs for us, whom he calls his Subjects, he would rather ſit quietly under his ſingle Injuries, than wiſh, or, however, attempt to be reſtored by Blood and an univerſal Ruin; and, if he has no Pity for us, Why ſhould we be ſo concerned for him, as to ſacrifice our Lives and Fortunes to his Revenge? He went away, while a Treaty was on Foot, and nothing but a Treaty can reſtore him fairly; which he never yet offered. We did not force him to go away in Diſguiſe, and, if he will force himſelf upon us again, by *French* Dragoons and *Iriſh* Cut-throats, we may and muſt oppoſe him; for our Allegiance is now transferred to another. Finally, there is no Injury to any but himſelf, and thoſe who run into voluntary Exile with him, by his being out of the Poſſeſſion; the Monarchy, the Law, the Church, and Property are all in better Eſtate, than in his Time; and all theſe, with innumerable private Perſons, muſt be irreparably injured by his Return in an hoſtile Manner. So that there can be no Reaſon to redreſs the Sufferings, he owes to his own Faults, by ſo many publick and private Injuries. If it be pleaded, That he, who was born to a Kingdom, really wants Subſiſtence, I reply, That, if he would ſeek the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, and of his late Subjects, he might, by a fair Treaty ſet on Foot, not only reſtore the Exiles, but have a ſufficient and honourable Maintenance from this Government; but, while the War, he makes upon it, puts us to ſo great Expence, he cannot expect it, nor imagine we ſhould give him a Supply to enable him to ruin us.

The *ſecond* Pretence, why we ſhould aſſiſt towards his Reſtoration, is, To deliver ourſelves from the Oppreſſion we ſuffer under the preſent King: And, to ſet off this with a better Gloſs, the late Reign is magnified by the Jeſuits and their Tools, and this blackened; Freedom from Taxes then is made a rare Inſtance of his Gentleneſs, and the preſent Impoſitions heightened, with all the Rhetorick imaginable, to repreſent this King as an Oppreſſor. The Flouriſhing of Trade then is extolled, the Decay of it now odiouſly inſinuated, and great Hopes are given of golden Days, upon the Return of *James the Juſt*; he is to make us all happy.

Now, to anſwer this, there is no Need to make a Satyr on that Reign, or a Panegyrick on this; that is ſo well remembered, and this ſo fully known, that all unprejudiced People ſee on which Side the Truth lies. But it is great Pity they, who have the Wit to invent or urge this Plea, have not a Memory to remind them, that none complained more of the Danger of Law and Religion, of our Lives and Fortunes in that Reign, than many who

have this high Opinion of it now; the cruel Severities in the Weſt, the high Commiſſion, turning out of Office all good Proteſtants, attempting to reverſe all the Penal Laws, putting unqualified Men into all Places of Truſt, Profit, and Power, excluding the Fellows of *Magdalen*, and putting in Papiſts, with the Impriſonment and Trial of the Biſhops, were thought Oppreſſions then; but now all theſe are buried in Oblivion, and thoſe Taxes which the late King, and his Ally of *France*, with their Abettors, alone make neceſſary to this frugal Prince, theſe are our only Grievance, and this King's unpardonable Crime. The late King had one Tax, and might, yea, would have had more for the glorious Deſign of enſlaving his Subjects, if he could have got a Parliament to his Purpoſe; which he vigorouſly endeavoured; and it was, becauſe he was ſure he muſt ſatisfy his People in their juſt Complaints, whenever he asked a Supply, that he durſt not ask it of a freely choſen Parliament; yet then we were in Peace with all Nations, and now he hath intangled us in a War with the worſt Enemy in *Europe*. Aſſeſſments then were not needed, but to haſten our Ruin; now they are abſolutely neceſſary to our Safety, and made ſo by him, and his complaining Friends. Yet ſtill what Grievances are theſe Taxes, in Compariſon of what is laid on the *French* Slaves, into whoſe Condition we were intended to be brought? There is a vaſt Difference between loſing our Property for ever, and paying ſome Part of our Profits to ſecure the reſt, and our Inheritances to our Poſterity, as well as ourſelves. Beſides, ſhould we not leap out of the Frying-pan, into the Fire, if, to avoid tolerable Payments, we ſhould raſhly bring a fatal War to our Doors, that muſt laſt till more than one Half of the Nation be deſtroyed, and the reſt utterly, and almoſt irrecoverably, impoveriſhed? This, I am ſure, is voluntarily to change our Whips for Scorpions. We have paid as much formerly for Aſſiſting *France* to ruin *Europe*, and maintain Vice at Home, as now ſerves to deliver *Europe*, and ſecure our Native Country and Religion, from utter Deſtruction: Nor are the Sums conſiderable, reckoning the Abatement of Chimney-Money, which we have paid to this Government; no Country in *Europe* hath paid ſo little in Proportion to our Wealth, theſe laſt three Years of War: And, if the late King return, *England* muſt pay all the Sums borrowed of *France*, to maintain him Abroad, to keep *Ireland*, and to diſcharge the Forces; that come to thruſt him on us, and muſt ſtay to compleat the happy Deſign of Setting up Popery and Slavery, the natural Conſequences of his Reſtoration; and it is well, if Arrears of Chimney-money, and other publick Monies, be not called for, to carry on ſo glorious a Work: So that, if *England* rebel againſt the preſent King, to avoid the Burdens now upon them, they expoſe themſelves to ten Times greater Taxes for many Years, and it can end in nothing but the utter Impoveriſhing of the whole Nation, eſpecially, the Proteſtant Part of it, who, by their Poverty will become a more eaſy Prey. As for Trade, the Decay of it began in the late King's Time, and it is the War which he and *France* hath engaged us in, that ſtill keeps it at a low Ebb; ſo that for the late King's Friends to expoſe the preſent Government, for this, is like a Conjurer's Complaining of the Storms he raiſes. That ingenious Hiſtory of Biſhop *King*'s, of the Eſtate of the Proteſtants in *Ireland*, under King *James*, makes it out, that the late King feared and hated the Increaſe of Trade, which made him uſe all Means to hinder it; and all the World ſees, that no abſolute Monarch, as he affects to be, likes that his Subjects ſhould grow rich by Trade. But our preſent King, ſo ſoon as he can have Peace, will make it his firſt Care to promote Trade here, as he did in the Country he came from; and, even in the difficult Times he had, Trade hath been a great Part of his and his Parliament's Care. Finally, if Men can remember the Times, that are ſo lately paſt, when Law and Right was only the King's Pleaſure, dictated by Mercenary Judges; when no Party but the Papiſts flouriſhed, when a general Conſternation had ſtopped all Buſineſs, they cannot hope to be happy by his Return, who cauſed all theſe Miſeries: And they muſt expect, now he hath more perfectly learned the *French* Methods, of making a King the greateſt of Monarchs, by making his Subjects the vileſt of Slaves, that he will practiſe it with greater Induſtry and Application than ever, to put it eternally out of his Subjects Power, to protect themſelves again: For oppreſſing his People, which was but expedient before, will now be thought abſolutely neceſſary. So that nothing can be more improbable, not to ſay impoſ-

impoſſible, than for *England* to be happy under him, that attempted to make her miſerable without any Provocation, and muſt return with the ſame Principles and Deſigns, the ſame Counſellors and Intereſts he had before, and with all the Addition that Revenge, Hatred, and Fear can make to an angry and implacable Mind: But it may be ſaid, His dear-bought Experience of the ill Succeſs of theſe Methods will make him rule more moderately, if he be reſtored: To which I reply, *Cœlum, non Animum mutat.* The fore-cited Book of Biſhop *King*'s demonſtrates, that after he had loſt *England* and *Scotland*, and a great Part of *Ireland*, upon his Return thither from *France*, he was more arbitrary and hard to his Proteſtant obedient Subjects, than ever he had been before, even though it was againſt his viſible Intereſt, and tended to diſguſt all the Proteſtants, who would have ſerved him there. His Declaring himſelf Papiſt at firſt here, and all his Actions ſince, ſhew that he prefers his Will, and an obſtinate Purſuing his own Methods, far above his true Intereſt; whence it follows, that we vainly expect from one of his Temper, that either his paſt Experience, or his future Intereſt, ſhould teach him Moderation, any longer than till he hath Power to oppreſs us: And, if he ſhould, by a thouſand Promiſes or Oaths, engage to rule by Law, his frequent Breach of both hath given us no Reaſon to truſt him; and the Religion he profeſſes can ſo eaſily diſpenſe with both, that neither of them give us any Security from that Sort of Obligations. The Intereſts of Popery and *France* require he ſhould be abſolute, and his Nature ſpurs him on to it, and nothing but Fear can for a Moment reſtrain him from being ſo. What a Shadow of a Dream then muſt this be of Proteſtant Subjects being happy, under a bigotted Popiſh Prince of ſuch a Temper?

Thirdly, Whereas it is ſaid, we have changed our old Hereditary Monarchy into one merely Elective, and by Degrees, ſhall bring it to a Commonwealth; nor can any Thing prevent this, which will be of fatal Conſequence to the Church, but our Reſtoring the late King: I anſwer, the Poſition is falſe, and the Conſequence a mere Sham; the Government of *England* always was, and ever muſt be Monarchical; that twelve Years, when it was endeavoured to make it otherwiſe, convinced all Men, that all Projects to the Contrary muſt come to nothing. As for this Revolution, it is not likely, a Parliament which made an Entail of the Crown, in a lineal Succeſſion, ſhould be for Setting up a Commonwealth, or Altering the Hereditary Monarchy. If it be alledged, there was a great Breach as to the Perſon of the reigning King, it is replied, he himſelf made it, and they did not make, but find the Throne void. And there have been greater Breaches ſince the Conqueſt, as to the true lineal Succeſſion, and Laying aſide, yea, Depoſing the reigning King, and Setting up his Son, or a remoter Perſon, which indeed was an Injury to the Kings ſo depoſed; but ſtill the Monarchy was called and continued to be Hereditary. In our Caſe, the King deſerted us, yea, left us without any Government; but we applied to his next certain Heir, with whom, at her Requeſt, and for our Safety and her's, by general Conſent, a Title was given to her Huſband and our Deliverer, but this only for Life, though he be much nearer in Blood to the Right of Succeſſion, than either *Henry the Fourth*, or *Henry the Seventh*, ſucceſſively made Kings of *England*. And the Saving the Succeſſion to the Princeſs of *Denmark*, and her Heirs, ſhews how far that Parliament was from deſigning any ſuch Thing as a Commonwealth. We ſee *Philip* of *Spain*, who had no Title to be King of *England*, but by his Marriage with Queen *Mary*, was made King at her Requeſt, and in her Right; but he had not merited ſo much as our King, and therefore his Title was to ceaſe at her Death. As for the Prince of *Wales*, there are ſo clear Indications of his Birth being an Impoſture, and the Deſign of forming that Project is ſo known to be Revenge on the Princeſſes, for Adhering to their Religion, and to get more Time to force Popery and Slavery upon us; yea, his Health and Strength make it ſo unlikely, he ſhould proceed from ſuch crazy Parents, that till the Parties concerned prove the Affirmative by better Witneſſes and clearer Evidence, and the People of *England* in Parliament own him for the Heir, we need not go about the unreaſonable Taſk of proving a Negative: Wherefore, ſince the Breach in the Succeſſion was the late King's own Act, and only concerns his Perſon, and a ſuppoſed unknown Heir, we are not to anſwer for that; and, conſidering the Hurry his un-

expected Deſertion put all Things in, and the abſolute Neceſſity of a ſpeedy Settlement, the Friends of the old *Engliſh* Monarchy have juſt Cauſe to rejoice it was made ſo near the old Foundation, with a ſmall and only temporary Variation from it, which was alſo abſolutely neceſſary in that Juncture of Affairs: And it is evident, that there are many of the beſt Quality and Intereſt, who hate the Notion of a Commonwealth in *England*, and love Monarchy as well as any of the late King's Abettors, who freely conſented, and firmly adhere to this Eſtabliſhment. If it be objected, that King *William* was bred up in a Commonwealth, and inclines to that Form of Government; it is anſwered, He doth and may like it in *Holland*, but they muſt ſhew ſome Inſtances, that his Zeal for a Commonwealth is as hot and as blind, as King *James*'s for Popery, before they can prove him ſo deſperate a Foe to his own Intereſt, as to uncrown himſelf, and make himſelf the People's Vaſſal, when he is and may be their gracious Lord. If it be urged, that it is a dangerous Precedent for future Kings, to allow the People a Liberty to take away their Prince's Right, and ſet up another, on Pretence of Miſgovernment: The Reply is, the late King was the Occaſion of this Precedent, by firſt Attempting to alter the whole Frame of our Laws, Government and Religion, and then Deſerting us. And, if it be an ill Precedent for the Safety of Princes, that the Advantage was taken, it was however neceſſary to take it for the Safety of the People, for whoſe Good Heaven made Kings. Sure I am, there are as dreadful Conſequences of arbitrary Tyranny, as there are of Rebellion, witneſs the Miſery and Slavery of the poor *French* at this Day; and it ſeems as neceſſary, there ſhould be ſome Precedents to deter Princes from Abuſing their Power, as well as to reſtrain the People from Abuſing their Liberty: For both Tyranny and Rebellion are great Sins, and of moſt miſchievous Conſequence. Wherefore, this unexpected Example may make our Kings more juſt, and more apt to rule by Law, but it can never hurt the Monarchy itſelf, or countenance a Rebellion, while a King is in the Throne, that will ſtay to hear and redreſs his People's Grievances, which will never be denied by the preſent, or any other good King.

The *laſt* Pretence is the moſt ſurpriſing of all, that there is no Way to preſerve the Church of *England*, no nor the Proteſtant Religion, but by Reſtoring the late King, who, it is ſaid in his Declaration, promiſes this as liberally, as he did at his firſt Acceſſion to the Throne.

If Mankind were not the oddeſt Part of the Creation, one would wonder, how it is poſſible for Proteſtants to believe, that the Wolves deſign Good to the Sheep: When the late King was here, he involved himſelf in infinite Miſchiefs, and did the moſt odious Things in the World to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, and eſpecially, to ruin the Church of *England*; and hath he given any Evidence of changing his Temper, his Principles, his Zeal, or his Methods? He ſhewed in *Ireland* a greater Spite to Proteſtants than ever; he hath lived in *France* ever ſince, where he hath ſeen how much it tends to advance his dear abſolute Power, to dragoon all Men into the King's Religion; his only Motives to draw in this *Frenchified* Pope, to lend him Money to invade us, is, by Convincing him, he loſt all by his Zeal to reſtore Popery, and by Engaging he will uſe his Power (if he can regain it) only to promote the Catholick Intereſt. His other Ally, the *French* Perſecutor, cannot be endeared by any better Intereſt, till the Principal of the Sums lent are repaid by poor *England*, than by Aſſurance, that he will make one Kingdom in the World as miſerable by abſolute Empire, and forcing one Religion, as *France* now is; that his Barbarity, Cruelty, and Treachery may not be the infamous ſingle Inſtance of ſuch Proceedings, his Promiſes to his Allies, his Zeal, his Principles, and his Nature all engage him to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion. He attempted it when he was not half ſo deeply obliged, and can we think he will not purſue it now? It is next to Frenzy to think the Pope and King of *France* furniſh him with Money, Ships, Forces, &c. only to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion, and Church of *England*; he muſt be tied, in more than ordinary Bonds, to endeavour the Ruin of both, or no ſuch Favours had been ſhewn by ſuch a Pope, and ſuch a Perſecutor: It cannot be Eaſe to *Roman* Catholicks he deſires; they are more at Eaſe under King *William*, than under any Proteſtant King ever ſince the Reformation: It muſt therefore be the Suppreſſing all other Religions, and Setting up that alone, muſt engage *Rome*, *France*, and *Lucifer* in his Reſtoration. As for his Promiſes to us in his Declaration, alas! he hath already given greater

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and ſtronger to the Pope and *French* King to the Contrary; and though his Intereſt, and the Hopes that ſome will be ſo mad to believe him, put him upon Renewing theſe Promiſes to *England*; yet, his Confeſſor can ſoon reſolve him, which Promiſe is to be kept, whether that pious Catholick Promiſe to the Holy Father, and the Hector of that Cauſe, or that extorted one to Hereticks: Beſides, we ſhould remember the *Italian* Proverb, God forgive him, who deceives me once; but God forgive me, if one Man deceives me twice. No Prince in the World ever promiſed with more Solemnity, than the late King, to protect the Proteſtant Religion, or the Church of *England*; yet nothing is more clear, than that he deſigned to gull us only, not to oblige himſelf by this Proteſtation; and the firſt Thing he did was to break it as ſoon as he durſt, and can we be ſo diſtracted to believe him again? He declared in *Ireland*, that the Church of *England* ſtunk in his Noſe, and that he abhorred it. He cannot truly love either any Perſon of that Perſuaſion, or any other Proteſtant; he may flatter ſome of them to get into the Saddle, but, when they have mounted him, he will ride over their Heads; his own Friends of the Proteſtant Religion are very few, and his Revenge on the far greater Number, who have oppoſed his Deſigns, will out-weigh the Kindneſs of a few inconſiderable Hereticks, who abetted his Intereſt, and who will be told, that it was not Senſe of Duty, but Deſpair of Obliging his Enemies, that forced them into his Quarrel: They had ſufficient Experience after *Monmouth*'s Rebellion (ſuppreſſed only by the Church of *England* Men) how little any Acts of thoſe, he counts Hereticks, can oblige him; his Carriage in *Ireland* to the loyal Proteſtants writ this in Capital Letters, and it muſt be ſuppoſed, they have drunk deep of *Lethe*, who can forget all this: But, I pray, What is it the Church of *England* wants, or any other Proteſtant? This King is as ſerious and ſincere a Proteſtant, and as true a Lover of that Intereſt, as King *James* is a profeſſed Enemy to it; and, Why may not he be more likely to preſerve the Religion he profeſſes, than the other to maintain that Religion which he vilely deſerted, and mortally hates? The Churchmen ſay, King *William* is too kind to Diſſenters; but, Hath he given them any other or more Liberty than King *James* did? That King begun with Toleration, and it was not for a new Prince in a troubleſome State of Things to alter any Thing of that Nature: Beſides, at the ſame Time, the Diſſenters do think the preſent King too kind to the Eſtabliſhed Church, not conſidering, that it is the national Religion which he found, and keeps in Poſſeſſion of all its Rights, as his Duty and Oath oblige him; yet, ſo as the Diſſenters have Eaſe, and every Thing but Empire, which from a prudent King of *England* they can never expect, being not only a leſs Part of the Nation, but ſo divided amongſt themſelves, that Nothing can pleaſe all Parties of them; and, therefore, Freedom to worſhip, in their ſeveral Ways, is all the Favour they can be capable of in the beſt of Times, and ſo they are moſt unreaſonable to hope for more now: Beſides, let it be conſidered, that our King is not only the Head and Protector of the Proteſtants of *England*, but of all the Reformed Churches in *Europe*; and the *French* King, the main Wheel in this deſigned Reſtoration, is ſo mortal an Enemy to the whole Reformation, that he deſperately weakened himſelf, and baniſhed 30,000 Families of uſeful Subjects, only to root the whole Profeſſion out of his own Dominions: And now can any rationally pretend, this preſent King will deſtroy the *Engliſh* Church, or the *French* Perſecutor, and his Client, the late King of *England*, uphold it? My dear Brethren and Countrymen, do not ſo infamouſly abuſe yourſelves to believe ſo incredible a Fiction, ſo manifeſt a Cheat: Alas! all theſe good Words are only to lull you aſleep, till you, at the Peril of your Necks, get him Power enough to extirpate you and your Religion alſo: I doubt not, but, for a While, he would maintain the Eſtabliſhed Church, and renew his Indulgence, becauſe he can get Footing no other Way; but it is eaſy to foreſee how ſhort-lived all theſe Sham-favours will be: They ſpring from Fear, and Deſire of Opportunity to be revenged, and, ſo ſoon as ever the Fear ceaſes, and that Opportunity comes, he will moſt certainly kick down the Ladder by which he aſcended, and pull off the Maſk, appearing what he is in his Nature and Principles, and not what his Neceſſities have made him ſeem to be; ſo that, if this Diſguiſe be credited, the Perſons impoſed on will, and muſt pay, for their Credulity, with the woeful Price of Helping to deſtroy the moſt pure and flouriſhing Church in the World; in Aſſiſting to re-inſtate him, and Fighting for him, they fight againſt

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their own Religion, which the primitive Christians, for all their heroick Loyalty, would not do, and which no Man ought to do, either for Interest or Revenge. For my Part, I think true Religion so far above all worldly Concerns, and the Preservation of it, so principal an Advantage of Government, that the Prince, who will certainly suppress that, must be more intolerable than he that would take away my Liberty, Estate, or my Life; and it must be a damnable Sin in me to assist him in it, or put him into a Capacity to do it: No Oath or Allegiance can bind me to this; it may oblige me to suffer, but not to act for such a Design: Wherefore, for Shame, let his *Irish* and *English* Popish Subjects alone carry on this impious Design, who can only hope for Advantage by his Restoration, and who are only bound in Conscience to help him; neuter we must stand at least, and that will suffice to shew how contemptible a Party that is, which must be set up on the Nation's Ruin, and how impossible it is for him to cut down the Protestant Religion in *England*, without borrowing a Handle from the Tree he would fell. Take Warning by what is past, and what must be the inevitable Consequence of your deserting this King, or assisting the late Prince, even the Ruin of this most famous Church of *England*, and the Endangering the whole Estate of Protestantism through all *Europe*: In vain will you complain of this Consequence, when it is too late to remedy it; your Guilt, Shame, and Sorrow will then only remain, for having had a Hand in so deplorable a Mischief: For my Part, I have delivered my own Soul, and given you fair Warning; God of his infinite Mercy open your Eyes in Time, and grant you a right Judgment in this and in all Things.

Some Observations on the Trial of *Spencer Cowper*, *J. Marson. E. Stevens*, and *W. Rogers*, that were tried at *Hertford*, about the Murder of *Sarah Stout*, together with other Things relating thereunto. *Quarto*, containing twenty Pages.

To lead, and to give some Light into this Matter, it may be necessary to give some Account here, how, and upon what Occasion the Acquaintance of Spencer Cowper *and* Sarah Stout *began.*

THE Ground and Rise thereof took its Original from her Father, who at all Elections promoted the Interest of the *Cowpers*, to the utmost of his Power; thro' which, a great Intimacy was created between the Families of the *Cowpers* and the *Stouts*; which did not expire with the Death of her Father, for her Brother, by the Father's Side, continued his Respects to that Family, and spared no Pains to espouse and carry on their Interest, in order to their being chosen Parliament-Men for that Town. These Obligations engaged the two Families to a frequent Conversation; insomuch that, when they were in the Country, some or other of them were often together, as well the young Women as the Men; as appeared by what his Brother's Wife said at his Trial, That she was but six Days at *Hertford* the Summer before, and that she saw her, to wit, *S. Stout*, every Day. And great Pretensions of Love, and Proffers of Kindness, were expressed by the *Cowpers* in general, to the *Stouts*; and by this Man, *Spencer Cowper*, and his Wife in particular, to the deceased young Woman; and thus it continued, in Appearance, till the Day that she was forced off the Stage of this World.

When her Father died, he left her sole Executrix, and gave her most Part of his Personal Estate: And a considerable Part of it being in the Brewers Hands, and in Malt, which she sold afterwards, she was often advising with one or other, how to dispose of this

this Money, ſo as to have good Securities for it.

About a Year before her Death, ſhe went to *London* about thoſe Occaſions, and lodged at a Goldſmith's Houſe: As ſoon as the *Cowpers* Wives heard where ſhe was, they made her a Viſit, both *Spencer*'s and his Brother's, and invited her to their Houſes.

Whilſt ſhe lodged at this Goldſmith's Houſe, he laid out ſeveral hundred Pounds for her in Malt-Tickets, and other Securities of the Government; but ſhe being not willing to lay out much that Way, but rather on ſome Mortgage of Land, ſhe went to a Lawyer, with whom ſhe was acquainted, to ſee if he could diſpoſe of ſome for her; he told her, he could help her to a Mortgage for five-hundred Pounds, but they would give but Five in the Hundred: So ſhe takes it into Conſideration; but afterwards, ſhe being at Captain *Spencer Cowper*'s, and he falling into ſome Diſcourſe with her about her Affairs, and underſtanding ſhe had a conſiderable Sum of Money to put out, he proffered to do her all the Kindneſs that lay in his Power; and would help her to a Mortgage of Land three Times the Value of the Money lent on it, at Six in the Hundred; and would ſee that the Title ſhould be good, and be as careful in it, as if it were his own Concerns; and, if ſhe wanted Counſel at any Time, either to put out, or to recover Money that was owing her, or any Thing elſe, for which ſhe had Occaſion, he would give it her Gratis, which from another muſt coſt her ſome Guineas: So ſhe accepted of his Proffer, and told him, ſhe would depend on his Advice, not queſtioning to have good Security for her Money. When ſhe came Home to her Lodging, ſhe told the Goldſmith where ſhe lodged, that now Capt. *Cowper* had promiſed to help her to Securities, and he was to diſpoſe of her Money.

Soon after this, ſhe went Home to *Hertford*, and told her Mother the ſame, and aſked her, if ſhe had any Money to put out; if ſhe had, it might go amongſt her's, and her Mother ſhould have no Trouble with it, for ſhe would pay her the Intereſt as it became due. Her Mother then aſked her, If ſhe could ſo far confide in him, as to receive her Money, to pay it, and to make the Writings, and to look after the Title, and all without the Inſpection of any Body elſe? She ſaid, Yes, ſhe believed that he was a very honeſt Man, and ſhe thought ſhe might truſt him with more than ſhe had to put out; and he being a Man of Repute, it was below him to wrong her. Then her Mother, thinking the ſame, gave her one-hundred and fifty Pounds to put amongſt her's; which ſhe hath never heard of ſince, but it is gone with the reſt.

About a Month after, *Spencer Cowper* came to *Hertford*, and took Lodgings for his Wife and Family, and then brought his Wife to give this young Woman a Viſit, and to be further acquainted with her: After this, ſhe ſeemed to love and like her Company ſo well, that ſhe ſaid, She did not deſire the Company but of few, or none elſe in the Town; and therefore would make no Returns of their Viſits, till the Week before ſhe went Home to *London*; and would come frequently two or three Times in a Week to viſit her: And, when her Huſband was in the Country, he ſometimes would come with her, and thereby had the Opportunity of Diſcourſing her about her Affairs.

When ſhe had gathered in near what ſhe intended he ſhould put out, from the Brewers, and others that were indebted to her, ſhe writ a Letter to *London*, to him; and, one of her Acquaintance coming to viſit her, before ſhe had ſealed it up, ſhe bid her read it, which ſhe did; in which Letter ſhe writ, That ſhe had a thouſand Pounds to put out, and that ſeveral Hundreds of it were then ready; and the reſt, to make up that Sum, would be ſo in a little Time, or ſo ſoon as he could diſpoſe of it advantageouſly for her.

After this, ſhe ſeveral Times, in Diſcourſe with this Woman, hath told her, That he was buying an Eſtate for her, in Ground-Rents, which he had recommended to her for an extraordinary Pennyworth, and that it would be ſold for a thouſand Pounds, but he believed it was worth more; and, if he could not oblige her with it, he looked upon it to be ſo great a Bargain, that he would buy it for his own Uſe: And ſhe alſo told her Mother the ſame.

The next Quarter Seſſions after this, which was the laſt before that Aſſize, at which Time her Days were ended, *Spencer Cowper* came to *Hertford*, and, in the Evening, he came and enquired for Mrs. *Sarah Stout* at her Mother's Houſe, where he was not at all expected to lodge, he not having lodged there for ſeveral Years, *viz.* not ſince her Father died; and, after about an Hour's Diſcourſe with her, he ſaid, He was deſtitute of a Lodging, for his

Landlord

Landlord *Bates*, where he uſed to lodge, was diſcompoſed, and made a great Noiſe, and he did not like to lodge there. So ſhe thought ſhe could do no leſs, in Civility, than aſk him to lodge at her Mother's Houſe, he having then brought her that Mortgage-Deed, for two-hundred Pounds, about which he made ſuch a long Diſcourſe at his Trial; which Money had been carried publickly to him ſome Time before: At the Receiving of which Security, ſhe ſeemed to be very much pleaſed. But ſhe having told him, that ſhe intended to reſerve ſome Part of her Portion for her own particular Uſe, in Caſe ſhe lived to marry, which ſhe would put out for that End, ſhe having enough beſides; he adviſed her then to keep it private from all Perſons, elſe her End would be fruſtrated; which, in all Likelihood, he thought ſhe had, and that none had known her Mind in that Particular but himſelf, he having adviſed her to Privacy.

Indeed *Spencer Cowper* did ſuggeſt, in a Caſe lately preſented to ſome of the Members of Parliament, That his Proſecutors had not the Impudence to ſuggeſt at the Trial, though put in Mind of it, that what they accuſed him of, was done for the Sake of Gain. It is true, he did demand a Proof that he had any of the deceaſed young Woman's Money in his Hands; and it cannot be ſuppoſed that he would conceal it, if he knew there was any one alive that could make poſitive Proof of it; for then it would have been in vain to have denied it: But her Mother did then attempt to ſpeak what ſhe knew in that Particular, and other Things too, but was ſtopped ſeveral Times, and not ſuffered to ſpeak, unleſs ſhe would ſwear; which he knew well enough her Perſuaſion would not admit her to do.

The next Thing obſervable is, the ſame Woman, beforementioned, which ſaw, and read, her Letter ſent to him, which gave an Account what Money ſhe intended he ſhould diſpoſe of for her, and that ſhe had ſeveral hundred Pounds of it then ready, ſhe being with her one Day in her Chamber, about two Weeks before her Death, ſhe bid her look in a Drawer there, and bring her the Money therein; upon Receiving it, Am not I very rich? ſaid ſhe: The other demanding the Reaſon of that Queſtion, Becauſe, ſaid ſhe, it is all the Money that I am now Miſtreſs of; which was only two Guineas, and a little Silver, notwithſtanding ſhe had ſo many hundred Pounds in her Poſſeſſion not long before: And, about the ſame Time, ſhe being in Diſcourſe with another Perſon, about her Concerns, ſhe ſaid, That *Spencer Cowper* had a great Deal of her Monies in his Hands, and that he was to have more: And her Relations do miſs about a thouſand Pounds; and they know of none ſhe diſpoſed of any otherwiſe, after ſhe writ that Letter to him. And when her Mother aſked him, before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Holt*, What Money he had in his Hands of her Daughter's? He ſaid, None; and alſo ſaid, He thought his Reputation would have ſecured, or carried him above Suſpicions or Examinations of that Kind.

But it may eaſily be gathered who carried her Money away, for a great Deal of it was in Gold; and that very Morning he went away, when he had lodged at her Mother's Houſe, he very much importuned her to come to his Houſe at *London*; and told her, how glad his Wife would be of her Company, and uſed many Arguments to perſuade her to it; and, at length, ſaid, He would not go out of the Houſe, till ſhe had promiſed him to come: But ſhe refuſed to promiſe him, and ſaid, She did not know when ſhe ſhould come to *London*. This Diſcourſe was in the Hearing of one that will evidence it upon Oath.

The Week before that Aſſize, ſhe received a Letter from his Wife, which was writ after the uſual Manner, as ſhe had ſeveral not long before, very earneſtly inviting her to her Houſe at *London*, with high Expreſſions of Love; and ſo much the more ſhe deſired her Company then, becauſe ſhe believed they ſhould not come to lodge at *Hertford* that Summer: And in that Letter tells her, That they muſt expect her Huſband at their Houſe at the Aſſize; the which ſhe told her Mother, and others, who read the Letter. This Letter *Spencer Cowper* confeſſed to the Coroner's Inqueſt, that he ordered his Wife to write it for his Lodging at her Mother's Houſe; but, when he was examined by the Lord Chief Juſtice *Holt*, he then denied it, and ſaid, His Wife writ no Letter: But her Maid, *Sarah Walker*, being preſent, told him, His Wife did ſend a Letter, and that ſhe herſelf took it in of the Poſt-man, and gave it to her Miſtreſs; ſo then he could not deny that there was a Letter ſent.

And accordingly he came, and ſent his Horſe thither; and being aſked, before he rid from the Door, Whether he would come to Dinner? He ſaid, He was not certain, but would

ſend

ſend Word: But, her Mother and ſhe ſtaying long, and he not ſending, they ſent her Maid, to ſee whether he would come or no; who then quickly came, and dined there; and when he went from thence, the young Woman, *S. S.* going to the Door with him, aſked, If he thought to lodge at their Houſe? He ſaid, Yes, he would come and lodge at their Houſe. This ſhe ſaid as ſoon as he was gone; and then bid the Maid go get his Bed ready: At Night, when he came, her Mother being in the Room with her, he fell into ſome Diſcourſe remote from any Thing of her Daughter's Buſineſs; and, after ſome Time, called for Pen and Ink, to write a Letter to his Wife, although it was not Poſt-Night, nor did any Carrier go next Day. When he went to write, her Mother and ſhe went out of the Room, and ſtaid a conſiderable Time; but, it growing late, the young Woman went in, to ſee if he had done, and if he would have any Supper; and what he deſired he had. Her Mother went not in again, becauſe ſhe knew her Daughter expected he would give her ſome Account of her Money, and have brought her Security for it, as he did the Seſſions before, for her two-hundred Pounds; and ſhe, finding that he would not ſpeak of it before her, would not interrupt them, but gave her Daughter Time and Opportunity to ſpeak to him. What Diſcourſe they had, is not known; but, ſure enough, they differed about it, for he had writ a Receipt in Full, for Uſe-money he paid her then, which lay on the Table, and was never ſigned by her, although he preſſed her to it ſeveral Times, as he confeſſed to the Coroner's Inqueſt, and aſked her, *If ſhe was lazy?* Yet, ſtill ſhe refuſed to ſign it, which plainly ſhewed her Diſſatisfaction, and that there was more due to her, elſe ſhe would never have refuſed it.

Between Ten and Eleven o' Clock, ſhe called her Maid to make a Fire in his Chamber, and to warm his Bed, in his Hearing; and while the Maid was doing it, he went out; her Mother, hearing the Door clap, went into the Parlour, to aſk her what the Reaſon was of his going out, when his Bed was warming, and to her Surpriſe, found ſhe was gone too, and never ſaw her alive afterwards. She admired what the Meaning of this ſhould be, knowing that ſhe never uſed to go out ſo late; neither could ſhe imagine whither they ſhould be gone; but after ſome Conſideration, did think he might tell her, That the Securities, ſhe expected, were to be ſigned and ſealed ſomewhere in the Town, and that he had perſuaded her to go out upon that Account, and ſo was in Expectation of them quickly: The Maid, that was warming his Bed, ſtaid, expecting him to come up, thinking, when ſhe heard the Noiſe of the Door, he was gone to carry his Letter ſomewhere; which, it is thought by ſome, was his Pretence in going out, thereby to draw her to the Door, to let him out; for there is no Ground to believe, ſhe went any farther with him willingly; ſo they ſat up all Night, both her Mother and the Maids, expecting them every Minute, not knowing where to look for her at that Time of Night; but, if they had, would never have gone to the River, where ſhe was found floating the next Morning, for there was no Manner of Circumſtance, either in her Words, or Actions, that did give them any Cauſe to think, ſhe would drown herſelf, or that ſhe ever had any Thing of that Nature in her Thoughts.

No ſooner was ſhe taken out of the River, but it was ſpread, by his Party, both in City and Country, That ſhe was with Child, and had drowned herſelf to avoid the Shame. That ſhe was not drowned, is clear unto all, who are impartial, and have had a true Account of the Caſe, either at the Trial, or otherwiſe, as it plainly appeared by thoſe Settlements of Blood, and Bruiſes, about her Head and Neck, and on one of her Arms; and her having no Water in her, but was empty and lank, when ſhe was firſt taken out of the Water.

The Evidence was very full and plain againſt them, and the Judgments of the Doctors ſtand firm and good, and is not, nor ever can be, diſproved, by all the Evaſions and Diſtinctions, of voluntary Drowning, and Drowning by Accident; nor by all thoſe little Tricks made Uſe of by thoſe on the other Side, by Drowning, and half Drowning of Dogs, and other ſuch like Experiments, whereby they have only expoſed themſelves. But when ſhe was taken up again, after ſhe had been buried ſix Weeks, in Order to be cleared of that infamous Report, which then was given out, for the only Reaſon, why ſhe drowned herſelf, to wit, her being with Child; then nothing could be more plain, than that ſhe was not drowned, but came by her Death ſome other Way, as the Doctors and Surgeons did give their

Opinion, upon Oath, before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Holt*, and at the Trial alſo.

And it is very probable, that theſe three Gentlemen, *J. M. E. S. W. R.* knew very well how ſhe came by her Death, whoſe Lives *Spencer Cowper* ſeemed to be more tender of, than of his own, by their Diſcourſe that Night her Death was, about an Hour after ſhe was miſſing; for, as ſoon as they came into their Lodgings at *John Gurrey*'s, they could not forbear, but began to aſk him ſeveral Queſtions about her. Although we do not underſtand, that either of them had any former Knowledge of her; yet *Marſon* pretended, that he had made Love to her, and that ſhe had caſt him off; but, ſaid he, A Friend of mine is even with her by this Time; then one of the others aſked him, If the Buſineſs was done? If it is not, ſaid he, It will be done this Night: Yes, ſays the other, Her Buſineſs is done: *Sarah Stout*'s Courting Days are over. What could have been ſpoke plainer, except they had ſaid, She is dead? This was poſitively proved againſt them. Alſo, the ſaid *Marſon*, when he came into his Lodging, was in a great Sweat, and called for a Fire to dry his Feet and Shoes, they being wet both without and within; and pretended, that he was juſt then come from *London*, it being then between Eleven and Twelve o' Clock at Night, whereas it was proved, that he came into Town two or three Hours before. And, when *Marſon* aſked the other two, What they had ſpent that Day? One of them aſked, What was that to him? He was to have forty or fifty Pounds for his Share. The ſaid *Marſon*, alſo pulling out Money out of his Pocket, ſwore that he would ſpend it all next Day, for Joy the Buſineſs was done. And whereas they ſay in their Caſe to the Parliament, They are Men in good Buſineſs at *London*; if they are ſo, it had been well, if they had ſtaid in it; for, ſure enough, they had no good Buſineſs at *Hertford*, neither did they pretend to any at all, but ſaid, They came only to ſee Faſhions, to the Woman where they lodged.

And it is very obſervable, how highly diſpleaſed *Spencer Cowper* was, at her being taken up, and how he earneſtly beſought the Judge, that what the Doctors did, and ſaid then, might not be allowed, or taken for Evidence, alledging, that ſhe ought not to have been taken out of her Grave without Legal Authority, for private Inſpection of Parties, altogether amongſt themſelves; whereas there ought to have been ſome on both Sides, he ſays, leſt they ſhould have broke her Skull, and ſo the Gentlemen ſhould have been trapanned; and yet Dr. *Camlin*, Sir *William Cowper*'s Doctor, was with them all the While, as Dr. *Coatſworth* told the Judge, and was ſent for, on Purpoſe to take off any ſuch Objection; and did ſet his Hand to the Certificate, of her Clearneſs of that Scandal, with the reſt of the Doctors: Which is as followeth,

WE whoſe Names are here under-written, having examined the Body of Mrs. *Sarah Stout* deceaſed, do find the *Uterus* perfectly free and empty, and of the natural Figure and Magnitude, as uſually in Virgins; we found no Water in the Stomach, Inteſtines, *Abdomen*, Lungs, or Cavity of the *Thorax*.

John Dimſdal, *Sen.*
William Coatſworth,
Samuel Camlin,
Robert Dimſdal, *M. D.*
John Dimſdal, *Jun.*
Daniel Phillips, *M. D.*

Hertford, April 28, 1699. *Copia vera.*

When all Mouths were ſtopped, and put to Silence in that Matter, and no Reaſon could be given why ſhe ſhould drown herſelf; then *S. Cowper* was at a Loſs, and knew not what to pretend, why ſhe ſhould do ſo; till, to uſe his own Words, ſome Heads were laid together, to contrive, that ſhe was in Love with him.

In Order to this Deſign, thoſe Letters were invented, which were produced in Court, for not a Word was ever heard of them, before ſhe was taken up again, and a Witneſs was provided, to prove the Receiving of them both; but his Witneſs had forgot the Year, when the firſt was writ, and ſaid, It was *March* was Twelve-month, till his Memory was refreſhed by the Second, which was dated but four Days after, and it ſeems they had forgotten to date that Letter, ſo as to give it any Credit at all. This was that which he calls that importunate Letter, by which he was invited down to lodge at that Gentlewoman's Houſe, which was dated the Ninth of *March*.

Now,

Now, if her Maid *Sarah Walker*'s Evidence is obſerved, ſhe begins with—'My Lord, On 'Friday before the laſt Aſſize, my Miſtreſs 'Stout received a Letter from Mr. *Cowper*'s 'Wife, to let her know we muſt expect Mr. 'Cowper at the Aſſize; and accordingly we 'expected him, and provided for his Coming.'

This was the ſame Day, on which he ſays he received her Letter of Invitation, that ſhe received his Wife's, by which he invited himſelf down; ſo that, if ſhe had really writ that Letter, his Wife's muſt needs be writ and ſent the Day before her's could come to his Hands.

And, how thoſe Letters ſhould be known to come from *Sarah Stout*, is very unaccountable; for, if there had been ſuch a Perſon as Mrs. *Jane Ellan*, at that Coffee-houſe he mentions (which, upon Inquiry, we cannot hear there was) What had he to do to open her Letters? And how could he tell that they were for him, and came from *Sarah Stout*? Seeing they were not directed to him, nor either *S. Cowper*, or *S. Stout*, within them, but only *Sir*.

To prove theſe Letters to be her Hand, he brings his Friend *Marſhall* to ſhew Letters, which he pretended ſhe writ to him, as falſe as the other; in one of which there was Thanks for his Songs. It is very unlikely, that ſhe ſhould deſire, or accept of Songs, one who was never heard to ſing a Song in her Life; and from *Marſhall* too, whoſe Courtſhip ſhe never received. For he himſelf ſaid, at the Trial, that, upon very little Trial, ſhe gave him a very fair Denial; and *Spencer Cowper* alſo ſaid, to the Coroner's Inqueſt, that *Marſhall* told him, ſhe always gave him the Repulſe.

This confirms the Falſeneſs of that Story which he brings to introduce his Letters; and, although ſhe is gone, and not in a Capacity to defend herſelf, yet the Woman, who, he ſays, walked with them, is alive, and doth affirm, it is not true; which is as followeth:

He ſays, It happened, one Evening, that Mrs. *Stout* and another, and Mr. *Marſhall* and he, were walking together; and, Mr. *Marſhall* and the other being a little before, ſhe took that Opportunity to ſpeak to him, in ſuch Terms, as he confeſſed it ſurpriſed him; and ſaid, She did not think he had been ſo dull. He deſiring to know wherein his Dulneſs did conſiſt, ſhe aſked, If he thought ſhe would marry *Marſhall*? He ſaid, Yes; elſe, ſhe had done ill in what ſhe had done. She ſaid, No; ſhe thought it might ſerve to divert the Cenſures of the World, and favour her Acquaintance with him.

This Diſcourſe, if it had been true, would have argued, that ſhe kept *Marſhall* Company, and made him believe ſhe would have him; whereas, it ſeems, ſhe had never ſeen him in all her Life but once, and that was but two or three Days before, and they were not ſo much acquainted then, as to ſpeak one to the other; and therefore there could be no Ground for ſuch Diſcourſe, if ſhe had walked alone with *S. Cowper*; which ſhe did not; for, the two young Women having been taking a Walk in the Field, as they were coming Home, they met *Spencer Cowper* and *Marſhall*; and they both turned, and walked back before, and the two young Women together behind them; and ſhe had no private Diſcourſe at all with *S. Cowper*; neither had they four any Walk together afterwards in the Field, or elſewhere.

Theſe Letters, which were uſhered in by this Diſcourſe, he would have it thought, that the Shewing of them was ſo tender a Point with him, and that he did it with ſo much Reluctancy and Compulſion, that nothing elſe ſhould have forced *him* to have brought them on the Stage, if he had not thoſe three innocent Gentlemen to defend (ſurely they had greatly obliged him:) And he ſolemnly proteſted, That, if he had ſtood there ſingly upon his own Life, on that Evidence, he would not have done it; when at the ſame Time, and with the ſame Breath, he himſelf proved it falſe: For he ſays, upon the Receiving of them, he ſhewed one to his Brother, and both to *Marſhall*, and they both ſaw it and read it; that was the laſt, the *Friday* before that Aſſize, when neither his own Life, nor his three Gentlemen's, was in any Danger; for ſhe was then alive. And, if there had been ſuch Letters of her's, he could not have ſhewed them to one that, in all Probability, would have expoſed or defamed her more than *Marſhall*, a repulſed Lover, a Kinſman of his Wife's, unto whom he endeavoured to betray her; who, upon ſome Slight or Diſguſt ſhe gave him, told *Spencer Cowper*, that, if he was his Friend, he would ſhoot her: This ſhe told both her own, and her Mother's Maid. And alſo, as

it is obſerved in the *Hertford* Letter, the Printers, who writ the Trial in Short-hand, not having taken thoſe Letters, were favoured with the Copies of them, to be expoſed to the World.

Then there was an Account given to the Judge, in the Court, of his Going to *Deptford*, and was ſaid to be told his Father at Dinner, in her Hearing, about a Year and a Half before; which put her into a Swoon; and the Uſe, that was made of this, was to render her as bad as poſſible, and make the World believe how deeply ſhe was in Love with him. But it is Matter of Admiration, to moſt that hear it, that he did not tell his Wife, as well as his Father and Brother, how fond ſhe was of him. If it had been true, ſurely that would have diverted her from Frequenting her Company, ſo often as ſhe did all that Summer following, as is before mentioned; which all the Neighbourhood can witneſs. If ſhe was ſuch a Perſon, as they now render her, Why did they ſeek and deſire her Company, as they did? For ſhe hath ſeveral Times ſaid, ſhe never ſought theirs.

And alſo, it is as much to be wondered at, that ſo chaſte a Man, as he would appear to be; and one in ſo flouriſhing a Condition, as he ſays he is; ſhould order his Wife to write, or have any Thoughts of Lodging at a Houſe, for Saving the Charge of a Guinea (for ſo he ſaid at his Trial, that his good Huſbandry, to ſave a Guinea, had brought all that Miſchief upon him) where ſo leud a Woman, as he would have her thought to be, did dwell: If he had been really invited, which, ſure enough, he was not, but invited himſelf; and ſo ſhe told her Mother before he came.

But it is plainly to be underſtood, that the Reſpect, ſhe had for him, was not as for one, that ſhe believed to be viciouſly inclined, but as for an honeſt Man, as appeared by the Truſt ſhe repoſed in him: And alſo his being related to that Family, whom ſhe, as well as her Relations, did ſo highly value and eſteem, that ſhe could have put not only her Money, but her Life, into any one of their Hands.

Note, She little thought what a Sort of Man ſhe had to deal with; ſhe was ſo deceived by his ſeeming Sobriety, when in her Company; and the great pretended Kindneſs to her, by him and his Wife, both for her own Sake and her Father's; ſhe could not imagine, that a Branch of that Family could have touched a Hair of her Head, to have hurt her, or have wronged her of one Farthing: She was ſo honeſt and plain-hearted, and ſo innocent herſelf, and ſo far from Deſerving any ill Uſage from him, or any of that Family, or indeed from any elſe, that ſhe, as well as her Relations, could have ſerved them to the utmoſt of their Power: But what Returns of Kindneſs have been made, and how ſhe hath been treated and defamed, now ſhe is gone, and not in a Capacity to defend or anſwer for herſelf, let the World judge.

But it is evident and plain, that moſt, or chiefly what he made Uſe of at his Trial, to defend himſelf and his three Gentlemen, when he was not upon his Oath, is proved falſe, even by what himſelf did ſwear, when he was examined by the Coroner's Inqueſt: For when they aſked him, If he knew any Thing that troubled, or put her into a Diſcontent, or diſcerned ſhe was melancholy, or knew any one ſhe was in Love with, or any Cauſe, why ſhe ſhould drown herſelf? Unto all which, he anſwered, No, upon his Oath; he diſcerned nothing of Melancholy, neither knew he any that ſhe was in Love with: He knew one *Marſhall* that was in Love with her, but ſhe had none for him, but always gave him the Repulſe; and ſhe was a very modeſt Woman, and he knew no Cauſe, why ſhe ſhould drown herſelf.

And yet, at his Trial, when both he and his Witneſſes pretended to know her to be ſo melancholy, as was near to a Diſtraction: And this Depth of Melancholy, he would inſinuate, was for Love of him; and therefore ſhe drowned herſelf.

Now, what can be more contradictory, or more fully prove that which he ſpoke at his Trial to be falſe, than this, which he himſelf did ſwear? And this was evidenced by two of the Coroner's Inqueſt, and ſeveral more would have done the ſame, if they had been ſuffered to ſpeak, but, as the Trial relates, they were ſtopped.

Many Obſervations might be made, and Inſtances given, to clear her Reputation, and to prove the Falſeneſs of what was caſt upon her: As in particular, her ſo earneſtly Inviting an Acquaintance of her's, who had kept her Company that Afternoon, and uſed to lie with her ſometimes, to ſtay and lie with her that Night, her Death was; and ſhe telling her, ſhe could not well ſtay then; ſhe engaged her to come

and

and dine with her the next Day, and told her, what was for Dinner; deſiring her Company, all Day after, ſhe not intending to go from Home; which ſhe promiſed to do.

And it is very obſervable, from the Beginning of the Trial to the End, what Shifts and Devices he is forced to make Uſe of, to drill out Time, that there might not be enough for Witneſſes on the other Side to be heard; and alſo, his Endeavouring to baffle the Evidence againſt him: As, Firſt, above twenty frivolous Queſtions he asked her Maid about Poiſon, which ſhe bought to poiſon a miſchievous Dog which haunted the Houſe: And, if he could, by any Means confuſe, or put her out, if ſhe had not had Truth on her Side, and gladly would have picked ſomething out of it, if he could have told what.

Alſo, the many impertinent Witneſſes he calls to prove his Intention to lodge at *Barford*'s, and Sending for his Bag thither, and Lodging his Things there, which it ſeems was not at all expected by them; for *John Barford*'s Wife ſaid, upon her Oath, She believed *Spencer Cowper* did not intend to lodge at her Houſe; but was ſurpriſed, when he ſent to her, between Eleven and Twelve o' Clock at Night, to get his Bed ready, and came before it was quite done.

And the next Night after, when he was ſent for by the Coroner's Inqueſt, to give an Account where he left her: He ſaid, in the Parlour where they ſat. And being asked, If he did not hear her bid her Maid warm his Bed? He ſaid, He thought ſhe had meant her own Bed. But it is very unlikely, that ſhe would go to Bed, and leave him ſitting there; or that, when he went out, ſhe ſhould ſit ſtill, and not light him to the Door. Now, for a Man of his Education and Figure in the World to go away at that Time of Night, when he knew there was a Fire in his Chamber, and his Bed was warming, and let himſelf out in the Dark (as he muſt, if he left her in the Parlour) and ſay nothing to any Body, it certainly looks very darkly.

And then, his Sending for his Horſe three Times, to her Mother's Houſe, the Night after her Death, before he was examined by the Coroner's Inqueſt, and would have gone out of Town then, if he could have had him, as he confeſſed to the Lord Chief Juſtice *Holt*; but, at his Trial, he ſaid, He ſent for him, for Fear the Lord of the Mannor ſhould ſeize him.

Alſo, when it was taken Notice of at his Trial, that he never came after that Night her Death was, to give her Mother any Account, where he left her, or, in any wiſe, to give her Satisfaction: To this he anſwered, It might be thought ſtrange for him to come and viſit a Woman, that he never had the leaſt Knowledge of; and yet he had ſeveral Times lodged at her Houſe, when her Huſband was living: And that Night alſo, that he was examined by the Coroner's Inqueſt, when they asked him, If he diſcerned her Daughter to be melancholy? He ſaid, No, only he thought ſhe was not ſo free in Diſcourſe at Dinner, as ſometimes he had ſeen her; for moſt of the Diſcourſe then was between her Mother and him. Surely, he will be hard put to it to reconcile himſelf in this Diſcourſe.

Thus in ſhort, upon the whole Matter, it may be concluded, that the Defence he made for himſelf, and his three Gentlemen, and the moſt material Things he made Uſe of, whereby they got off, and were acquitted, were proved falſe out of his own Mouth, before he went out of the Court, as it may be ſeen in the Trial, where the Counſellor for the King ſays thus:

'My Lord, ſaid he, we inſiſt upon it, that 'this is a different Evidence from what Mr. 'Cowper gave to the Coroner's Inqueſt; for 'then he ſaid, He knew none ſhe was in Love 'with; nor any Cauſe why ſhe ſhould do ſuch 'an extravagant Action, as to drown herſelf: 'But now he would make the whole Scheme 'of Things to turn upon a Love-Fit.' And then he moved the Court to give Leave to call ſeveral Perſons of Quality, and good Repute, who were there preſent, to ſpeak to her Reputation, in Contradiction to the Letters produced, declaring, That he believed the whole Town would do the ſame. Then the Judge ſaid, They would grant, and did not queſtion that. So there was no Proof, as to that Particular.

The

The Nine * Worthies of *London*: Explaining the honourable Exercise of Armes, the Vertues of the Valiant, and the memorable Attempts of magnanimous Minds; pleasant for Gentlemen, not vnseemely for Magistrates, and most profitable for Prentises. Compiled by *Richard Iohnson*. Imprinted at *London*, by *Thomas Orwin*, for *Humfrey Lownes*, and are to be sold at his Shop at the West Doore of *Paules*. 1592. In *Black Letter*. *Quarto*, containing forty-eight Pages.

To the Right Honourable Sir William Webbe, *Knight, Lord Maior of the famous Citie of* London, Richard Iohnson *wisheth Health, with Increase of Honour.*

BEING not altogether (Right Honorable) vnacquainted with the Fame of this wel gouerned Citie, the Heade of our *English* florishing Common Wealth, I thought nothing, considering it somewhat touched my Dutie, could be more acceptable to your Honour, then such Principles as first grounded the same, as well by domesticall Policie of Peace, as forraine Excellence in Resolution of Warre. This caused me to collect, from our *London* Gardens, such especiall Flowers, that sauoured as well in the Wrath of Winter, as in the Pride of Sommer, keeping one Equiuolence at all Kinde of Seasons: Flowers of Chiualrie, Right Honorable, I meane, some that haue sucked Honie from the Bee, Sweetnesse from Warre, and were possessed in that high Place of Prudence, wherof your Lordship now partaketh. Other some that haue beene more inferiour Members, and yet haue giuen especial Ayde to the Head, beene Buckler to the Best, and therby reached to the aspiring Toppe of Armes: If your Lordship shall but like of it, proceeding from the barren Braine of a poore Apprentice, that dare not promise Moulhils, much lesse Mountaines, I shall thinke this By-exercise, which I vndertooke to expell Idlenesse, a Worke of Worth, whatsoeuer the gentle cauld Kind, that are vrgently inkindled, shall with Ostentation inueigh. These, Right Honorable, the *Nine Worthies of* London, now vnable to defend themselues, seeke their Protection vnder your gracious Fauour; and the Authour pricked on by Fame to be patronaged for his willing Labour; whereof not misdoubting, I humbly commit your Honour to the Defence of Heauen, and the Guider of all iust Equalitie.

Your Lordships, in all humble Dutie to be commaunded,

Richard Iohnson.

* *Vide* the 270th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets.

To

To the Gentlemen Readers, as well Prentices as others.

ALL is not Gold, Gentlemen, that gliſters, nor all Droſſe that makes but a darke Shew; ſo ſhould Copper ſome Time be currant, and Pearles of no Price. Æſope, for all his Crutchback, had a quick Wit. Cleanthes, *though in the Night he caried the Watertankard, yet in the Day would diſpute with Philoſophers. A meane Man may look vpon a King, and a Wren build her Neſt by an Egle. In the Games of* Olympus *any Man might trie his Strength; and, when* Apelles *liued, others were not forbid to paint: So, Gentlemen, though now a Dayes many great Poets flouriſh, from whoſe eloquent Workes you take both Pleaſure and Profite; yet, I truſt, Inferiours, whoſe Pens dare not compare with* Apellos, *ſhall not be contemned, or put to Silence. Euery Weede hath his Vertue, and ſtudious Trauaile, though without Skill, may manifeſt good Will. Vouchſafe then Intertainment to this new come Gueſt; his ſimple Truth ſhewes he is without Deceyte, and his plaine Speech proues he flatters not. He can not boaſt of Art, nor claime the Priuiledge of ſcholaſticall Cunning; what he ſayth is not curious, being without any great Præmeditation, or Practiſe, more then his neceſſarie Affaires would permit. If his vnpolliſhed Diſcourſes may merit the leaſt Motion of your good Liking, let the Enuious fret, and the Captious Malice melt themſelues: Neither the Obiection of Mechanicall, by ſuch as are themſelues diabolicall, whoſe vicious Baſeneſſe in a ſelfe Conceyte, preſuming aboue the Beſt, is in Deede but the Dregges and Refuſe of the Worſt, nor the Reproch of prouerbiall Scoffes (as,* Ne ſutor ultra crepidam) *ſhall diſcorage me from proceeding to inuent how further to content you. And ſo, truſting to my Fortune, and ending in my Hap, neither diſpairing of your Cenſures, nor fearing what the Maleuolent can inflict.*

Yours to commaund, as he may,

RICHARD IOHNSON.

A Catalogue, or briefe Table, declaring the Names of theſe worthie Men, and when they liued.

FIRST, *Sir* William Walworth, *Fiſhmonger, in the Time of* Richard the Second.

Second, *Sir* Henrie Pitchard, *Vintener, in the Time of* Edward the Third.

Third, *Sir* William Seuenoake, *Grocer, in the Time of* Henrie the Fift.

Fourth, *Sir* Thomas White, *Marchant-tailer, in the Time of Queene* Marie.

Fift, *Sir* Iohn Bonham, *Mercer, in the Time of* Edward the Firſt.

Sixt, *Sir* Chriſtopher Croker, *Vintener, in the Time of* Edward the Third.

Seuenth, *Sir* Iohn Haukwood, *Marchant-tailer, in the Time of* Edward the Third.

Eight, *Sir* Hugh Cauerley, *Silke-weauer, in the Time of* Edward the Third.

Ninth, *Sir* Henrie Maleueret, *Grocer, in the Time of* Henrie the Fourth.

WHAT Time *Fame* began to feather her ſelfe to flie, and was winged with the laſting Memorie of martiall Men, the Oratours ceaſt perſwaſiue Orations, the Poets neglected the Pleaſures of their Poems, and *Pallas* her ſelf would haue Nothing painted vpon her Shield but Mottoes of *Mars*, and ſhort Emblemes in Honour of noble Atchiuements. Then the Aſhes of auncient Victors, without Scruple or Diſdaine, had Sepulture in rich and golden Monuments; and they, that reacht the Height of Honour by worthie Deedes, had their former Baſeneſſe ſhadowed by Deſerts. *Fame*, then fearing that her Honour would faint, and her Armour ruſt (for,

(for though ſhe fauoured all Profeſſions, yet ſhe chiefly dignified Armes) on a ſodaine, mounted into the Ayre, and neuer ſtayed the Swiftneſſe of her flying Courſe, vntill ſhe pitched her Feete vpon *Parnaſſus* forked Toppe, whoſe ſpringing Lawrels gaue Shade and Shelter to her Wearineſſe. This was the fruitfull Place where ſhe plotted her flowrie Garlands, to crown the Temples of vertuous Followers, and Wreathes of Renowne to illuſtrate vndaunted Courages. Here, likewiſe, remained her chiefe Secretaries, the ix. Muſes, as in a Seate of moſt Pleaſure beſt befitting their Diuine Perfections, whoſe neceſſarie Aydes ſhe alwayes craued, when Occaſion miniſtred any Thing worthy Record; and, though the wholeſome Freſhneſſe of the Ayre, the Greeneneſſe of the Valleys, the comfortable Odours of ſundry Sorts of Flowers, the Pride and Bewtie of the Trees, the harmonious Layes of Nightingales and other Birds, the variable Delights of artificiall Bowers, and the muſicall Murmures of Chriſtall running Fountains, might wel haue inchaunted the rougheſt Cynick, or crabbeſt Malecontent, to cheare vp his Spirits, and baniſh melancholy Paſſions; yet this Goddeſſe, pretending Buſineſſe of Importance, had ſuch a Care to effect it, as that ſhe would not be ouercome with Pleaſure, nor yeeld to Eaſe (though, in Reaſon, her laborious Trauell did require Reſt) but painfully paſſing vp and downe, was not moued with the one, nor maiſtred with the other. At laſt, as her buſie Eye pried euery Way, ſhe eſpied a Path of Violets, whoſe Tops were preſſed downe with the Steps of ſuch as had lately paſſed that Way; by this, ſhe coniectured the Nymphes were not farre off, and, therefore, following the Tract their Feete had made vpon the Flowers, ſhe was quickly brought to the Head of *Hellicon*, where, in an Arbour of Eglantine, and damaſke Roſe-trees, one twiſted ſo cunningly within another, as hard it was to iudge, whether Nature or Arte had beſtowed moſt to the Bewtifying of that Bower. She found the Muſes euery one ſeriouſly applying their ſeuerall Exerciſes, whom, when they ſaw (hauing ſaluted her with a dutifull Reuerence) ſtoode attentiue (being well aſſured her Comming was not without Cauſe) what Charge ſhe would giue, or what ſhee would commaund to be regiſtred. To whome *Fame*, to the Intent they might not long bee in Suſpence about her ſodaine Approch, as well, for that her Buſineſſe was impatient of Delay, as to reſolue their earneſt Expectation, ſpake in this Manner:

You need not muſe, gracious Nurces of Learning, at my Preſence in this Place, becauſe I vſe not oftentimes to viſit you, nor trouble your Minds with ambiguous Imaginations concerning my Purpoſe, ſince I ſeldome craue your Furtherance but for memorable Accidents; notwithſtanding, for the Varietie of Matter requires not alwayes one Forme, and ſtill, with Proceſs of Time, as Mens Maners change, our Method alters, you ſhall perceyue I am not now to begin, but to reuiue what Ignorance in Darknes ſeemes to ſhadow, and hatefull Obliuion hath almoſt rubbed out of the Booke of Honour. It is not of Kinges and mightie Potentates, but ſuch whoſe Vertues made them great, and whoſe Renowne ſprung not of the Noblenes of their Birth, but of the notable Towardneſſe of their well qualified Mindes, aduaunced not with loftie Titles, but prayſed for the Triall of their heroycal Truthes: Of theſe muſt you indite, who, though their States were but meane, yet dooth their worthy Proweſſe match Superiours, and therefore haue I named them *Worthies*. Nine were they in Number, their Countrie *England*, the Citie they liued in famous *London*, famous in Deede for ſuch Men, and yet forgetful to celebrate the Remembrance of their Names, and negligent, I may ſay, in Performing the like Attempts, hauing, for Imitation, ſuch goodly Preſidents as theſe to ſupplie them that want, with Wiſdome, and with better Inſtruction. I am determined to diſcourſe againe what I haue often bruted, thereby to ſtirre vp Sluggards, and to giue ſecure Worldlings to vnderſtande (who extend no further then for Wealth, and whoſe Hearts ſuppoſe a Heape of Coine the greateſt Happines) that the Cenſure of Honour ought to increaſe, when as, by Subſtance, they ariſe to Authoritie, and none ſo abiect but may be made a Subiect of Glorie and Magnanimitie, if ſo thereunto they will bend their Endeuours.

For Performance hereof, I know my Theame ſo large and copious, as all your Wits might, in Generall, be imployed to dilate and expreſſe the ſame, yet only *Clio* ſhall be ſufficient, whome alone I make Choiſe off, the rather, becauſe it chiefly concernes hir: And, ſo beckning towards her with her Head, made an End of her Speach.

She

She had no ſooner ſayd, but all the reſt, as ſatisfied in that they deſired to know, preſently caſt down their Lookes, that were before ſtedfaſtly fixed vpon the Browes of *Fame*, and began to turne to their Labours, which, all this While, by Reaſon of her Talke, they had intermitted; onely *Clio*, claſping vp her Booke of famous Hyſtories, and, taking her golden Pen in Hand, roſe from the Seate where ſhe ſate, and, leauing her Sifters with due Reuerence, was readie to folow *Fame* where ſo euer ſhe would conduct her.

At the Doore of the Enterance into the Arbour, there ſtoode a ſilver Chariout drawne by the Force of *Pegaſus*, which *Fame*, of Purpoſe, had prouided, becauſe *Clio* therein might the better keepe Wing with her. Into the which ſhe was no ſooner mounted, but ſtraightway, as ſwift as the burning Dartes of *Iupiter*, they made their Paſſage through the ſubtle Ayre, vntill they ſoared over the hollow Vault, through which the Way leadeth down to the Rule of vnder Earth; there *Clio* pulled her Rayne, and, with a headlong Fall, according to her Guides Direction, neuer ſtaid vntill the ſteely Houes of *Pegaſus* did beate againſt the Gates of *Tartara*, where, being receyved in, they left the crooked thornie Way ſmoking with Sulpher, and neuer ceaſing contagious Vapours, and kept directly on the other Side, which delighted their Eyes with ſo many glorious Sights, that, before they knew it, they were arriued vnder the *Elyſian* Shades; where, when the Goddes had remained a While, diſcourſing with her Companion the ſeuerall Habitations, as that of Louers in ſweete Groues of Muſke ſhe ſpide, at laſt, the Place where *Electrum* growes, ſweetned continually with burning Baulme Boughes, with which braue Souldiours, and warlike Cauilliers, cured their ranck Scarres. There did ſhe ſhake her bright immortall Wings, and with the melodious Noyſe, and with the ſweet Breath was fanned from thoſe Phœnix Feathers, ſhe awaked nine comely Knights, that, Arme in Arme, vpon a greene Banke, ſtrewed with Roſe Buddes, had laid their conquering Heads to reſt in Peace.

This, quoth ſhe, is the fartheſt End of our Iourney; here muſt we take our Stations for a While, and thoſe whom thou ſeeſt elevating their Bodies from the Ground, from whoſe Browes ſparkle Gleames of immortall Glorie, are the nine worthy Champions I told you of, whom, as by my Power, I haue awaked; ſo will I cauſe to ſpeake and declare their owne Fortunes, onely be thou attentiue, and ſet down with thy Pen what thou ſhalt heare them ſpeake; and ſo comming to the firſt, which was a tall aged Man, his Haire as white as Snow, vpon his Backe a Scarlet Robe, his Temples bound about with Baulme, and, in his Hand, a bright ſhining Blade: She toucht his Lippes with her Finger, and ſtraightway his Tongue began to vtter theſe Words:

Sir William Wallworth, *Fiſhmonger, ſometime Maior of* London.

WHAT I ſhall ſpeake, ſuppoſe it is not vaine,
Nor think Ambition tunes my ſounding Voyce,
It bootes not Clay, to ſtand on glorious Gaine;
An other Place bereaues vs of that Choyce:
For when the Pompe of earthlie Pleaſures gon,
Our Goaſts lie buried vnderneath a Stone.

Nor, when I liu'd, carpt I at *Phœbus* Light,
My Deedes did paſſe, without comparing Pride;
Who ſhone the leaſt (mee thought apear'd more bright)
I wiſht it ſecret, what the World diſcride,
Nor would now ſhewe (fayre Goddeſſe but for thee)
The Charge beſeemes an other, and not mee.

To ouerpaſſe then, how I was inſtaul'd,
To weare the purple Robe of Maieſtrate,
It ſhall ſuffice I ſu'de not, but was calde;
Of Fortunes Gifts, let baſer Minds relate:
In ſuch a Time, it was my Chaunce to ſway,
When Riches quaild, and Vertue wonne the Day.

In *Richards* Raygne, *the Second* of that Name,
Of *Londons* Weale, Liefetenant to his Grace,
Wallworth was chose vnworthie of the same,
Within his Hand to beare the Cities Mace:
To Fishmongers, the Honour did redownd,
Whose Brotherhood was my Preferments Grownd.

These were not Dayes of Peace, but broyling Warre,
Dissention spred her Venom through the Land,
And stird the Prince and Subiect to a Iarre;
Hated Loue, Rigor, Dutie did withstand:
In such a Tempest of vnbridled Force,
As manie lost their Liues, without Remorse.

For by a Taxe, the King requirde to haue,
The Men of *Kent* and *Essex* did rebell;
Their first Decree concluded none to saue.
But hauocke all, a heauie Tale to tell:
And so, when they were gatherde to a Head,
Towards *London*, were these graceless Rebells ledd.

What Spoyle they made in Countries as they came,
How they did rob, and tyrranize in Pride,
The Widowes Cries were Patterns of their Shame,
And sanguin Streames of Infants Blood beside:
For like the Sea, when it hath caught a Breach,
So rusht these Traytors, past Compassions Reach.

So desperate was their Rage, as they preuailde,
And entered the Citie by the Sword;
The *Towre* Wals were mightely assayld,
And Prisoner, there, made headless at a Word:
Earles Manner Houses were by them destroyd,
The *Sauoy*, and S. *Iones*, by *Smithfeeld* spoyld.

All Men of Law, that fell into their Hands,
They left them breathless, weltering in their Blood;
Ancient Records were turn'd to Firebrands,
Anie had Fauour, sooner then the Good:
So stout these Cutthrotes were in their Degree,
That Noblemen must serue them on their Knee.

In Burning and in Slaughter long they toyld,
That made the King and all his Traine agast;
Such Rancour had their Stomackes ouerboyld,
They hopte to get the Soueraignitie at last:
In deede his Maiestie was young in Yeares,
Which brought Distresse to him, and to his Peeres.

Yet with a loyal Guard of Bils and Bowes,
Collected of our tallest Men of Trade,
I did protect his Person from his Foes,
Where there Presumption trembled to inuade:
It yerkt my Soule, to see my Prince abusde,
In whose Defence, no Danger I refusde.

In these Extreames it was no boote to fight,
The Rebells marched with so huge an Host;
The King crau'd Parley, by a noble Knight,
Of sterne *Wat Tyler*, Ruler of the Rost:
A Countrie Boore, a goodlie proper Swayne,
To put his Countrie to such wretched Payne.

This Rustick scoft, at first, the Kings Request,
Yet, at the last, he seem'd to giue Consent;
Aleaging he would come when he thought best:
T'is well (quoth he) is all their Courage spent:
Ile make them on their bended Knees intreat,
Or cast their Bodies in a bloodie Sweat.

Begin

Begirt with Steele, our Gownes were laid apart,
Age hindred not, though feeble were my Joynts;
T'would make a fearfull Coward take a Heart,
When Prince oppreſt a Countries Cauſe appoynts:
Who would refuſe, and Death, or grieuous Paine,
To follow him that is his Soueraygne.

The Place appoynted where to meete theſe Mates
(That like audatious Peſſants did prepare,
As if their Calling did concerne high States,
With braſen Lookes, deuoyd of awfull Care)
Was *Smithfeeld*, where his Maieſty did ſtay,
An Howre ere theſe Rebels found the Way.

At laſt the Leaders of that brutiſh Rowt,
Jacke Straw, *Wat Tiler*, and a Number more,
Aproacht the Place, with ſuch a yelling Showt,
As ſeldome had the like been heard before:
The King ſpake faire, and bad them lay downe Armes,
And he would pardon all their former Harmes.

But as fierce Lions are not tam'd with Words,
Nor ſauage Monſters conquered but by Force;
So Gentleneſſe vnſhethes a Traitors Sword,
And fayre Perſwaſions makes the Wicked worſe:
His Clemencie prouoakt, and not diſmaide,
Becauſe of them they thought the King affraide.

And, as a Witneſſe of their inward Vice,
Their Tongues beganne to taunt in ſawſie Sort;
Obedience bluſht, and Honour loſt her Price,
A modeſt Shame forbids the fowle Report:
How Preſumption made theſe Caitifes ſwell,
As if the Diuels did bellow foorth of Hell.

Their loathſome Talkes inkindle Angers Fire,
And fretting Paſſions made my Sinewes ſhake,
T'was Death to me to ſee the Baſe aſpire,
Such Woundes would Men in deadlie Slumber wake.
Yet I refrainde, my Betters were in Place,
It were no Maners Nobles to diſgrace.

But, when I ſaw the Rebells Pride encreaſe,
And none controll and counterchecke their Rage;
T'were Seruice good (thought I) to purchaſe Peace,
And Malice of contentious Brags aſſwage:
With this Conceyt, all Feare had taken Flight,
And I alone preſt to the Traitors Sight.

Their Multitude could not amaze my Minde,
Their bloudie Weapons did not make me ſhrinke;
True Valour hath his Conſtancie aſſignde,
The Eagle at the Sunne will never winke:
Amongſt their Troupes, incenſt with mortall Hate,
I did areſt *Wat Tiler* on the Pate.

The Stroke was giuen with ſo good a *Will*,
It made the Rebell coutch vnto the Earth;
His Fellowes that beheld (t'is ſtrange) were ſtill,
It mard the Maner of their former Mirth:
I left him not, but, ere I did depart,
I ſtabd my Dagger to his damned Heart.

The reſt, perceiving of their Captaine ſlaine,
Soone terrified did caſt their Weapons downe;
And like to Sheepe began to flie amaine,
They durſt not looke on Iuſtice dreadfull Frowne:
The King purſude, and we were not the laſt,
Till Furie of the Fight were ouerpaſt.

Thus were the mangled Parts of Peace recurde,
The Princes falling State by Right defended;
From Common weale all Miſchiefe quite abiurde,
With Loue and Dutie Vertue was attended:

And for that Deed, that Day before t'was Night,
My King in Guerdon dubbed me a Knight.

Nor ceaſt he ſo to honour that Degree,
A coſtly Hat his Highneſſe likewiſe gaue,
That *Londons* Maintenance might euer be;
A Sword alſo he did ordaine to haue,
That ſhould be caried ſtill before the Maior,
Whoſe Worth deſerude Succeſſion to that Chaire.

This much in Age when Strength of Youth was ſpent,
Hath *Wallworth* by vnwonted Valour gaind;
T'was all he fought, his Countrey to content,
Succeſſe hath Fortune for the Iuſt ordaind:
And, when he died, this Order he began,
Lord Maiors are Knights, their Office being done.

Worthily had this Father of his Countrey the formoſt Place in this Diſcourſe, whoſe valerous Attempts may be a Light to all enſuing Ages, to lead them in the Darkeneſſe of all troubleſome Times, to the Reſurrection of ſuch a conſtant Affection, as will not faulter or refuſe any Perill to profite his Countrey, and purchaſe Honour. Such was his Deſert, as euen then when good Men diſpaired of their Safetie, and the verie Pillars of the Common wealth tottered, his Courage redeemed the one, and vnderpropped the other: Martialiſts and Patrones of Magnanimitie trembled at that, which he beyond all Expectation aduentured. Let Enuie, therefore, retract the Malice of her bliſtring Tongue, which heretofore (and now not a litle) ſtriueth, by her Contentions and ripening Nature, to obſcure the Brightneſſe of their Praiſe, and ſcoffe at their ingenious Diſpoſitions, whoſe Education promiſeth ſmall: But yet, when Occaſion hath required, haue performed more then they whoſe Brags haue vapord to the Clouds. I wiſh the like Minde, and the like Loyaltie, in all thoſe that make the Citie the Nurſe of their Liues, and Subiect of their Fortunes, that *London* may continue ſtil that Credite, to be called, the *Great Chamber of her Kings*, and the *Key of her Countreys Bliſſe*. But to proceede, *Fame* hauing marked the Grauitie, Eloquence, and Orator-like Geſture of this good Knight, during the Continuance of his Talke, was ſo well pleaſed as ſhe vowed to erect his Statue, where, in Spight of all contrarious and maleuolent Blaſts of Vertues Carpers, it ſhould ſtande immoueable; and *Clio*, that had pend his Speach, grieued ſhe had not Leyſure (as ſhe deſired, and he deſerued) to ſet down his Actions in better and more ample Maner: For alreadie another of the Knightly Crew ſtood vp readie to delate what *Fame* expected; therefore, ſhe was forced to let it ſomewhat rawly paſſe, hoping that the Excellency of the Matter would excuſe the Rudeneſſe of the Rime.

The next, being a Man whom Nature had likewiſe bewtified with the Colour and Badge of Wiſedome and Authoritie, as one on whom a greater Power then *Fortunes* faigned Deitie had beſtowed the Fulneſſe of worldly Treaſure and Heavens Perfection, beganne accordingly to frame his Tale:

Sir Henrie Pitchard, *Knight.*

THE Potter tempers not the maſſie Golde,
A meaner Subſtance ſerues his ſimple Trade;
His Workemanſhip conſiſtes of ſlimie Molde,
Where any plaine Impreſſion ſoone is made:
His *Pitchards* haue no outward glittering Pompe,
As other Mettels of a finer Stampe.

Yet for your Vſe as wholſome as the reſt,
Though their Beginning be but homely found;
And ſometime they are taken for the beſt,
If that be precious that is alwayes found:
From Gould corrupting Poyſons do infect,
Where earthen Cups are free from all Suſpect.

So Cenſure of the *Pitchard* you behould,
Whoſe Glorie ſpringes not of his lowlie Frame;

Though

Though he be Clay, he may compare with Gould,
His Properties nere felt reproachfull Shame:
For, when I firſt drew Breath vpon the Earth,
My Mind did beawtifie Creations Byrth.

I dare not ſing of *Mars* his bloodie Scarres,
It is a Stile too high for my Conceipt;
Yet in my Youth I ſerued in the Warres,
And followde him that made his Foes entreat:
Edward the Third, the Phœnix of his Time,
For Life and Prowes ſpotted with no Crime.

From *France* returnd, ſo well I thriu'd at Home,
As by Permiſſion of celeſtiall Grace;
I roſe by that, Men termd blind *Fortunes* Dome,
To ſuch a loftie Dignitie of Place:
As by Election then it did appeare,
I was Lord Maior of *London* for a Yeare.

I vſde not my Promotion with Diſdaine,
Nor ſuffred Heapes of Coyne to fret with Ruſt;
I knewe the Ende of ſuch a noble Gaine,
And ſaw that Riches were not giuen for Luſt:
But for Reliefe and Comfort of the Poore,
Againſt the Straunger not to ſhut my Doore.

I could repeate perhaps ſome liberall Deedes,
But that I feare Vaine-glories bitter Checke;
His Plenties want, his Harueſt is but Weedes,
That doth in Wordes his proper Goodneſſe decke:
It ſhall ſuffice, *he hath them in Recorde*,
That *keepes in* Store his Stewards juſt Reward.

Yet, for Aduauncement of faire *Londons* Fame,
I will omit one principall Regarde;
That ſuch as heare may imitate the ſame,
When Auarice by Bountie ſhall be barde:
Rich Men ſhould thinke of Honour more then Pelfe,
I liu'd as well for others as my ſelfe.

When, *Edward* triumpht for his Victories,
And helde three Crownes within his conquering Hand,
He brought rich Trophies from his Enemies,
That were erected in this happie Land:
We all reioyc'd, and gaue our God the Praiſe,
That was the Authour of thoſe fortunate Dayes.

And as from *Douer*, with the Prince his Sonne,
The King of *Cypres*, *France*, and *Scots* did paſſe,
All captive Priſoners to this mightie one,
Fiue-thouſand Men, and I the Leader was:
All well preparde, as to defend a Fort,
Went foorth to welcome him in Martiall Sort.

The Riches of our Armour, and the Coſt,
Each one beſtowd in Honour of that Day,
Were here to be expreſt but Labour loſt,
Silke Coates and Chaines of Golde bare little Sway:
And thus we marcht accepted of our King,
To whom our Comming ſeemd a gracious Thing.

But, when the Citie pearde within our Sights,
I crau'd a boune Submiſſe vpon my Knee:
To haue his Grace, thoſe Kings, with Earles and Knights,
A Day or two to banquet it with me:
The King admirde, yet thankefully replide,
Vnto thy Houſe both I and theſe will ride.

Glad was I that ſo I did preuaile,
My Heart reuiud, my Parts, me thought, were young;
For Cheare and ſumptuous Coſt no Coine did faile,
And he that talkt of Sparing did me Wrong:
Thus, at my proper Charge I did retaine
Foure Kings, one Prince, and all their royall Traine.

Yet, lo, this Pompe did vaniſh in an Houre,
There is no Truſting to a broken Staffe;
Mans carefull Life doth wither like a Flower,
The Deſtenies do ſtroy what we do graffe:
For all his Might, my Gold wherewith I pleaſde,
Death tooke vs both, and would not be appeaſde.

Of all there now remaines no more but this,
What Vertue got by toyling Labours Paine,
To ſhrine our ſpotleſſe Soules in heauenlie Bliſſe,
Till to our Bodies they returne againe:

What

What elſe we find is vaine and worthleſſe Droſſe,
And greateſt Getting but the greateſt Loſſe.

After that *Clio* had writ what this famous Knight had tolde, ſhe no little wondred at his modeſt Audacitie. Therefore, ſhe ſayde this to *Fame*: Renowned Goddeſſe, Enemie to the fatall Siſters, and onely Friend to the good Deſeruers; it were beſeeming thy Excellencie to proceede altogither with the honourable Acts of theſe memorable Men, and onely touch their vertuous Endeuours; whereunto the Goddeſſe condiſcended: And, ſeeing another lift vp his Head, as if he were deſirous to ſpeake, *Fame* heartned him on with ſmiling Countenance to ſay as followeth:

Sir William Seauenoake.

MY harmeleſſe Byrth Miſfortune quite contemd,
And, from my Pappe, did make my Youth a Pray;
So ſcarcely budd, my Branches were vnſtemd,
My Byrth Howre was Deathes black and gloomie Day:
Had not the Higheſt ſtretched forth his Might,
The Breake of Day had beene the darkeſt Night.

Some Monſter that did enuie Natures Worke
(When I was borne in *Kent*) did caſt me foorth
In deſert Wildes, where, though no Beaſt did lurke
To ſpoyle that Life, the Heavens made for Woorth:
Vnder ſeauen Oakes yet Miſchiefe flung me downe,
Where I was found and brought vnto a Towne.

Behold an Ebbe that neuer thought to flowe,
Behold a Fall unlikelie to recouer;
Behold a Shrub, a Weed, that grew full lowe,
Behold a Wren that neuer thought to houer:
Behold yet how the Higheſt can commaund,
And make a Sand Foundation firmelie ſtand.

For when my Infants Time induſte more Yeares,
After ſome Education in the Schoole,
And ſome Diſcretion in my ſelfe appeares,
With Labor to be taught with manuall Toole:
To learne to liue, to *London* thus being found,
Apprentiſe to a Groſer I was bound.

To pleaſe the honeſt Care my Maſter tooke,
I did refuſe no Toyle nor drudging Payne;
My Hands no Labor euer yet forſooke,
Whereby I might encreaſe my Maſters Gayne:
Thus *Seuenoake* liud, for ſo they calde my Name,
Till Heauen did place mee in a better Frame.

In Time my Prentiſe Yeares were quite expirde,
And then *Bellona*, in my homelie Breſt,
My Countries Honour with her Flames had firde,
And for a Souldior made my Fortune preſt.
Henry the Fift my King did warre with *France*,
Then I with him his Right to readvance.

There did couragious Men with Loue compare,
And ſtriue, by Armes, to get their Prince Renowne;
There ſillie I like thirſty Soule did fare,
To drink their Fill would venter for to drowne:
Then did the Height of my inhaunſt Deſire
Graunt me a little Leafure to aſpire.

The Dolphyne then of *France*, a comelie Knight,
Diſguiſed, came by Chaunce into a Place,
Where I, well wearied with the Heate of Fight,
Had layd me downe, for Warre had ceaſt his Chace,
And, with reproachfull Words, as layzie Swaine,
He did ſalute me ere I long had layne.

I, knowing

I, knowing that he was mine Enemie,
A bragging *French-man*, for we tearmd them ſo,
Ill brookt the proud Diſgrace he gaue to me,
And, therefore, lent the Dolphyne ſuch a Blowe,
As warmd his Courage well to lay about,
Till he was breathleſſe, though he were ſo ſtout.

At laſt the noble Prince did aſke my Name,
My Birth, my Calling, and my Fortunes paſt,
With Admiration he did heare the fame,
And ſo a Bagge of Crownes to me he caſt;
And, when he went away, he ſaide to mee,
Seauenoake be prowd the Dolphyne fought with thee.

When *Engliſh* had obtainde the Victorie,
We croſſed backe the grudging Seas againe,
Where all my Friends ſuppoſed Warre to be,
For Vice and Follie, Virtues onelie Bane:
But ſee the Simple how they are deceaude,
To iudge that Honour, Honour hath bereaud.

For, when my Souldiors Fame was laid aſide,
To be a Groſer once againe I framde;
And he which rules above my Steps did guide,
That through his Wealth *Seuenoake* in Time was famde.
To be Lord Maior of *London* by Degree,
Where Iuſtice made me ſway with Equitie.

Gray Haires made Period vnto Honours Call,
And froſtie Death had furrowed in my Face
Colde Winter Gaſhes, and to Sommers Fall,
And fainting Nature left my mortall Place;
For with the Date of Fleſh my Life decayde,
And *Seuenoake* dide; for every Flower muſt fade.

By Teſtament in *Kent* I built a Towne,
And briefly calde it *Seauenoake*, from my Name;
A free Schoole to ſweete Learning, to Renowne,
I placde for thoſe that playde at Honours Game;
Both Land and Liuing to that Towne I gaue,
Before I tooke Poſſeſſion of my Graue.

Thither I bare my Fleſh, but leaue my Fame,
To be a Preſident for *London* Wights;
And you, that now behold fair Vertues Maime,
Thinke he is happie for his Countrey fights:
For, for my Guerdon to this pleaſant Field,
My Carkas did my dying Spirit yeeld.

By that Time this famous Man had thus innobled his Name by telling his Nature, the pitifull and louely Muſe had delated at large his eternall Honour, hauing, in no Part, beene nigardly of his prodigall Prayſe: But, *Fame* diſmiſſing him to his former Reſt, hard by a ſtill ſiluer Streame that beate warbling Ecchoes into the vaultie Bankes, whereas deceaſſed Sea-nymphes vſe to ſport, preſſing his manlike Paulme vpon the Ground, he bent his comelie Bodie to the Earth; where, not as poſſeſſed with Heauineſſe, but with Paradice-like Ioy, he ſafely and ſweetely repoſed his comely Limbes; like as the woonted Martialiſts of former Memorie were accuſtomed to doe, when, returning from hot encountred Broyles, they vnbuckled their ſteeld Encloſures to enioy the freſh and delightſome Breath of Peace. There they, that woonted to be of *Pans* muſical Parliament, fayre Forreſters and carrolling Sheepheards, delighted; and, almoſt inchaunted with this Champions Storie, thought to preſent him with ſome ſhort Recreation; therefore, vpon a Buſh of Juniper Brambles, where *Philomelie* had ſet her ſpeckled Breaſt, they all at once did beate with ſiluer Wings; then from this ſweete ſauouring Thicket rowſed the tripping Deare, and after them the nimble footed Fawne, wreſtling together, once ouertaken with pleaſing and delectable Sport, rubbing their horned Browes vpon their ſweete twined Bowers; this did they do in Fauour of his Birth, being committed to their Gouernments, before his Mothers Milke had made him blithe.

This Paſtime put the famous *Seuenoake* in Minde of his Beginning, how Nature firſt had inniciated her Worke in Miſerie, and ended it in Miracles, not arguing herein her vnconſtant Kinde, but her prouident Foreſight to withſtand the Miſchiefe of all Misfortunes; and, whileſt *Fame*, with her admiring Muſe, was buſied in poſing the reſt, this meritorious Man did pleaſe himſelfe with this Poem:

Where

Where Fortune had her Birth the Sunne ſate downe,
Yet gaue no liuing Glorie to the Childe;
She grew, and gaue the God a golden Crowne,
It pleaſed him not, for he was euer milde;
Yet drew ſhe Diſpoſition from his Throne,
That, without her, no Wight can moue alone.

Then he betook him to his former Meditation, from whom he was firſt awaked; when another Knight of that aduaunced Crew was by Fame aſſigned to ſpeake, called, Sir *Thomas White*, the Goddeſſe cleaped him, who lifting vp his aged Limmes, yet not decayed, ſayd as followeth:

Sir Thomas White.

WHITE is my Name, and Milke white are my Haires,
White were my Deedes, though vaine is proper Praiſe,
White for my Countrey were my kind Affayres,
White was the Rule, that meaſurd all my Dayes:
Yet blacke the Mould, that coutcht me in my Graue,
By which more pure my preſent State I haue.

I cannot ſing of Armes, and Blood-red Warres,
Nor was my Colour mixt with *Mars* his Hew;
I honour thoſe that ended Countrey Iarres,
For therein Subiects ſhew, that they are trew:
But priuately at Home I ſhewde my ſelfe,
To be no Louer of vaine worldly Pelfe.

My Deedes haue Tongues to ſpeake, though I ſurceaſe,
My Orators the Learned ſtriue to bee,
Becauſe, I twined Paulmes in Time of Peace,
And gaue ſuch Gifts, that made faire Learning free:
My Care did build them Bowers of ſweet Content,
Where many Wiſe their golden Time haue ſpent.

A Noyſe of gratefull Thankes within mine Eares,
Deſcending from their Studies (glads my Heart)
That I began to wiſh with priuate Teares,
There liued more that were of *Whites* Deſert:
But now I looke, and ſpie that Time is balde,
And *Vertue* comes not, being ſeldome calde.

But ſith I am awaked not to waile,
But to vnfolde to *Fame* my former Life;
I muſt on forward with my ſingle Tale,
For Sorrow will but breake the Heart with Strife:
White is no Warriour (as I ſayd before)
Nor entred euer into Daungers Doore.

The *Engliſh* Cities, and incorporate Townes,
Doe bear me witneſſe of my Countreys Care;
Where yearely I doe feede the Poore with Crownes,
For I was neuer Niggard yet to ſpare:
And all chief Burrowes of this bleſſed Land
Haue ſomewhat taſted of my liberall Hand.

He, that did lend to me the Grace of Wealth,
Did not beſtow it for to choake with Store;
But to maintaine the needie Poore in Health,
By which Expence my Wealth encreaſed more:
The Oyle of Gladneſſe euer chear'd my Hart,
Why ſhould I not then pitie others Smart?

Lord Maior of *London* I was calde to bee,
And Iuſtice Ballance bare with vpright Hand;
I iudg'd all Cauſes right in each Degree,
I neuer partiall in the Law did ſtand:
But, as my Name was *White*, ſo did I ſtriue
To make my Deedes, whileſt yet I was aliue.

But

But my prefixed Fate had twinde my Thread,
And White it was, and therefore beſt ſhe likt it;
She ſet her Web, within a Loome of Lead,
And with her Baulme of Grace ſhe ſweetely dight it:
And with Conſent her Sifters gaue this Grace,
That *White* ſhould keepe his Colour in this Place.

When this aged Knight had peaceably (obſeruing *Decorum* with his paſſed State) tolde his plaine and vnpoliſhed Tale, in all Points like himſelfe, clothed with the Faſhion of his Minde, vpon a Bed of Lillies hee layde him downe, whoſe Colour, anſwerable to his ſnowie Beard, made them take eſpeciall Delight in the Simpathie of their Qualitie. Then ſayde *Clio*, Thou faire and ſwift Foote Goddeſſe, winged with the Doue, and eyed with the Eagle, let me bee boldned (with thy Fauour) to demaunde one Queſtion, Which of all this noble Companie ſhall next dilate his Life? Sweete Muſe (quoth *Fame*) this Knight, pointing to Sir *Iohn Bonham*, ſometimes Apprentice to a Marchant in *London*. Your Deitie, ſayde *Clio*, then (vnder Correction) will miſtake the Placing. For this Gallant liued in *England*, in the Time of *Edward the Firſt*, and we are alreadie come downe, ſo farre as Queene *Marie*. Therein, ſayde *Fame*, wee doe preferre their Age, and the Honour of their Calling, before the Obſeruation of Time, which derogates from no other Courſe, then that which ſometimes our Poets haue vſed, placing euer the Worthieſt formoſt, as to induce the reſt by Example, not to be ſtarke for Want of Courage. Therefore, it ſhall not be vncomly or prepoſterous, when the yonger Knights ſhall ſpeake after thoſe that bare the Honour of the Maioraltie.

This Excuſe wel contented the labouring Muſe, who, framing her golden Pen in her Fingers, fixed it ready to her memoriall Leaues, whileſt *Fame* did rouſe this Worthie from his Reſt: A Man of Stature meane, in Countenance milde, in Speach Man-like, and in Performance couragious; his Beard *Abron*, and his Bodie bigge; and thus he began, when *Fame* had giuen him *Caueat* to ſpeake.

Sir Iohn Bonham, *Knight*.

LET them that pull their Quils from Griffons Wings,
And dippe them in the Bloud of *Pagans* Bane,
Let them deſcribe me from the Breſt that ſings,
A Poem of bloudie Showers of Raigne:
And in my Tale, a mournefull Eleagie,
To ſuch as do the Lawes of God denie.

A Gentleman I am of gentle Blood,
A Knight my Father was, yet thought no Scorne
To place his Sonne within a Prentiſe Hood,
For Nature will appeare as ſhe was borne:
A *Deuonſhire* Man, to *London* loe I came,
To learne to traffique of a Marchant Man.

Shortelie from thence to *Denmarke* was I bound,
Well ſhipt with Ware, my Maſter gaue in Charge;
I deemd the Water better then the Ground,
And on the Seas a Man might ſee at large:
Me thought that *Fortune* there might ſhe her Fill,
And pitch and light vpon what Place ſhe will.

Ariud at laſt, in *Denmarke* was I ſett,
Where *Bonham* did demeane himſelfe ſo well;
That, though ſome Strangers there had pitcht a Nett
To catch my Feete, themſelues therein ſoone fell:
And ſuch Diſhonour dropt vpon their Head,
As they their native Countrie quicklie fled.

My worthleſſe Fame vnto the King was brought,
Who ſhewd himſelfe both mild and debonare;
A Cauſe of gracious Kindnes ſtill he ſought,
And for my Countrey did commend my Care:

And though I ſay it, that might better ceaſe,
Bonham did purchaſe Fame, and Loues Encreaſe.

A vertuous Ladie, and a curteous Prince,
This famous King vnto his Daughter had,
Hir Countenance did the baſer Sort conuince,
Yet did ſhe bare her gently to Bad:
Such was her Beautie, ſuch was her Grace and Fauour,
That watchful *Enuy* no Way could depraue her.

Excepting ſtill the Praiſe of *Procerpine*,
I may a little glance vpon her Grace,
The Words ſhe ſpake did euer ſeeme Diuine,
And Nature choſe her Alters in her Face:
Where in the Day her golden Flames do burne,
And they that gaze ſhall frie, except they turne.

There Bodies once conſum'd, Loue tooke their Soules,
And there ſatte binding them within her Haire;
She neede not frowne, her ſmootheſt Lookes controles,
See how ſhee ſlayes, yet dooth the Guiltleſſe ſpare:
Guiltleſſe they are that dare not ſtay ſo long,
To heare the Muſick of inchaunting Song.

Should I but ſpeake the Words vnto her Face,
Perhaps, you would ſuppoſe I flatter her;
If ſo, I haue too long vpheld the Chace,
And negligentlie ſpard the pricking Spurre:
In whoſe ſweete Praiſe I end, not yet begunne,
Becauſe my lame Conceipt wants Feete to runne.

Who will not iudge, the braueſt *Denmarke* Knights,
Will cracke their Lances in her proud Defence?
And now by this a Troope of worthie Wights,
Prepared Iuſtes, her Beawtie to incence:
And vnto me, vnworthie mé, ſhe gaue,
A Fauour to adorne my Courage braue.

I know your Ielouſie will iudge me nowe,
And ſay I prais'd her for her Fauours Sake,
Alas! he lookes not vp, is bound to bowe,
A Ceader neuer ſpringeth from a Brake:
It pleaſd her well, Age not diſpleaſed mee,
Why then ſhould *Envie* ſtill with Honour bee.

They, that haue Guiders, cannot chuſe but runne,
Their Miſtreſſe Eyes doe learne them Chiualrie;
With thoſe Commaunds theſe Turneys are begunne,
And ſhiuerd Launces in the Ayre do flie:
No more but this, there *Bonham* had the beſt,
Yet liſt I not to vaunt how I was bleſt.

Each Knight had Fauour bound to his Deſart,
And euerie Ladie lent her Loue a Smile;
There boldly did I not my ſelfe inſert,
Nor ſecret Practiſe did my Pride compile:
But of her ſelfe the gentle Princeſſe gaue
Rewarde of Honour vnto me her Slaue.

In fine, my Maſters Shippe with Goods were fraught,
And I deſirous to returne agayne,
For all the Fauours, that my Fortune wrought,
Vnto my Maſters Buſineſſe was no Mayne:
But ſo Occaſion, truſty Friend to Time,
Prepard me Steps, and made me Way to clime.

Great *Solimon*, the *Turkiſh* Emperor,
Made ſodaine Warres againſt the *Daniſh* King,
And moſt vnlike a noble Emperour
Did Spoyle and Ruine to his Confines bring:
A Thing vnlike, yet Truth to witneſſe call,
And you ſhall finde hee made mee Generall.

A puiſſaunt Armie then was leuied ſtraight,
And ſkilfull Pilats ſent to guide my Ship:
Imagin but a Chriſtians deadly Hate
Againſt the Heathen that our Blood doth ſip;

Then

Then thinke how *Bonham*, bent againſt
the *Turke*,
Wrought Wonders by the high Almighties Worke.

Halfe of his Armie, ſmouldred with the Duſt,
Lay ſlaughtred on the Earth in gorie Blood;
And he himſelfe compeld to quell his Luſt,
By Compoſition, for his Peoples Good:
Then, at a Parlie, he admirde me ſo,
He made me Knight, and let his Armie go.

He gaue me coſtly Robes and Chaines of Golde,
And, garded with his Gallies, ſent me backe;
For Fame, vnto the *Daniſh* King, had tolde
My gotten Glorie, and the *Turkiſh* Wracke;
He gaue me Gifts, in Guerdon of my Fight,
And ſent me into *England* like a Knight.

How I was welcomd there, t'were vaine to tell;
For, ſhortly after, Life had runne his Race,
And hither was I ſummoned to dwell,
My other Fellow Worthies to embrace:
Thus gently borne, a Marchant by my
Trade,
And in the Field *Bonham* a Knight was made.

Clio, with the Straungeneſſe of this Report, was wrapt ſo much into Admiration (both in Reſpect of his Feature, Fortune, and faire Tongue) as ſhe ſeemed caſt into a Traunce, neuer remooving her Eyes from of his youthfull Face, till *Fame*, perceyuing her deepe Cogitations, put her foorth of her Dumps, by aſking her, Why ſhe pawſed ſo long? *Her* chaſt Eyes (it appeared) hauing all this While ſeene no other, but ſuch whoſe Countenance reſembled Winters Froſts, began now, with the chearefull Heate of this flowring Spring, to waxe warme with ſecrete Working of ſome amorous Paſſion to excuſe with Suſpition; for it ſtoode with her Credite not to bee faultie in any ſuch idle Toy. Shee anſwered, It was not the Inticement of any miſbeſeeming Phantaſie, that allured her to that ſodaine Silence, but onelie a Kinde of Conceyte ſhee foſtered, howe it coulde be poſſible, that the *Turke*, being a Man of Nature barbarous and cruell, and eſpecially towardes Chriſtians, ſhould nowe bee ſo much mollifyed, and brought from his wonted Fiercenеſſe to fauour and honour one, whom by Nature hee loathed and deteſted, For, what though *Bonhams* Valour had gotten that Aduantage, as, by Reaſon and Lawe of Armes, he might inforce the *Turke* confeſſe, the Safegarde of his Life depended on his Clemencie; yet, ſince the Brutiſhneſſe of that Nature eſteemeth of Vertue but to ſerue their owne Luſt and Profite, I ſee no Argument of Likelihoode, why the *Turke*, hauing his Aduerſarie in his Court, that a little before had made him bowe, not with gentle Perſwaſions, but with downe-right Strokes, ſhould not rather bee incenſed to cutte off his Head, then doe him the leaſt Good in the World: So ſeuere is the Regarde of Honour, as, rather then it will be vpbrayded with Diſgrace (though that Diſgrace were Cauſe of many incomparable Pleaſures) no hatefull, vnnaturall, or vngratefull Practiſe ſhall be attempted, til the Eyeſore of their grudging Heart be remoued; and Princes, if they cannot beare Words, much leſſe will put vp Wounds; and that was it, quoth ſhe, that troubled my ſerious Muſe.

At theſe Wordes *Fame* began to frowne; her Patience was prouoked, that one ſo well inſtructed in the Knowledge of ſuch Matters, as ſhee was (her whole Studie conſiſting of nothing elſe, but of Ciuill Diſcipline) ſhould make a Doubt in ſo ſlender a Contrarietie; yet, to cutte off further Protraction of Time, ſhee replyed her this Reſolution: That ſhee was ſure ſhee could not be ignoraunt, howe that it was the Affect of Vertue, that wrought ſuch an Alteration in the *Turke*, which, as it is diuine, deſcended from the Goddes, ſo it worketh beyonde the Expectation of Men: And, for Proofe thereof, alreadie ſundrie Authorities were alledged; as, that of *Dyoniſius*, whoſe murtherous Minde coulde not but reuerence *Plato*, although hee continually inueighed bitterly againſt his Tyrannie; and that of *Alexander*, who loued *Darius* for his Fortitude, although hee was his Enemie. Therefore it ought not to ſeeme miraculous vnto her, when vſually ſuch Accidents as thoſe followe Vertues Fauourites. But, quoth ſhe, I rather thinke you were amazed to heare ſuch rare Exploits proceede from a Prentice, and one of no more Experience: But let not that ſeeme ſtraunge; hee ſpake no more then Truth, nor all that might be ſayd concerning his hawghtie Endeuours. The other Foure, whom you ſee on his left Hand, will, if you ſeeme incredulous, confirme a Poſſibilitie in his Speaches;

they are of the like Condition and Qualitie as he was, Prentices, that purchaſed Eſtimation by the Sworde. *Clio* bluſhed, that ſhe had beene ſo inquiſitiue; but, as it may be coniectured, it was not ſo much for her owne Satisfaction, as to take away hereafter all Controuerſie, and needleſſe Cauillation, as might concurre by the curious View of ſuch as ſhoulde fortune to haue the Reading of her Lines. By this, Sir *Iohn Bonham* had coucht himſelfe againe in the Bedde of his ſecure Reſt, when another gay Knight, ſterne in his Lookes, and ſtrong ſet in his Limmes, carying in his Browes the Picture of *Mars*, and in his Maners the Maieſtie of a Prince, with a lowe Salutation, made himſelfe knowne by this briefe Oration:

Sir Chriſtopher Croker, *Knight, of* London, *Vintner.*

IT is not Birth that makes a Man renownde,
Nor Treaſure Store that purchaſeth our Fame;
Bigge Words are but an emptie Veſſels Sound,
And Death is better than a Life with Shame,
This proueth *Croker* in his Trauailes made,
Of *London* once a Vintner by his Trade.

In *Gracious-ſtreete*, there was I bound to ſerue,
My Maſters Name hight *Stodie* in his Time,
From whom in Dutie I did neuer ſwarue,
Nor was corrupted with deteſted Crime:
My Education taught me ſo to liue,
As by my Paines my Maiſters Purſe might thriue.

My Fellow-Seruants lou'd me with their Hearts;
My Friends reioyc'd to ſee me proſper ſo,
And kind *Doll Stodie* (though for ſmall Deſerts)
On me vouchſaft Affection to beſtow:
Whoſe Conſtancie was ſuch, that, for her Sake,
No Toyle was grieuous I did vndertake,

Such was my State, as I my ſelfe could wiſh,
Deuoid of Care, not toucht with egre Want,
My Sleepe ſecure, my Foode choiſe Bewties Diſh;
Onely in this my Pleaſure ſeemed ſcant,
That I vnable was her State to raiſe,
That was the Lengthner of my happie Days.

Whilſt thus I was perplexed with that Thought,
Behold how Fortune fauourde my Deſire,
Of ſodaine Warres the ioyfull Newes was brought,
And *Edward* Ayde of Souldiors did require;
Amongſt the reſt it fell vnto my Chaunce,
That I was preſt to follow him to *Fraunce*.

My Maiſter would haue ſewd for my Diſcharge,
His Daughter with her Teares gan me aſſaile,
On euery Side they prayd and promiſt large,
But nothing could in that Reſpect preuaile:
Such Thirſt of Honour ſpurd my Courage on,
I would to Warres, although I went alone.

My Forwardneſſe perceyu'd, my Valour knowne,
Ouer a Band of Souldiors I was Chiefe;
Then ſproute the Seedes that were but lately ſowne,
My longing Soule had quickly found Reliefe;
I ſparde no Coſt, nor ſhrunke for any Paine,
Becauſe I ment my Loue ſhould reape the Gaine.

To proue my Faith vnto my Countries Stay,
And that a Prentice (though but ſmall eſteemd)
Vnto the Stouteſt never giueth Way,
If Credit may by Triall be redeemd:
At *Burdeaux* Siege, when other came too late,
I was the firſt made Entrance through the Gate.

And when Don *Peter*, driuen out of *Spaine*,
By an vſurping Baſtard of his Line,
He crau'd ſome Helpe, his Crowne to reobtaine,
That in his former Glorie he might ſhine:
Our King Ten thouſand ſeuerd from his Hoſt,
My ſelfe was one, I ſpeake it not in Boaſt.

With theſe Don *Peter* put the Baſtard downe,
Each Citie yeelded at our firſt Approch;
It was not long ere he had got the Crowne,
And taught his wicked Brother to encroch:
In theſe Affaires ſo well I ſhewd my Might,
That for my Labour I was made a Knight.

Thus

Thus Labour neuer looſeth his Reward,
And he that ſeekes for Honour ſure ſhall ſpeed,
What crauen Minde was euer in Regard?
Or where conſiſteth Manhood but in Deed?
I ſpeake it that confirmd it by my Life,
And, in the End, *Doll Stodie* was my Wife.

This Worthie hauing finiſhed his Taſke ſette downe by *Fame*, to confirme the Order of his firſt Honour, repoſed himſelfe amongſt the reſt, where he found a ſweete Murmuring of priuate and ſecrete Conference, what had paſſed by the ſeuerall Annotations of euerie ones Prayſe, where they beganne (contemning the Order of Enuie) to colaude the Endeuours of one anothers Actions, none particularly arrogating in Arrogancie the Prayſe of himſelfe; to him that did moſt, they gaue moſt Applauſe, and ſo ſweetly concorded in Simpathie, that all the *Eleſian* Harmonie might haue liberally commended their Conditions: The huſhing Riuers were caulme without Murmur or Contempt: The Leaues ſtood ſtill, to admire theſe famous Enterpriſes, and excellent Atchieuements: The Windes bound themſelues up in the Contentation of voluntarie Stilneſſe, that they might be at Libertie to hearken to theſe meritorious Men, and yeelded them Praiſe condeſcending to their Paines: The Goddeſſe of Darkneſſe (for Envie approched not the Place, ſo that it was by that Meanes continually Day) whereby the Sunne was euer glorious in the Pride of his Height, without Grudging, or any Shew of Declining; the bright Shining of whoſe alluring Countenance inticed another vp, called Sir *Iohn Haukwood*, or Sir *Iohn Sharpe*, from the *Italians*, *Iohn Acute*, and from thence indeed he brought backe into *England*, both his Name and his Nobleneſſe. The Pictures of his Renowne, for, as an Emblem of endleſſe Honour, the *Venecians* wrought underneath his Statue, ſet up in the Citie, *Giouanno Acuto Caualiero*. This *Iohn Haukwood*, Knight, he liued likewiſe in the Time of *Edward the Third*, that Prince of famous Memorie: When he pleaſantly looked about him, being a Man of a moſt couragious Countenance, and an ingenious Nature, thus he beganne to ſpeake, as who ſhould ſay he had Wrong to be deferred ſo long:

Sir John Haukwood, *Knight.*

WHO knowes my Ofspring, doth not knowe my Prime,
Who knowes my Birth, perhaps, will ſcorne my Deedes;
My Valour makes my Vertue more then Slime,
For that ſuruiues, though I weare *Deaths* pale *Weedes*:
Ground doth conſume the Carkas vnto Duſt,
Yet cannot make the Valiants Armour ruſt.

After that eighteene Yeares had toucht my Head,
Being a Prentice Boy in *Lumbardſtreete*,
A Taylor by my Trade, and I had lead
A few wilde Yeares for Striplings farre vnmeete:
A Souldior I was preſt to ſerue in *Fraunce*,
The Prince of *Wales* mine Honour to inhaunce.

I ſerude as priuate Souldiour for a While,
Till Courage made me greedie of Renowne;
And cauſde me giue a Noble Man the Foile,
That though with ſturdie Launce did beare me downe:
On Foot that Day my ſelfe did keepe in Chace
Some worthie Knights that feard to ſhew her Face.

That Day, the Prince of *Wales*, ſurnamde *the Black*,
Did mount me on a gallant *Engliſh* Steed;
Where I beſtirde me ſo vpon his Backe,
That none incountred me that did not bleed:
It was not I, nor Fortune, nor my Fate,
His Hand it was, that ſeldome helpes to late.

His bé the Honour then, and his the Prayſe,
Yet haue I Leaue to ſpeake what *Haukwood* did;
When noble *Edward* had diſperſt the Rayes,
And by his Prowes of the *French* was rid:

Three-

Three more then I, my ſelfe did make the Fourth,
The gentle Princes then dubd Knights of Worth.

His Knights he tearmd vs ſtill amongſt the reſt,
And gaue vs Honour fitting our Eſtate;
For *England* to be bound it ſeemd him beſt,
Becauſe the *French* had ſwallowed *Edwards* Baite:
I tooke my Leaue, and begged on my Knee,
That I might wander other Parts to ſee.

The Prince inkindled with my Honours Heate,
Diſcharging me, beſtowde on me a Chaine;
For ſtill freſh Courage on my Heart did beate,
Which made me Loue and Womens Acts refraine:
Hearing the Duke of *Millaine* was diſtreſt,
To *Italie* my Voyage then was preſt.

The Seas I quickly paſt, and came to Shore,
With me were fifteene-hundred *Engliſh-men*;
We marcht to *Millaine* Walles, where we had more
Of other Nations to conioyne with them:
There did the *Italians* tearme me *John Acute*,
Becauſe I had their Foes in ſuch Purſute.

Caſtels and Towers I had for my Reward,
And got enough to pay my Men withall;
But I to hired Pay had no Regarde,
That prickt me on which climbs the higheſt Wall:
Honour and Fame, whereof they gaue me Store,
Which made me more audacious then before.

Millaine thus peac'd, the Pope oppreſſed *Spaine*,
Then thither was I ſent to quell his Pride;
Which being done, I did returne againe,
And, ſtoopt with Age, in *Padua* Palace dide:
And he, that yet will heare of *John Acute*,
In *Millaine* ſhall not find the People mute.

All Warres you ſee do ende as well as Peace,
And then remaineth but a Tumbe of Duſt;
A Voyce of *Fame*, a blacke and mourning Hearce,
To what, then, may we like this worldly Luſt?
It is an euill vapouring Smoke that fumes,
Breaths in the Braine, and ſo the Life conſumes.

When Sir *Iohn Haukwood* had boldly preſumed by *Fames* Authoritie to ſpeake, he layde him downe, like one that wreaked no Guerdon for this Grace; but, as if Nature brought him foorth of Dutie to performe theſe Deedes. So, ought euery martiall Minde imagine, that he is borne for his Countrey, as the Cuſtome of the ancient and famous *Romains* was in all their Actions, to ſtudie to redounde the Honour of their Deedes to their Countrey. If this were Ambition and Pride, it would be laid flat in the Duſt, Magnanimitie extolled to the higheſt Tip of Dignitie, and ſuch a ſweete Concord and Vnitie amongſt Men, that he would be counted moſt happie that liued longeſt, for the Profite of his Friend. When Sir *Iohn Haukwood*, of this Perfection of Minde, had layde him downe againe, another of the ſame Stampe called Sir *Hugh Caluerley*, as little ambitious as his Fellowe, and as reſolute in euerie Degree, aroſe, looking about him, being ignoraunt what to doe: But *Fame*, iogging him on the Elbowe, ſoone awaked him from his Maze, whoſe Suppoſe was his Deſert, which made him couet to bee obſcurde. Therefore, the Goddeſſe was faine to animate him on further, before he would be perſwaded to ſpeake. Gentle he was, and full of Humanitie, inſomuch that he might haue wunne all the Powers of that Place to admire the Baſeneſſe of his Profeſſion, being a Weauer. But they, that haue Honour harbouring in their Breaſts, cannot but giue him the Right of his Due, except the Traine of Enuie ſet vpon the Traine of Honour, as commonly it doth; if it do, ſee he ſhall ſpeake for himſelfe, and appeale to the moſt preciſe, whoſe Wits, being more buſie then beautified with moral Maners, thruſt boldly, yet ignorantly, vpon the well trained Sort, approching famous Perſwaſion; he began as ſodainly as hee aroſe ſodainly, as if now Life had newly reuiued, began to breath this gentle Breath from out his Mouth.

Sir Hugh Caluerey, *Knight.*

WHO feares to ſwim a Riuer, dreads the Sea,
But he that's beſt reſolu'd dare venture both;
The greateſt Lumpe doth not the greateſt Die,
Baſe Mettals to compare with Golde are loth:
And why my quiet Wit refraines to ſpeake,
Is this, becauſe the talleſt Ship may leake.

In *England* late yong *Cauerley* did liue,
Silke-weauers Honour merited by Deedes;
In forraine Broyles continually I ſtriue,
Of laſting Memorie to ſow the Seedes:
As by Experience, they in *Poland* may
Expreſſe my *Engliſh* Valour euery Way.

After my Princes Seruice done in *Fraunce*,
I was entreated to the *Poliſh* King;
Where as the *Frizeland* Horſe doth breake the Launce,
And tameleſſe Beaſts a valiant Race doth bring:
There *Maximilian* hunted with his Lords,
Entangling Mankind Beares in toyling Cords.

There did I bring a Boare vnto the Bay,
That ſpoyld the pleaſant Fields of *Polonie*;
And, ere the Morning parted with her Gray,
The ſoming Beaſt as dead as Clay did lie:
The Ladies Cheekes lookt red with cheareſull Blood,
And I was much commended for that Good.

Some ſayd I looked like *Olympian Ioue*,
When as he crackt in two the *Centaurs* Bow;
As ſwiftly ſooted as the God of Loue,
Or greene *Syluanus* when he chaſt the Roe:
They brought me Crownes of Lawrell wreathd with Gold,
The ſweet and daintieſt Tongues my Prayſes told.

Theſe Fauours fronted me with Courage Frowne,
That like the yong *Alcides* I did looke;
When he did lay the greedie Lion downe.
No Beaſt appeard, when I the Woodes forſooke;
So that the King ſuppoſd I was ſome Wight,
Ordaind by Heauen to expell their Flight.

In Scarlet and in Purple was I clad,
And golden Buskins put vpon my Feete;
A Casket of the richeſt Pearles I had,
And euery Noble gently did me greete.
So with the King I rode vnto the Court,
Where, for to ſee me, many did reſort.

At Iuſtes I euer was the formoſt Man,
In Field ſtill forward, *Fame* can witneſſe it;
And *Cauerley* at Tilt yet neuer ran,
But foming Steed ſo champed on the Bit:
But ſtill my Horſe his Maſters Valour ſhewd,
When, through my Beavir, I with Heat had Blood.

Yet Men of Armes, of Wit, and greateſt Skill,
Muſt die at laſt, when Deaths pale Siſters pleaſe;
But then, for Honour, Fame remaineth ſtill,
When dead Delights in Graue ſhall find their Eaſe:
Ye long to know the Truth, in *Fraunce* I dide,
When from the valiant *Polands* I did ride.

Now, Honour, let me lay me downe againe,
And on thy Pillow reſt my wearie Head;
My paſſed Prayſe commaunds my Soule remaine,
Wherein theſe roſie Bowers, with ſweet Dew fed:
Though I was valiant, yet my guiltleſſe Blood,
In Crueltie of Warre I neuer ſtood.

Thus this aduenturous Martialiſt having expreſt the Zeale of his Conſcience towards his Countrey, the Toyle and Labour he ſuſtained, to better the Credite of his firſt Calling, and the Perils he waded through to patronage the ancient Name of Citizens; he repoſed himſelfe againe downe by the Sides of his noble Warre-fellowes.

Thus *Fame* and *Clio*, the one hauing marked his amiable Partes and Knightly Geſture, the other delineated, with her Pen, the Eloquence of his Oratour-like Oration, queſtioning togither ſome fewe Poynts, concerning the Force of Valour, and the vertuous Inclination of many obſcure Perſons, that although they lie ſepultured, as it were, without Regarde; yet,

if

if Oportunitie fitte them to reuiue their Courage, will, like the Diamond racked out of Clay, excell, or, at leaſt, compare with the Brightneſſe of Glories. Rareſt Iewels concluded, that there was no Pernition, but by Vertue; no Climbing to Honour, but by Fortitude; and none baſe, abiect, and ignoble, but the vicious, ſlouthfull, and faintharted Milkeſops. They were not wearyed, nor ſeemed theſe former Knights Tales tedious vnto them, although many would thinke it a Paine to bee tied to the Hearing of ſo large a Circumſtance, and verie few but would exclaime it were plaine Slauerie to write ſuch and ſo many ſeuerall Conceytes, from the Mouthes of the Speakers. Yet, ſuch was their Deſire to publiſh theſe Mens Deſerts, and the Delight they tooke to ſee the Increaſe ſpring of the Seedes of Vertue, for they would not take the ſmalleſt Recreation, till euery one of the Nine had fully finiſhed their Diſcourſes, and therefore they attended, when the laſt would breath the Secrets of his Breaſt.

This was a Prentice as the reſt, and a Grocer, ſometime dwelling in *Cornehill*; his Face was not effeminate, or his Parts of a ſlender or weake Conſtitution, but, by his Lookes, he ſeemed couragious, and in the Height, Strength, and faire Proportion of his Body, victorious. Thus, being in al Points armed like a Champion, the verie Aſpect of his outwarde Abite made Semblance both of Manhood and Curteſie, Wiſedome and Valour, knit in ſuch a Simpathie of Operation, that he ſeemed as much to bee loued for Peace, as prayſed for Prowes: And thus with a Voyce, neyther too meane like a Child, nor too big like a Gyant, but indifferent betwixt both, he ſpake as followeth:

Henry Maleuerer, *Grocer*, *ſurnamed* Henrie *of* Cornhill.

A Precious Cauſe hath ſtill a rare Effect,
And Deedes are greateſt when the Daungers moſt;
It is no Care that Trauels dooth neglect,
Nor Loue that hath Reſpect to idle Coſt;
A Bramble neuer bringeth forth a Roſe;
Where Fields are fruitfull there the Lillie growes.

By this coniecture what may be the End,
Of his defenſiue Force that fought for Chriſt;
It is no common Matter, if we ſpend
Both Life and Goods in Quarrell of the Hieſt;
The leaſt Deſert dooth merit his Reward,
And beſt employde ſhould haue not worſt Regard.

No vaine Preſumption followes my Deuiſe,
For of my Actions t' is in vaine to boaſt,
Yet with the Pagans I encountred twiſe,
To winne againe faire *Sion* that was loſt:
Vnto which Warre I was not forſt to go,
T'was Honours Fire that did incenſe me ſo.

For when the *Iews* oppreſt with Heathens Pride
Of Chriſtian Princes craude ſome friendly Ayd,
In euery Countrey they were flat denide,
Saue that in *England* here their Sute preuailde:
Such was the Furie of inteſtine Strife,
All *Europe* fought to ſpoyle each others Life.

And as in *London* there was Order tane,
To make Prouiſion for the *Holy Land*,
My youthfull Mind that feard no forraine Bane,
Was ſo admirde by Might of conquering Hand:
As for a ſingle Combate they did ſee,
Th' Ambaſſadours made ſpeciall Choyſe of me.

Then for the Tankerd I did vſe to beare,
And other Things belonging to mine Art;
Mine Hand did weeld *Bellonas* warlike Speare,
For I was armde in Steele to play my Part:
Along we went to beard our daring Foes,
That ſoone were queld with Terrour of our Blowes.

I neuer left the Field, nor ſlept ſecure,
Vntill I ſawe *Hieruſalem* regainde;
To watch and labour I did ſtill endure,
What iſt that Diligence hath not obtainde?
Yet grudging Enuie Valour to deface
By Treaſons Malice brought me in Diſgrace.

The Good that I had done was cleane forgot,
Ingratitude preuailde againſt my Life,
And Nothing then but Exile was my Lot,
Or elſe abide the Stroke of fatall Knife;
For ſo the Ruler of the *Iewes* concluded,
His Grace by falſe Reports was much deluded.

There

There was no Striuing in a forraine Soyle,
I tooke it patient, though t'were cauſeleſſe done,
And to auoyde the Staine of ſuch a Foyle,
That ſlaunderous Tongues had wickedly begunne;
Where, to the holy Well of *Iacobs* Name,
I found a Caue to ſhroude me from their Blame.

And though my Bodie were within their Power,
Yet was my Minde vntouched of their Hate:
The Valiant faint not, though that Fortune lower,
Nor are they fearefull at controlling Fate:
For in that Water none could quench their Thirſt,
Except he ment to combate with me firſt.

By that Occaſion, for my Pleaſures Sake,
I gaue both Knights and Princes heauie Strokes;
The Proudeſt did preſume a Draught to take,
Was ſure to haue his Paſſeport ſeald with Knocks:
Thus liu'd I till my Innocence was knowne,
And then returnde; the King was penſiue growne.

And, for the Wrong which he had offerd me,
He vowde me greater Friendſhip than before:
My falſe Accuſers loſt their Libertie,
And, next their Liues, I could not challenge more:
And thus with Loue, with Honour, and with Fame,
I did returne to *London* whence I came.

This valerous Champion, hauing here made an End, boyed himſelfe. Then *Fame* with her owne Hand gently laid his Head vpon a ſoft downy Pillow wrought with Gold, and ſet with Pearle, and ſo leauing him, and the reſt, to the Happineſſe of their ſweete Sleepe, commanded *Clio* to claſpe vp the Booke, wherein ſhe had written the Deedes of theſe Nine Worthies, and, as her Leyſure ſerued her, to publiſh it to the Viewe of the Worlde, that euery one might read their honourable Actions, and take Example by them to follow Vertue, and aſpire to Honour; and the rather, quoth ſhe, becauſe I would haue malicious Mindes that enuye at the Deſerts of noble Citizens, by Proofe of theſe Mens Worthineſſe, to repent their Contempt, and amend their captious Diſpoſitions, ſeeing that from the Beginning of the World, and in all Places of the World, Citizens haue flouriſhed and beene famous; as in *Rome*, *Cæſar*; in *Athens*, *Themiſtocles*; and, in *Carthage*, *Hannibal*; with an infinite Number more, that were, by Byrth, Citizens, by Nature martiall, and by Induſtrie renowmed: And ſo they departed from *Eliſian*; and, within a While after, *Clio*, according to the Charge was giuen her, ſent forth this Pamphlet of her Poems.

A Diſcourſe, ſetting forth the unhappy Condition of the Practice of Phyſick in *London*, and offering ſome Means to put it into a better; for the Intereſts of Patients, no leſs, or rather much more, than of Phyſicians. By *Jonathan Goddard*, Doctor of Phyſick, Fellow of the *College of Phyſicians*, and of the *Royal Society*, and a Profeſſor of Phyſick in *Greſham-College*. *London*, printed by *John Martyn* and *James Alleſtry*, Printers to the *Royal Society*, 1670. *Quarto*, containing ſixty-two Pages.

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THE Art of Phyſick hath had, in common with other Arts and Profeſſions, the Infelicity to be abuſed by the Profeſſors thereof; who, either out of inſatiable Avarice to make the utmoſt Advantage of Gain to themſelves thereby, or out of Pride and State, or Humour, have given juſt Occaſion to the World to judge, that they had not that Care and Conſideration of the Lives and Healths of Perſons with whom they had to do, as, in Humanity, Reaſon and Conſcience, they ought to have had. Admitting this to be inexcuſable, as to the Perſons guilty of it, yet it may be ſaid, as to the preſent Profeſſors thereof, having the Legal Right to practiſe in the City of *London*; and undertaken on their Behalf, that there was never in any Age, leſs Grievance or Cauſe of Complaint upon any ſuch Account. However, that Diſtinction between the Vices of Perſons, and of Arts or Profeſſions, is ſo clear and obvious, that whoſoever transfers thoſe of the one upon the other, muſt needs appear deficient in the Uſe of his Reaſon, or elſe partial and injurious.

As to the Art itſelf, though it cannot be denied, that it is, as all Human Knowledge in other Kinds, imperfect and defective; yet, that it ſhould be an Impoſture (as Ignorance in Conjunction with Confidence may ſurmiſe or charge upon it) the World doth ſo much abound with Perſons learned and judicious, and (though not profeſſed Phyſicians) competent to judge thereof, as to render it ſuperfluous to go about to vindicate it from ſuch an Imputation. Neither is the Imperfection and Defect of Knowledge in Things relating to, or comprehended in the Art, ſo great, as to render it an empty or mere notional Speculation; but though it, as all other Arts and Sciences (the Mathematicks excepted) hath too much abounded with Notions and Speculations wanting Foundation in Nature and Experience; yet it may vie with any other for Number of real Truths and Diſcoveries, ſufficient to employ and take up the beſt intellectual Abilities and Studies of any Perſon addicted to it, for his whole Life: And eſpecially in this Age, after great Improvement lately made therein, by many happy Diſcoveries in Nature, of great Advantage and Concern thereto.

According to the grand Importance of this Art, employed in the Conſervation of the Life and Health of Mankind, it hath been the Wiſdom of Princes and States to provide for the Encouragement of the Profeſſors thereof, by liberal Maintenance, Privileges and Powers, honorary and advantageous for the Exerciſe thereof, whereby Perſons of eminent Learning, Education, and Abilities might be induced to betake themſelves to an Art ſtanding in Need of ſuch Accompliſhments, without which, in an inferior Way of Education, Perſons could

could not attain to any ſuch improved Judgment, as is requiſite to the Underſtanding and Comprehenſion of the vaſt Variety and exquiſite Subtilty of the Things conſtituting the Subject of that Art, or relating thereto.

Accordingly, it hath been no leſs the Wiſdom of the Princes and Parliaments of this Kingdom to provide for the Encouragement and good Regulation of the Profeſſion of Phyſick therein, eſpecially in *London*; inſomuch that, by Law and Cuſtom, it hath had as great Advantages in the Kinds beforementioned, with us, as in any Country in the World. And therefore it is the more to be taken Notice of, that at this Time it ſhould be reduced, probably, to the worſt Condition that it is in any where; more than probably, to ſuch a Condition as cuts off all Hopes of honourable or free Maintenance of the Profeſſors thereof, or the moſt Part of them, and of Improvement in the Art itſelf, for the Future; as may in ſome Meaſure appear by what followeth.

The Dividing and Separating of that Part of the Art of Phyſick, which concerns the Preparation and Compoſition of Medicaments, from the Body of it, ſo as to put the Practice of it into other Hands, was never heard of in the Ages of *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, and other ancient Phyſicians; and hath been judged, by ſome of the chief Authors in Phyſick, to be of unhappy Conſequence to it, upon ſeveral Accounts. Hence many Phyſicians, while there was a good Underſtanding between them and the Apothecaries (theſe keeping within their own Bounds) thinking it became them, in civil Reſpect, to leave all to theſe, that belonged to their Art; and ſo, not concerning themſelves to be judicious and verſed therein, became Strangers to the Materials and Preparations of Medicines; and, by Conſequence, leſs able to preſcribe the Making of them, to the beſt Advantage. And this the Apothecaries have not been wanting to make their Advantage of, to the Diſparagement of the Phyſicians; ſo that it is juſtly to be accounted an Error and Neglect in ſuch Phyſicians; who, if they had given their Minds to it, might have been as converſant in, and as well acquainted with the Materials of Remedies, whether Vegetables, Animals, or Minerals, and all the more conſiderable Ways of Preparations thereof, as many other Phyſicians, or any Apothecaries; by frequent Viewing, Inſpection and Obſervation, and chiefly by experimenting and exerciſing themſelves in Preparations more accurate, and of greater Importance, Chymical, or other: which are the Ways that enable a Phyſician authentically to preſcribe.

And yet, notwithſtanding ſuch an Error, and Neglect of ſome Phyſicians occaſioned by it, the diſtinct Practice and Exerciſe of that Part by Apothecaries, as it hath been uſed in *London*, had its Advantage; and was looked upon as a great Eaſe and Happineſs to the Practice of Phyſick. For by this Means Phyſicians were freed from ſome troubleſome and inferior Employment; and they had the Advantage of giving Account, and making appear, upon Occaſion, all that was done on their Part, by their Preſcriptions extant in Writing, in Caſe of any ill Succeſs, which might happen by Error upon their Account, or Suſpicion of Hurt done to a Patient, by any Thing adviſed by them.

But theſe are really, and upon the whole Account, Advantages to the Profeſſion of Phyſick, only upon this Suppoſition, that Apothecaries keep within the Limits of their Work and Trade, not meddling with the Practice of Phyſick themſelves; the Preſcriptions of Phyſicians being faithfully and ſafely lodged with them, to the Uſe of their Patients, and the Benefit of the Apothecaries in their Trade. Otherwiſe, neither the Advantages beforementioned, nor any other, can ever compenſate the Diſadvantage and Detriment, not only to the Profeſſion and Profeſſors of Phyſick, but to the Publick: In Conſideration whereof, it were to be accounted a ſmall Inconvenience, for Phyſicians to put themſelves to the Drudgery of making all the Medicaments they have Uſe of in their Practice, if Need were; and to depend upon their own ſingle Reputation and Credit with their Friends and Patients, for their Vindication, as the Caſe ſhould require.

In Compariſon to Phyſicians, it may eaſily be made out, what Advantages Apothecaries, taking upon them to practiſe, may have in *London*, upon their particular Communication of all their Remedies, to them, to get the Whole, or ſo much of the Practice from the Phyſicians, as ſhall not leave a Competency for them to ſubſiſt upon. For the Apothecaries being bred up all the Time of their Youth as Apprentices in *London*, while Phyſicians are ſtudying at the Univerſities, and having ſo much the more Advantage to get a

numerous Acquaintance, beſides that, by keeping open Shops, more general Notice may be taken of them, when they ſhall be able to pretend to, and make Oſtentation of being Maſters of, or knowing all the Secrets and Practice of all the Phyſicians in *London*; it is obvious, how much this muſt take with the Vulgar, and with all ſuch Perſons, as, being not bred up to Learning themſelves, cannot be ſenſible of the Advantage of a generous Education in all Kinds of Learning, for improving the Mind and Underſtanding, and enabling of it to exerciſe ſuch a piercing Judgment and large Comprehenſion of ſo ſubtile and numerous Natures and Things, as the Knowledge whereof is requiſite to the Art of Phyſick. And therefore, though there be not ſo much Danger of ſuch Oſtentation prevailing among the Nobility, Gentry, and Perſons of Learning and Parts in the City; yet how far it may, amongſt others, who are the great Number and Bulk, is not hard to conceive by what hath been experienced.

For, allowing a Phyſician, in his Youth, to have had the Reaſon, Parts, and ordinary Capacity of another of his Age, and then to have been bred up in Learning of Languages, to render him Maſter of the Knowledge contained in Books written in thoſe Languages; then in Arts, ſome whereof miniſter Advantages to the Underſtanding of the Nature and Cauſes of Things, all do improve the Mind and Underſtanding, by Exerciſe at leaſt, to diſcern and judge of Things; then, ſuppoſing him to apply his Study to Natural Philoſophy, ſuch as is more real and ſolid in this Age, by many happy Experimental Diſcoveries in Nature; and, laſtly, to the Art of Phyſick, and the Knowledge of the Body of Man, with all the Parts of it, by Anatomical Adminiſtrations, Experiments, and Obſervations; of the Actions and Uſes of the ſame, the Diſeaſes to which they are obnoxious, with the Remedies thereof; and admitting a Phyſician to make it his continual Work to improve in the Knowledge of all theſe (which his Intereſt muſt incline him to do) by the Study, Practice, and Experience of twenty Years, or more: Now, ſuppoſing all this, in the common Reaſon of Mankind, he muſt have a manifold Advantage to the Underſtanding of the Nature, Cauſe, and Cure of a Diſeaſe, above another whoſe Education hath rendered him incapable of any of the Accompliſhments beforementioned, or of any conſiderable Share thereof; and yet many Times it is found, that one that is illiterate, and can ſpeak no Reaſon of any Thing, but only make Oſtentation with a few canting Terms; yea, ſometimes a Nurſe, or ſuch Kind of Woman, by a Confidence ariſing out of Ignorance, ſhall arrogate more Knowledge or Ability to themſelves, and ſhall be better thought of, among the Unlearned and incompetent to judge, than ſuch a Phyſician as hath been deſcribed before: And how much more may an Apothecary, upon the Pretenſions beforementioned, carry a Reputation, with ſuch People, above ſuch a Phyſician?

And, if the Art of Phyſick, or one Half of it, were the Knowledge of Receipts or Forms of Medicines to cure Diſeaſes, Apothecaries might have more Pretence to vie with Phyſicians; but, to be ſure, that is the leaſt Part of it, and a manifold greater Proportion of Judgment and Skill is requiſite to diſcover the Diſeaſe, than to apply the Remedy; and, without ſuch Diſcovery, abundant and frequent Miſchief may be done, even to the Deſtruction of Life, by applying Medicines in themſelves ſafe, and, according to the vulgar Term, *wholeſome*; and not only ſo, but by the Omiſſion of the proper Remedies in their Seaſons, through the ſame Want of Judgment; which Miſchiefs by Omiſſions, as well as otherwiſe, whoever pretends to the Practice of Phyſick, hath to anſwer for. In ſuch Caſes, How can that be a ſufficient Plea, which paſſeth for Current generally, That nothing was done, but only ſome Cordial given, or what was very ſafe? Though at beſt nothing to the Purpoſe; whereas, in the Beginning of many Diſeaſes, while the Opportunities of applying the great Remedies, and doing to the Purpoſe, are either only, or to the beſt Advantage to be taken, that Doing nothing but, *&c.* is the Undoing of the Patient, if Loſs of Life be ſo to be accounted; there being ſo much Difficulty and Danger, in many Diſeaſes that carry the leaſt Appearance of either, as to require the firſt and earlieſt Opportunities for a Phyſician to act towards their Cure.

This Communication of Medicines by Phyſicians to Apothecaries, whereby they come to be ſo great Maſters of Receipts, is, in the plain Reaſon and Nature of the Thing, a Truſt, whereof they are free to make the Advantage or Profit that belongs to their Trade, by ſelling ſuch Medicines at valuable Rates, according to

their

their Costliness, or Elaborateness in their Preparation; but the Advantage of directing and prescribing their Use, in all Cases, belongs to the Physician; and the Hindering him herein, to the Impairing of his Practice, is a Breach of Trust, and unworthy, as well as injurious Dealing by him, as may farther appear by the following Consideration.

All Laws of Nature and Nations, all Justice, Equity, and Reason of Mankind, do allow to every Person the Benefit of his own Invention; which, if it be of that Nature, that the Bringing of it into Use and Practice doth necessarily import the Discovery of it, according to our Laws, Patents for Terms of Years are granted; but, if an Invention be of such a Nature, that it may be concealed in the Use and Practice, no Limitation, for private Advantage or Profit thereby, is set by Law; it is only Honesty, Ingenuity, or Interest, that can restrain from making unreasonable or unconscionable Advantages in such Case. Now, any Medicines or Receipts for Cure of Diseases, invented by Physicians, or coming to their private Knowledge only; or any new Use or Virtue of an old known Medicine, discovered by any Physician; in Relation to those Physicians, by whom they have been invented, or discovered, as far as they are of any Consideration or Value, are of this Nature, that is, Inventions, that may be kept secret by them; and whereof nothing hinders them from making the Advantage; the Laws of the Land, as well as in other Countries, allowing and authorising Physicians, to practise their Art in all its Parts and Members, and so, by Consequence, to make any Medicines themselves. The Case being thus, How unreasonable and unequal is it, that, when a Physician hath by his Industry found out, or by some Felicity lighted upon a Discovery that hath proved remarkably successful in some particular Disease or Case, upon his Communication of it to an Apothecary, he shall have only an inconsiderable Matter, not worth the Owning many Times, in Case the Patient come or send to him; or at most, an ordinary Fee, in Case of visiting the Patient? Whereas the Apothecary, being one that takes upon him to practise, shall not only repeat the same Medicine, many Times over, to the same Patient, but also give it to any other Patients, whose Case he judges to be the same, or of Affinity to it; and drive a Trade with it all his Life-time; and so gain (as is well known, and hath been, upon Occasion, by some confessed or boasted of) by one Receipt, an hundred Times as much as the Physician's Reward, or Fee, for Prescribing it; so that he only cures the Patient once for an ordinary Fee at most, and teaches the Apothecary, when the same Case occurs, to do it ever after.

The Consequence of this, to Physicians, must be the Impoverishment of many; who, in Regard of the Charges of their Education, and the Use and Consequence of their Profession, deserve to get as great Estates, as are gotten in any Profession or Way of Trading, and yet shall scarce be able to subsist, though as learned and able in their Profession, as their Predecessors, who thirty or forty Years ago got great Estates, when the Apothecaries kept within their own Bounds, or inconsiderably incroached upon the Physicians. For now a Physician will be of no Use, only amongst great Persons, or Persons of Learning and Parts to value him; whereas others that are of Ability enough for Estates, and would be ready to entertain him, are so amused by Apothecaries, their Ostentations and Pretensions before mentioned, their Canting upon the common Notions, and Terms of Humours, Fumes, Obstructions, *&c.* which an empty illiterate Pretender, having Confidence enough, may so manage, as to make a more graceful Sound, than the most solid and able Physician, that they are generally entertained in the Beginning of Sicknesses, and made Judges, whether or no, and when any, and what Physician shall be sent for; being accounted a Check upon the Physician by such a Sort of People; who, for the most Part, is not called, till the other is willing to go no farther, because it is not his Interest, that the Person should die under his Cure; and then he says, it is Work for a Doctor; who shall have nothing to do amongst these People, but in desperate Cases; whereas, as hath been hinted already, in difficult Cases, the best Physician may stand in Need of all Advantages, especially timely Opportunities, to apply proper and effectual Remedies for Cure.

And, where the Apothecary hath the Nomination of the Physician, it is easily judged, what one he is like to be; that is, one between whom and him a Design is driven of mutual Furtherance, or, one that he knows will comply with him; that is, content to succeed him,

and

and approve of what he hath done before; or, one that is noted, in general, to preſcribe moſt for the Apothecary's Profit. Upon ſuch Accounts, ſome Phyſicians are cried up, and others decried, if not traduced, of no leſs, or of much more, and longer approved Ability, Worth, and Honeſty. To be ſure no Phyſician taken Notice of, to have, and give any Medicine of his own Preparation, ſhall be called in, if the Apothecary can hinder it. Perſons may, if they pleaſe, be undeceived upon this Account, and underſtand, how little Reaſon they have, and how little it may be their Intereſt to be ruled by Apothecaries, in their Choice of Phyſicians.

And, if Patients underſtood their Intereſt, they would take no ſuch Satisfaction, as they ſeem to do, in the Viſits of Apothecaries; but, rather wiſh them in their Shops, to make, or overſee the Making of their Medicines, preſcribed by Phyſicians, which are left to their Servants, many Times raw and ſlovenly Apprentices, while the Maſters ſpend their Time Abroad, Phyſician-like, in Viſiting.

Another Conſequence muſt be utter Diſcouragement to ſtudy, or endeavour after, or to make Uſe of, by Preſcribing to Apothecaries, any more excellent or effectual Medicaments; ſince the Advantage will be ſo inconſiderable to the Phyſicians themſelves, in Compariſon of what it may be to others, who have ſo little Right thereto, and deſerve ſo little from them. So that all Encouragement to, and Hope of Improvement of the Art itſelf, by the preſent Phyſicians is cut off; and, for a Succeſſion, if the preſent State and Condition of the Profeſſion continue, How can it reaſonably be expected, or ſuppoſed, that Perſons of conſiderable Learning, Parts, or Abilities, will ever apply themſelves to the Study of Phyſick? And, what the Conſequence of all may be to the Publick, is ſubmitted to their Eſtimation, who are moſt competent to judge of the great Concerns thereof.

The Profeſſion of Phyſick being under ſo hard a Condition, and not to be exerciſed in the ordinary Way, but upon the Diſadvantages before ſet forth; the Remedies of the ſame, and the Means to reduce it to a better State, muſt needs deſerve ſerious Conſideration, being of Importance, not only to the Phyſicians, but alſo to the publick Good and Safety, as the Lives and Healths of Perſons are conſiderable thereto. Theſe may be ſeveral, and of different Kinds; ſome relating to the higher Powers, as Proviſion of good Laws, in this Behalf, *&c.* And indeed, in this Kingdom, the Wiſdom of Princes and Parliaments hath not been wanting, in providing for the Regulation of the Profeſſion; according to which, no Perſon, not legally authoriſed, can practiſe without breaking the Laws in that Behalf, or incurring the Penalties of them; which, according to the Times wherein they were ſet, were very high; but in theſe Times they are eaſier to be borne, rendering the Adventure ſo much leſs, which is a great Imboldening of Perſons, having no legal Right to practiſe, to run the Hazard of thoſe Penalties; beſides, the Difficulty of Diſcovery and Proof, the Tediouſneſs in Proceſſes, and Proſecution of the Advantages by thoſe Laws, againſt Delinquents, not without Uncertainty in the Iſſue, as in other Caſes never ſo juſt, do much more encourage ſuch Perſons, till there may come a Time and Opportunity for ſupplying any Defects in the Laws already made.

But, if there be any Advantage in the Power of Phyſicians themſelves, which they may lawfully, honeſtly, and fairly make Uſe of, to put themſelves into a better Condition for the Exerciſe of their Profeſſion, it may be of good Conſequence to conſider thereof; ſince all Law, Equity, and Reaſon, allows them as well as others, as was touched before, to make Advantage of their own Inventions; and, ſince they are of ſuch a Nature as they may keep them ſecret to themſelves, in the Uſe and Practice of them, they being not bound to diſcover them to Apothecaries, or any others, but free to prepare them themſelves, as hath been made appear, Whether may not this Courſe ſet upon, though attended with ſome Trouble and Inconvenience, be an effectual Means, at leaſt, in reaſonable Time, very conſiderably to advantage and better the Condition of Phyſicians in their Practice?

In this Undertaking, it is not at all neceſſary that any Phyſician ſhould be put to the Drudgery or Trouble of Making, or Overſeeing the Making of every Medicine, that he may have Occaſion to uſe; or, to have a Magazine furniſhed with all common Things, as diſtilled Waters, Syrups, Conſerves, *&c.* for the Practice of Phyſick may eaſily, by able and judicious Phyſicians, be managed with the tenth

Part

Part of the Things commonly in Uſe, and the Remedies reduced accordingly, and this Reduction ſo far from being a Detriment, that it may be a great Improvement of the Art.

The *College of Phyſicians* of *London*, in Compiling their *Diſpenſatory*, following the Example of other Societies of Phyſicians Abroad, have ſet down the ancient Forms and Compoſitions of *Galen*, and the old *Greek* Phyſicians, of *Meſue* and the *Arabians*, with ſome other of later Authors; in Conſideration of the Reverence due to the Antiquity of ſome, with the approved Uſe and Experience of all. And it may vie with any publick Diſpenſatories in foreign Parts, as to Choice and Uſefulneſs of the Preſcriptions it contains, being as little redundant in Superfluities, and deficient in Neceſſaries, as they; but it was never intended, or pretended, that it ſhould contain all Medicines neceſſary to Practice, or the beſt of them; and, therefore, the Invention and Uſe of others was ever allowed to able Phyſicians; conſidering withal, at what Uncertainty the Tranſlators and Interpreters of thoſe Authors, eſpecially of the *Arabians*, are concerning ſome Words, and the Ingredients thereby ſignified; and, at what Diſadvantage we muſt have, and uſe the Medicaments produced in their Countries, upon Tranſportation ſo far, or Production in colder Climates; all which muſt render thoſe Compoſitions leſs certain and efficacious; wherefore they did not think themſelves concerned to make that Book ſo much their own, as that there might be no Impertinencies, irrational Preſcriptions, or, perhaps, Errors therein; whence it is no Wonder, that ſuch a foul-mouthed impudent Scribbler as the Tranſlator of it (for Want of better Employment to relieve him in his neceſſitous Condition) ſhould take Occaſion to make ſuch Work as he hath done about it; and the more, through his Ignorance and Confidence, calumniating falſly in divers Particulars.

This being the Condition of that Book, the Phyſicians of the College have no ſuch Cauſe, as the common People may think, to envy them the Tranſlation of it; nor have they any ſuch Treaſure of it, as they may ſuppoſe themſelves; nor is it the Tranſlating of all Phyſick-books extant into the vulgar Language, that will edify much, or enable Perſons of other Employments to be their own Phyſicians, whatever may be thought otherwiſe; or the Reading of them in their own Language by Apothecaries, who have *Latin* enough ſo to do, that will make them Phyſicians, ſince there are innumerable particular Caſes, that fall out every Day, requiring anſwerable Remedies, to be diſcovered and made out upon an Habit, and Principles, enabling to judge and diſcern, not to be found in Book-caſes, all which put together do not reach or compriſe them. And the *Diſpenſatory* beforementioned, or any other, is far ſhort of preſcribing Remedies for them all. And, as to the Forms or Receipts of which it is made up, it was never judged otherwiſe by able Phyſicians, but that there are in them many Ingredients impertinent, and ſome contrary to the main Intentions for which they are in Uſe, beſides irrational Proportions and Quantities, though, upon the Whole, they have been ſucceſsful; and, that ſuch Phyſicians are far from being tied to them in their Practice, as being able to invent better, more eaſy to be prepared, more grateful and convenient for Uſe. For a Multitude of Ingredients (wherein many of thoſe ancient Receipts are luxuriant, upon a Deſign to bring in every good Thing into one Medicine) is ſo far from bettering a Compoſition, that it is at the beſt, and for the moſt Part, an Alloy to it, and renders it leſs effectual; whereas a judicious Choice of a few Ingredients is the greateſt Advantage to the Virtue and Uſe of it.

Whoever, with Judgment, peruſeth the *London Diſpenſatory*, may ſoon eſtimate to what an Epitome it may be reduced, how many Compoſitions may be ſpared, how many Ingredients, almoſt in every Compoſition; and, whoever, with the like Judgment, conſiders and caſts up the main Intentions and Indications that occur in Practice, it will not be hard for him to ſtate the Remedies adequate and proper to ſuch Intentions as are of greateſt Importance; and, by Conſequence, to be ſtored with Preparations and Compoſitions ready made of the choiceſt Materials, to the beſt Advantage, for Uſe and Practice, more grateful and effectual, and every Way more conſiderable than the Shop-medicines; as Purges, Cordials, Antidotes, *&c.* which, by Judgment and Chymical Art, as the Caſe may require, may be ſo prepared as to laſt long without Impairing the Virtue by Keeping, and, therefore, to be always ready; to be of ſuch Form as is convenient to be given, either alone, or with ſome Vehicle,

which

which may eaſily be had, or prepared by the Patient, or any about him.

And, if Patients knew all, they would not be beſt ſatisfied in the greateſt Number and Variety of the Medicines adminiſtered, and the moſt frequent Plying of them therewith; for this may be, as was hinted before, of Deſign in ſome Phyſicians, to render themſelves the more acceptable to Apothecaries in General, as uſing to preſcribe much Phyſick; or, upon ſome Combination between the Phyſician and Apothecary in Hope of ſome anſwerable Return; as, on the Contrary, it hath been the Complaint of the Apothecary ſometimes, that the Phyſician, of Ill-will, hath preſcribed little, and chargeable Things; both which are great Diſadvantages to their *Bills*; whereas, when they are made up of numerous Particulars of Things leſs chargeable, how much ſoever is gained thereby, they appear more reaſonable to the Patients. Now, though, in ſome Caſes, there may be Need of more Medicaments, in greater Variety, and more frequently plied; yet, in moſt other Caſes, a rational and judicious Choice of one, or a very few Medicines, may ſignify much more to the Good of the Patient, than a luxuriant Variety.

And it will not be hard for a Phyſician, making Uſe only of a Servant, or Servants (who ſhall be no Ways capable of diſcovering his Secrets, but only fit to kindle Fires, tend a Still or Furnace, beat at a Mortar, *&c.*) to overſee, and, with his own Hands, prepare and compound what is neceſſary for himſelf to do; and, by this Means, though he be in full Practice, at the Expence of a few ſpare Hours, to ſtore himſelf ſufficiently for all his Occaſions, with ſuch great Remedies and Secrets of Importance; and, for other Medicines of leſs Value and Conſequence, they may be had at the Apothecaries, or taught the Patients, or thoſe about them, as was ſaid of Vehicles, without any conſiderable Prejudice to the Practice of Phyſick. To be ſure, it were far better to teach Patients any Medicines, than practiſing Apothecaries; for thoſe, if they have any Ingenuity, will be ſenſible of the Benefit, and, at moſt, but uſe it again for themſelves, ſome Friend, or the Poor for Charity; whereas theſe will not only uſe it, *toties quoties*, to the ſame Patient, but make a Trade of it to all others, whom they have to do with, and judge in the like Condition.

Nor can it be any Diſhonour to a Phyſician thus to employ himſelf between Whiles, in the Making of ſuch choice and important Medicines; as it is upon Record, and clearly appears, that *Hippocrates* and his Sons, *Galen*, and other ancient Phyſicians, did the like; nor is there the leaſt Appearance that they had any Apothecaries, or ever wrote Bills to any. And, to be ſure, in our Times, we ſee, how worthy Ladies, and Gentlewomen of Quality, do employ themſelves in making Confections, and Medicines internal and external; and it is known, what Counteſſes and great Perſons of both Sexes have done the like, whence ſome Medicines have their Names, to none of which it was ever reputed a Diſhonour: And how then can it be to Phyſicians, whoſe Employment, in this Kind, need not be more troubleſome or laborious? And, *in Reſpect* of the near Relation of it to their *Profeſſion*, muſt be to the greater Advantage, and more general Concernment of the Life and Health of Mankind.

If it be thought, that this Expedient, of Phyſicians making their own Medicaments, comes now too late for the Securing of the Practice of Phyſick to themſelves; the Apothecaries being already ſo ſtocked with innumerable Receipts for all Caſes, upon the Communication of the Practice of Phyſicians for ſo many Years, or ſome Ages, that they need no more: It is to be conſidered what great Variety of new Caſes do daily emerge, what Diſeaſes, and new Faces and Conditions of Diſeaſes, every Year almoſt produceth, not to be found deſcribed in all Phyſick Books extant; for which they may not have one proper Receipt in all their Store, or, if there be any ſuch, it may be long enough before they find it: Nor is there any other Way but by Principles and a Habit of judging and diſcerning in a Phyſician to come to the Knowledge of ſuch Diſeaſes and Caſes, their Nature, Cauſes, and Cure; ſo that, without farther Communication to Apothecaries, they muſt come to be at a Loſs, for all their great Stock and Store of old Receipts.

And it is farther to be conſidered, that the Conſequence of Phyſicians exerciſing themſelves in the Preparation of Medicines will be the Invention of ſuch as ſhall be more effectual, pleaſant, and convenient for Uſe than the Shop-Medicines, and ſhall, among thoſe that have experienced them, beget a Nauſeating of and Averſion to the other, and beat them quite out of Uſe or Eſteem.

And conſidering how Apothecaries may and do cenſure the whole Practice of ſome Phyſicians,

cians, and of thoſe in the fulleſt Employment, to be upon a few ordinary or inconſiderable Preſcriptions; and pretend their own to be upon rare Secrets or choice Preſcriptions of ſome moſt eminent ancient Phyſicians, and ſuch as have proved moſt ſucceſsful: It is high Time for Phyſicians to go out of the Road, and do ſomething extraordinary to ſecure themſelves from ſuch Imputation.

If, upon the Conſideration of the great Variety of Diſeaſes and Caſes, it be queſtioned, How a Phyſician will be able to apply proper Remedies, out of a few choice and effectual Medicaments of his own Preparation? It is anſwered, By Compoſition, and by Addition of others, in ſome Caſes, though of leſs Importance of themſelves (eaſily to be directed to Apothecaries, or any about the Patient, if the Phyſician do it not himſelf) ſufficient Variety of Medicaments, accommodated to the particular Diſeaſes and Caſes, may be produced; as we ſee what infinite Variety of articulate Sounds are, by various Componding or Placing the twenty-four Letters of the Alphabet. And to be ſure one may be at a greater Loſs, by Confuſion amongſt a Multitude of ſuperfluous, impertinent, luxuriant, and inconſiderable Medicaments, than amongſt a ſmall Number of choice and effectual ones; with which a ſmall Cloſet furniſhed may afford more to anſwer all Intentions, than many of the greateſt Shops of Apothecaries, as they ſtand now furniſhed, put together; and may better enable Phyſicians to make good that Diſtich,

Et, quoniam variant Morbi, variabimus Artes;
Mille mali ſpecies, mille ſalutis erunt.

Beſides the Securing of the Practice of Phyſick to Phyſicians, and the Preventing its falling into other Hands, which is a more neceſſary Advantage; there is another of happy Conſequence and more honourable, which, by this Courſe of Phyſicians making their own Medicaments, may be attained; that is, a great Improvement in the Art itſelf, hinted before. For when judicious Phyſicians come to be more familiarly acquainted with the Materials of Medicaments, and alſo to experiment and obſerve Operations and Proceſſes upon them; eſpecially the more Accurate and Artificial, as in Chymical Preparations; they will diſcover the moſt advantageous Ways of Preparation, and the moſt rational Proportions in order to Compoſition; and come to contrive and invent new Medicaments, exceeding others in their Kinds, and improve, beyond what they can imagine of themſelves, before they have entered this Way, and what they can ever otherwiſe attain; as ſome learned and ingenious Phyſicians have done. Nor can it be denied, that, in this Courſe, ſome Empiricks have ſtumbled upon very conſiderable and effectual Medicaments, wherewith, in ſome particular Caſes, they have outdone learned Phyſicians; and, by the Advantage of making their own Medicaments, they bear up, and will do, till they be outdone in the ſame Kind by ſuch Phyſicians.

Nor hath a Phyſician any Way of vying upon equal Terms, with an Empirick, but by giving his own Medicines, as well as he; and, by Concealment, ſecuring them from Cenſure or Undervaluing, as the other doth; and much leſs can he vie with a practiſing Apothecary, when called in to a Caſe, after he hath undertaken and adminiſtered according to his Skill; for, in this Caſe, it is not his Intereſt that a Phyſician ſhould have better Succeſs than himſelf; and therefore, how faithfully and accurately the Phyſician's Preſcriptions will be prepared, may be a Doubt: But, to be ſure, nothing is more obvious, than for the Apothecary to undervalue them, and to ſay, that the ſame, as good, or better have been given already; which Suggeſtions, how falſe ſoever, cannot but raiſe a Diffidence or Prejudice in the Patient to the Diſadvantage of the Succeſs.

There is one farther Advantage of great Importance, by the Phyſician's Giving his own Preparations; that is, the Certainty he ſhall be at in all his Medicaments, as to their Efficacy, Strength, and Operation; much beyond what can be in the Way of writing Bills to Apothecaries. It is ſufficiently known, and moſt frequently experienced, that, let a Phyſician write the ſame Bill to ſeveral Shops, the Medicine ſhall be very different in the ſenſible Qualities, Scent, Taſte, Colour, Strength, Pleaſantneſs, *&c.* according to the Goodneſs of the Ingredients, or the cleanly and accurate Making; which may cauſe great Difference, and in Reaſon cannot but ſome in the Operation, while in the mean Time the Phyſician muſt anſwer for all, and all reflects upon him; whereas a Phyſician, uſing always the ſame Preparation or Compoſition, will be at a Certainty of the Effect, on the Part of the Medicine; and any diffe-

Difference muſt be, in the Diſpoſition of the Body on which it operates.

But how can it be honourable for a Phyſician to ſell Medicaments, may be a Queſtion; to which may be anſwered, that for a Phyſician to drive ſuch a Trade for its own Sake, or merely for Profit that might accrue to him thereby, could not be of Credit; but in order to ſo neceſſary an End, as the Securing of his Practice, and the Benefit of his own Induſtry to himſelf; and to ſo good an End as the Improvement of his Art to the Benefit of others, it can be no more diſhonourable to him to ſell Phyſick, than to Perſons of Honour and great Eſtates to ſell their Corn, Cattle, Wool; or foreign Princes their Wines. But another Queſtion may hereupon ariſe, *How it may appear to Satisfaction, that he deals reaſonably and honeſtly in the Prices and Rates of his Medicines?* It may be anſwered, That in the ordinary Dealing of Apothecaries with their Cuſtomers (whom they call their *Patients*, but very improperly, except when they take upon them to be their Phyſicians) by their Bills and the Names of the Particulars therein, it doth not at all appear, how reaſonable their Rates are; all the Satisfaction is in the good Opinion of their Honeſty, and in their Aſſertions and Proteſtations concerning the Reaſonableneſs of their Prices; which indeed are arbitrary, and can hardly be other, becauſe of the endleſs Variety of Medicines preſcribed, not being of the Cogniſance of others (except Phyſicians and Apothecaries, upon Peruſal of the Receipts) as are the Wares and Commodities wherein other Tradeſmen deal. And, if Phyſicians have the Happineſs to be thought honeſt Men, amongſt their Friends and Patients, they may give them as good Satisfaction concerning their Uſage of them in this Kind.

To be ſure, the Apothecaries, upon this Account, That the Medicines prepared and vended by them are not of the Cogniſance of the Patients, or, however, are concealed from them, may make ſeveral Advantages to themſelves, not only of unreaſonable Profit, to the Burdening of the Patient, but alſo of undue Reputation among the Injudicious, to the Injury of the Phyſician. That they may ſet unreaſonable Rates on their Medicines is obvious to conceive, and that they have done ſo is not unknown; upon Diſcovery whereof, they juſtify all by alledging their Expence of Time and Attendance; and this clearly infers, that they in Effect, by ſuch Means, arbitrarily ſet an unreaſonable Value upon their Time and Attendance, and ſuch as may amount to more than the Phyſician's Fees come to, all put together, when he hath been entertained and daily attended, from the Beginning of the Diſeaſe to the End: And if, when, by Occaſion of Complaints of Patients to Phyſicians, Notice hath been taken of ſuch Prices ſet upon ſome Medicines preſcribed by them, requiring no great Time or Trouble to prepare, as may make the Apothecary a Gainer at the Rate of Ninety in the Hundred; with as good Reaſon, when they are ſole Phyſicians, may they ſet yet higher Prices on their Medicines, in Conſideration of their Advice into the Bargain, if they be not allowed diſtinctly for it: Whence it is the leſs Wonder how ſo many young Apothecaries, as ſet up a-new, and open Shops in every Corner almoſt of the City, ſhould ſubſiſt; for it requires no great Sum to purchaſe fine painted and gilded Pots, Boxes, and Glaſſes, and a little Stock is improveable to a manifold Proportion of what it is capable of in other Trades: And it is as little Wonder, if many Apothecaries in any conſiderable Time grow rich, and greater Eſtates be gotten among them, in Proportion to their Number, than among Phyſicians, upon ſuch Advantages beyond them, and Incroachments upon their Rights, contrary to what was ever known of old.

And they may take upon them to cenſure, or pretend againſt the Preſcriptions of Phyſicians (as it is eaſy to carp, or find Fault with what is moſt perfect or innocent, and moſt obvious, out of Ignorance, or Self-conceit ſo to do) and by this Means puzzle and diſſatisfy the Injudicious, while no Opportunity is afforded to the Phyſician to give Satisfaction, or vindicate himſelf; and, by raiſing Prejudice, hinder the good Effect of the Medicine, or divert the Patient from the Uſe of it.

And they may (and whether they have done ſo is not unknown) vary from the Preſcription of the Phyſician, to impoſe upon him; and ſo, if the Medicine has a good Succeſs, they can tell the Patient, that it was not as the Phyſician preſcribed it, but as they have altered it for the better, knowing his Conſtitution, *&c.* or, in plain *Engliſh*, none of his, but theirs: If it prove not ſucceſsful, they can be ſilent, and by this Means arrogate to themſelves all good Succeſſes, and leave the other to reſt upon the

the Phyſician; which latter, by ſuch a Practice, they may be the Authors of; ſo that, at this Rate, all the Reputation and Succeſs of the Phyſician may be in their Power, and at their Mercy. Such moſt injurious and intolerable Abuſes there is Reaſon to expect from practiſing Apothecaries, who are Emulators of Phyſicians, and, indeed, no better than Enemies unto, and a Party againſt them; as ſome ſufficiently diſcovered themſelves in Publick, when Time ſerved, by their Vilifying and Diſparaging the Phyſicians before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons. Now, how much it concerns Phyſicians, and what Reaſon they have to take any Courſe, rather than ſo to be impoſed upon by them, let the World judge.

They, that can vary from the Phyſician's Preſcription upon ſuch an Account, may with leſs Diſhoneſty do it for Saving, by leaving out, in Whole or in Part, ſome chargeable Ingredients, which, in many Compoſitions, cannot be miſſed to Senſe, though in Reaſon they cannot be abated, pretending, if it be diſcovered, that the Medicines may be more proper for the Patient without them. And, as to the Goodneſs of their Drugs, on which the due Eſtimation of their Rates depends, and which doth no more appear to others, than the Unreaſonableneſs of the Rates, they may, whether they do, or not, put off ſuch as are defective, decayed, impure, *&c.* and, in ſuch Reſpect, of little Value: For, as hath been ſaid, all Failure of Succeſs, or ill Succeſs, is imputed to the Phyſician; whence it clearly may be inferred, how much better Satisfaction, and Security againſt Defectiveneſs in Medicaments, there may be in dealing with the Phyſician, than the Apothecary; ſince the Perfection of any Medicine is of ſuch Concernment to the Succeſs, which is the great Intereſt of the Phyſician (and the more, while he acts alone) unleſs he be ſuppoſed ſo wicked, as to be corrupted to do Miſchief to the Patient; and, in ſuch Caſe, the Apothecary, being corrupted, not only when he practiſeth himſelf, but when employed under a Phyſician, by adding to, or altering what is preſcribed, or giving one Thing for another, may eaſily do the like Miſchief, undiſcovered, with the great Advantage of Imputation to, or Reflexion upon the Phyſician.

For it often falls out in Practice, that Medicaments, in themſelves ſafe and gentle, have rough and violent Operations upon the Body, meeting with ſome Cauſe thereof within; and much more may ſtronger and churliſh Phyſick have the like, which a Phyſician may ſometimes be neceſſitated to preſcribe, except he will merely trifle with the Patient, and let him die: Now a little Alteration of ſuch a Medicine by the Apothecary may be the Death of a Patient; wherein he cannot be detected, and therefore it muſt reſt upon the Phyſician.

For avoiding Suſpicion, where the Phyſician may gain by the Death of a Patient, as of a Parent, Wife, or Relation, to whom he may be Heir, or any other, by whoſe Death ſome apparent Advantage may accrue to him; it hath been the Prudence of Phyſicians to decline Acting alone, though no Jealouſy or Caution on the Part of the Patient hath given Occaſion thereof; and, by this Courſe, it is in the Power of Phyſicians to ſecure themſelves from the Suſpicion, and of Patients, from the Practice of any ſuch wicked Deſign againſt them, whereby thoſe may become acceſſary to their Death. In other Caſes, upon Conſideration it may clearly appear, how much more the Life and Recovery of a Patient is the Intereſt of a Phyſician, than of an Apothecary, who only prepares the Phyſick for the Patient, by the Phyſician's Preſcription. The Apothecary may loſe a Cuſtomer and Friend, by whom, in Time to come, he might have made good Advantage; the Phyſician anſwerably may loſe a Patient and Friend, who, in Reaſon, might have been at leaſt as beneficial to him. But this may be the leaſt Part of his Loſs, for, beſides this Conſideration, upon the Death of a Perſon, eſpecially of Note, Eſteem, or Intereſt in the World, all near Relations, Friends, and Dependants take Notice of, or are inquiſitive after the Phyſician, and (though he be of eminent general Repute, yet except he have the Happineſs to be well thought of among them, or the Advantage to give them a ſatisfactory Account) are ready to ſuſpect ſome Want of Ability or Judgment in him, to diſcern the Diſeaſe, or apply proper Remedies, or ſome Want of Care, Conſideration, or Diligence requiſite to the Caſe; and thereupon to cenſure either the Doing, or the Omiſſion of ſomething, as dangerous or fatal. Hereupon they have an Averſion unto, or Prejudice againſt that Phyſician, for the Future, ſo as to be inclined to make Uſe of any other, rather than of him; which Conſequence, upon the Death of a Patient may much more impair the Phyſician's Practice, than all he can be ſuppoſed to loſe, by ſuch a

particular Patient. Now there is no ſuch Conſideration or Suſpicion, concerning the Apothecary (except any Thing notorious be diſcovered againſt the Goodneſs of his Medicines) whence it is ſeen amongſt paſſionately affectionate Perſons, upon the Loſs of Children, near Relations, or dear Friends, that they are averſe to the Sight of the Phyſician that took Care of them, though there hath not been the leaſt Ground or Cauſe in Reaſon ſo to be; and yet the Apothecary is in as good Eſteem with them as ever. Hence, it is rational to infer, that whoever engageth a Phyſician in an Action, ſo much againſt his Intereſt, as the being inſtrumental to procure the Death of any Perſon, muſt bid very high for it; and ſince his Opportunity is only while Perſons are ſick or taking Phyſick; and, ſince it is ſo feaſible, towards Perſons in Sickneſs or Health, by the Ways and Artifices of Poiſon to diſpatch them, wherein others are more verſed than the Phyſicians of *England* were ever known to be, and which are uſually managed and diſpenſed in Diet, towards which, a Cook, Butler, other Servants, or any that may be frequently about the Perſon, have more Opportunity than a Phyſician, and, in Reaſon, may be corrupted at eaſier Rates, it may be preſumed, a Phyſician will not be made Uſe of to ſuch a Purpoſe; according as there is little extant in Hiſtory, and little reported of Phyſicians, employed in ſuch Work, which others may ſo eaſily do, and have ſo frequently done.

As to the Rates of Medicines, if the Phyſicians did to all Patients, that do not undervalue them in their Fees, though giving but according to the ordinary and accuſtomed Rate, Time out of Mind in *England)* give all the Medicines of their own Preparation they ſhould need to uſe; the Condition of the Profeſſion muſt be better, than by communicating to Apothecaries, to give them ſuch Advantages againſt themſelves as have been ſet forth: Whence it is clear to infer, at how much cheaper Rates, a Phyſician may afford Medicaments, than an Apothecary; and therefore in all Reaſon, ſuppoſing them to be Men of Honeſty, or underſtanding their own Intereſt, they will do ſo. And, no Doubt, the Event will ſhew it, upon Dealing with Phyſicians, that take this Courſe, when the Difference ſhall appear, by comparing the Charges, upon Entertaining ſuch a Phyſician alone, with what hath been uſual, upon making Uſe of a Phyſician and Apothecary both together, in like Caſes; or upon making Uſe of an Apothecary alone, whereby, many cannot but think, that great Matters muſt be ſaved; whereas, if the Medicines brought in by him amount to ten Shillings, he may get little ſhort of a Phyſician's Fee; but how much they multiply, and ply the Patient with Medicines, in ſuch Caſes, is ordinarily ſeen; and a Phyſician, that hath no End in Favour of the Apothecary, may do the Work with that which amounts to far the leaſt Part of what is uſually obtruded in ſuch Caſes; and, though he receive ſome Fees, yet may be leſs chargeable to the Patient, than any Apothecary entertained, as well as more ſatisfactory to all ſuch as allow more Ability to a Phyſician, in his Profeſſion, than to an Apothecary.

It may be an *Objection againſt* the Courſe of Phyſicians preparing Medicines for their own peculiar Uſe, that it will cut off all free Communication between Phyſicians, and render Conſultations inſignificant. To this, may be anſwered, that thoſe Phyſicians engaged in this Work, between whom there was a good Underſtanding and a free Communication formerly, may, as freely communicate upon their peculiar Preparations; or, at leaſt ſuch Account of them may be given, as ſhall be ſufficient for Judgment, whether they be proper in the particular Caſe before them, or not. But it is not to be expected, that all the conſiderable Phyſicians ſhould engage in this Courſe, ſome being in full Practice, in Combination or Conjunction with Apothecaries, from whom it is not to be expected, they ſhould trouble themſelves about Preparing Medicines; and ſome depending upon Apothecaries, to bring them into Notice and Acquaintance; who muſt therefore comply with them not only in writing Bills to their beſt Advantage; but alſo, as Occaſion ſerves, enter on their Leavings of Practice, and perhaps conſult with them. In ſuch Caſes, indeed, it is not reaſonable to expect, that any Phyſician ſhould communicate a peculiar Preparation of his own to another, that can make no Uſe of it, but by divulging it to an Apothecary. But, as to Conſultation, it may be ſaid, that any ſuch Phyſicians, meeting, may proceed upon the Shop Medicines to as good Advantage, as formerly; neither is any Phyſician, that prepares his own Medicines, the leſs able, to be ſure, to write Bills to Apothecaries, but rather the more, in that Reſpect, as far as he is free thereto.

There

There remains one grand Objection, that this Courſe of Phyſicians making their own Medicines muſt ruin the Apothecaries, who are numerous, and a Company of the City of *London*, incorporated by Charter: To this it may be anſwered, that the Apothecaries are become ſo numerous in the City of *London*, very probably, upon Encouragement, by the Advantages taken againſt Phyſicians, to practiſe themſelves; and againſt Patients or Cuſtomers to ſet as high Prices as they pleaſe: And it is eaſily granted, that, without ſuch Courſes, a great Part of them cannot ſubſiſt: Whereas it may be ſaid of all the Phyſicians in *London*, having any legal Right to practiſe, that they might live well on their Practice, in the old Courſe of Writing Bills to Apothecaries, were it not for the Practiſing Apothecaries, and other Empiricks: However, the Numerouſneſs of Apothecaries doth not juſtify illegal and injurious Advantages taken againſt Phyſicians, no more than the Numerouſneſs of neceſſitous Perſons doth their indirect and unwarrantable Courſes of Living; during which, the preſent Courſe of Writing all in Bills to Apothecaries muſt ruin the Phyſicians, whoſe Education doth coſt a good Eſtate or Stock, and a great Part of the Time of their Lives, before they can arrive to get any Thing; and who in *London* are a Society incorporated by Charter, having that Charter and other Privileges eſtabliſhed by Acts of Parliament, as the Authority or Privilege of them and others, to practiſe elſewhere, depends upon the Charters and Privileges of the Univerſities, which are alſo eſtabliſhed by Acts of Parliament; ſo that, for a legal Eſtabliſhment, the Apothecaries can no Ways vie with the Phyſicians. And as to the Merits of the Cauſe, and Equity, let it be conſidered, that the Phyſicians did part with, and freely allow one Part of their Profeſſion, to be exerciſed by others, yet never quitted the Right of exerciſing that alſo themſelves; whence, as elſewhere, ſo in *England*, it hath been always free (and the Law expreſly allows it, and there is an expreſs Reſerve in the Apothecaries Charter to that Effect) for Phyſicians to exerciſe their Art in all its Parts: That, upon this, Advantage is taken by Apothecaries to invade the Whole, by giving Advice, as well as making and ſelling Medicines; and ſo by Conſequence, if the Phyſicians ſhould not reſume the other, they themſelves muſt be ruined, upon the Abuſes and Advantages taken againſt them before ſet forth; and it will ſoon appear, whether it be not more equal, that the Phyſicians ſhould preſerve themſelves by Recovery of their own, than the others by invading theirs, and getting all from them; to which the former have all the Right, and the latter none at all.

But, ſuppoſing ſuch a Courſe univerſally taken up, of Phyſicians making their own Medicines of Importance, for their Uſe in Practice, a Ruining of Apothecaries would not neceſſarily follow; they would yet practiſe upon the meaner Sort, and perhaps many others, whom, for Want of Judgment, they would, by their Canting and Oſtentation, and by Raiſing Prejudice againſt Phyſicians, draw into a better Opinion of themſelves; beſides the Trade of their Shops: But, becauſe ſuch Practice of theirs muſt be gained by falſe Suggeſtions, upon the Ignorance and Credulity of the People, and is illegal, and may do more Miſchief than Good in the Kingdom, this Anſwer is not to be accounted ſatisfactory; therefore, it is to be taken Notice of, that though the Making of all Medicines for his own Uſe in his Practice do of Right belong to a Phyſician; yet no ſuch Thing hath been here abſolutely propounded or intended; but only, of ſome choice Ones of great Importance and Efficacy, and ſo many as may ſecure the Practice of Phyſick to the Phyſicians, which may be far the leaſt Part of what there will be Occaſion to uſe in the whole Practice of a Phyſician: And ſo (beſides the Sale of Shop-Medicines, not only by Retail, but Wholeſale, whereby, it is known many have gotten great Eſtates, without diſpenſing Phyſicians Bills) all other Medicines directed by Phyſicians may be had of Apothecaries; who, according as they approve themſelves fair and faithful to Phyſicians, will have the more Furtherance in this Kind from them. For what was ſaid before, of Teaching Medicines and Vehicles to Patients, was intended to ſhew, how a Phyſician, if he were put to it, might go through in a Cure, without an Apothecary, notwithſtanding which, it is free for him to preſcribe all ſuch Medicines to any Apothecary that he is ſatisfied in. And it is far from the Intention hereof to brand all Apothecaries, many of whom are allowed to be honeſt and conſcientious, as well as eminently able and skilful in their Profeſſion, and ſuch as may be truſted by Phyſicians, any of whom, as they appear to be ſuch, for all that

hath

hath been ſaid, may have as much to do in their own proper Work and Trade, as formerly, or within a ſmall Proportion, while Phyſicians engage no farther, in giving any Thing of their own Preparation, than the Practice of Apothecaries hath neceſſitated them unto. And even, as to thoſe Medicaments to be prepared by Phyſicians, they alſo may be lodged with ſuch Apothecaries, to be uſed by the Phyſicians Preſcription, or Allowance, and not otherwiſe (for preventing Miſapplication by ſuch as are ignorant of them, and ill Succeſs, or Failure of Succeſs thereupon, to the Detriment of the Patients, and undue Defamation of the Medicines) and vended at ſuch Rates, as may make him a Saver (which ought to ſatisfy him, ſince Concealment is his Deſign) and the Apothecary a reaſonable Gainer, and yet not be burthenſome to the Patient: By which Means, when there is a good Underſtanding between the Phyſician and the Apothecary, and no Cauſe or Provocation given, there need be no Notice taken to the Patient of any ſuch Medicine of the Phyſician's Preparation adminiſtered, but all Things may be ſuppoſed prepared by the Apothecary. And this Tranſaction, between ſuch Phyſicians and Apothecaries as ſhall agree upon it, will bring this whole Affair into as good a Condition for the Benefit of the latter, as to their own Work and Trade, as ever it was heretofore, when they kept within their own Bounds, and as of Right it ought to be: And, therefore, ſhould ſeem very deſirable, and readily to be embraced by them, for avoiding greater Inconveniencies and Diſadvantages, which by tranſcending their Bounds, and undertaking above their Capacities, while they injuriouſly invade the Rights of the Phyſicians, they may moſt juſtly bring upon themſelves.

A POSTSCRIPT.

THIS Diſcourſe was written above five Years ſince, not in any Haſte to be made publick, but to give Vent to, and diſcharge the Mind of the Author of, ſome working Thoughts, wherewith it was frequently occupied, by Occaſion of what he had long obſerved, and could not but take Notice of, tending to the Ruin of the Profeſſion of Phyſick, by the Practice and Deſigns of the Apothecaries, if they ſhould hold on the Courſe they have uſed theſe many Years, and nothing ſhould be done to undeceive the World concerning them and their Actings, to the Diſadvantage of Phyſicians. It was ſome Satisfaction of Mind, to make out, in any rational Deduction and Coherence of Things, what had ſo much exerciſed and taken up his Thoughts, though it were but to lie by, or be communicated to private Friends at moſt: And, there being at firſt little Thought or Inclination to publiſh what was ſo conceived in Writing, the Plague and the Fire did ſucceſſively for a long Time after divert from any ſuch Thoughts. If an Account be demanded, Why this Diſcourſe comes forth in Publick at this Time? There ſhall no Neceſſity of it be pleaded, as the Manner is with ſome Authors, to make the World believe them, upon ſome Account or other, neceſſitated to publiſh their Works: Neither ſhall Importunity of Friends be inſiſted upon, though ſomething in that Kind might be alledged. And, if the Author may be believed, it was no Deſign of private Advantage by gaining Profit or Credit, that induced him to the Publiſhing hereof. They have been far different Ways, and eſpecially Compliance with Apothecaries, that have been in Uſe hitherto, to improve a Phyſician's Practice: And therefore this, in Reaſon, may be a Courſe to ruin it; except he be one that hath the Advantage of ſome Reputation for approved Ability and Honeſty, attended with ſome conſiderable Succeſs. All that the Author alledgeth, for this Publication, is, that the Cauſes exciting and provoking him to exerciſe his Thoughts this Way, and to put the ſame in Writing, continuing and increaſing (that is, the Invaſion of the Practice of Phyſick by Apothecaries, and their Actings to the Prejudice of Phyſicians) begat a Preſumption in his weak Judgment, that ſuch a Diſcourſe as this might do ſome Right to the Profeſſion of Phyſick, and might give Occaſion to Phyſicians of Acting ſomewhat towards the Securing of it from utter Ruin, eſpecially while it might be coincident with the Honour of the Art, by Improvement of that Part which concerns the Preparation of Medicines; without proſtituting or expoſing what they may attain thereby, to thoſe that have no Right to make ſuch Advantage

vantage thereof, as hitherto they have done againſt Phyſicians, upon their Communications to them on the Behalf of Patients. Another Preſumption was, that it might undeceive the People, in Reference to the ſuppoſed Advantages of Good-received, or Charges ſaved, by making Uſe of ſuch Apothecaries in Place of Phyſicians, as take upon them to practiſe Phyſick.

It hath been far from the Intention of the Diſcourſe to hinder Apothecaries, much leſs to ruin them, if that were poſſible, in the Trade that they have any Right to exerciſe; that is, the Making and Sale of Medicines; or to advantage the Practice of Phyſick, by the Sale of any of the Phyſicians own Preparation: But, according to what was before expreſſed, to give Occaſion to Phyſicians to conſider how much it concerns them, in this Age, to endeavour the Invention of better than the Shop-Medicines (towards which their own Exerciſe and Experience, in the Preparation, will give great Advantage) and reſerve them to themſelves, that they may have ſomething more than any Apothecaries can pretend to be Maſters of, in order to improve the Art, as well as ſecure the Practice to themſelves; which, by this Means, is both lawful and fair for them to do. And though it be free for them to be ſo furniſhed as to be able to go through with any Cure without employing an Apothecary, as the Apothecaries do without Phyſicians, yet this is not inſiſted upon, except in Caſe of juſt Provocation, or Neceſſitating thereto: Otherwiſe, the Hinderance of the Apothecaries, in the Trade that of Right belongs unto them, may be inconſiderable, or in a ſmall Proportion, according to what is offered in the Concluſion of the precedent Diſcourſe; and that it ſhould be any at all, is but what they have deſervedly brought upon themſelves.

As to Empiricks ſwarming ſo numerouſly in the City of *London*, and all Parts of the Kingdom, it hath not been the Work of the Diſcourſe to animadvert upon them; becauſe, though many of them may be leſs fit to be tolerated in the Practice of Phyſick than ſome Apothecaries, yet their Practice is more obvious to publick Notice; and they, having no ſuch Relation to Phyſicians as Apothecaries have, are in no ſuch Capacity of betraying any Truſt committed unto them by Phyſicians (which the Communication of their Practice to Apothecaries, in the Nature of it, is) or of fighting againſt Phyſicians with their own Weapons.

In the Diſcourſe there hath been no Affectation of Stile or Language, only an Endeavour after Expreſſions adequate to the Things intended: Neither hath there been any ſtrict Obſervation of Method; whence ſome Things or Paſſages, in Effect the ſame, are more than once, upon ſeveral Occaſions, brought in; but all, in this Kind, amounts not to ſo much, as to carry an Appearance of a deſigned Inlargement. If the main Intention thereof prove grounded, and of any good Importance to be publickly taken Notice of; the Defects, or Faults, are preſumed not to be more, or greater, than a candid Reader may connive at, or pardon.

A Cry againſt a Crying Sin *: Or, a juſt Complaint to the Magiſtrates, againſt them who have broken the Statute Laws of God, by Killing of Men merely for Theft. Manifeſted in a Petition long ſince preſented to the Common-Council of the City of *London*, on the Behalf of Tranſgreſſors. Together with certain Propoſals, preſented by Colonel *Pride*, to the Right Honourable the General Council for the Army, and the Committee,

* *Vide* the 295th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets.

Committee, appointed by the Parliament of *England*, to conſider of the Inconveniencies, Miſchiefs, Chargeableneſs, and Irregularities in their Law.

JER. V. 4, 5, 6.

Therefore I ſaid, Surely theſe are poor, they are fooliſh; for they know not the Way of Jehovah, *nor the Judgment of their God.*

I will get me unto the great Men, and I will ſpeak unto them; for they have known the Way of Jehovah, *the Judgment of their God; but theſe have altogether broken the Yoke, and burſt the Bonds.*

Therefore, a Lion out of the Foreſt ſhall ſlay them; a Wolf of the Evenings ſhall ſpoil them; a Leopard ſhall watch over their Cities; every one that goeth out thence ſhall be torn in Pieces, becauſe their Tranſgreſſions are many, and their Backſlidings are ſtrong.

HOSEA V. 10, 11, 12.

The Princes of Judah *were like them that removed the Bound; I will pour out my Wrath upon them like Water.*

Ephraim *is oppreſſed and broken in Judgment, becauſe he willingly walked after the Commandment.*

Therefore, will I be unto Ephraim *as a Moth; and to the Houſe of* Judah *as Rottenneſs.*

HOSEA viii. 12.

I have written to him the great Things of my Law, but they were counted as a ſtrange Thing.

Printed at *London*, for *Samuel Chidley*, dwelling in *Bow-Lane*, at the Sign of the *Chequer*, 1652. *Quarto*, containing thirty-four Pages, in *Red Letter*.

The

The PREFACE.

THIS little Book reflecteth upon all thoſe, who have broken the Statute Laws of God, by Killing of Men merely for Theft. Let ſuch Sinners who are the Judges, or Executioners of ſuch over-much Juſtice, be aſhamed, and confounded for Defiling the Land with Blood; if they hold on this their wonted Courſe, now the Light of lawful Liberty breaketh forth, Will not the Land ſpue them out? For the Earth crieth againſt this Sin, which cannot be cleanſed in an ordinary Way, without the Blood of him that ſheddeth it: This is one of the Abominations of the Time, for which the Saints ought to mourn.

It is long ſince this following Petition was preſented to Thomas Andrews, *Eſq; the then Lord Mayor, and to the Aldermen and Common-Council; but, had they done but their Duties, I had no Need to print and publiſh theſe Books in Red Letters, and preſent the ſame to them in the Midſt of their Jollity, and to the learned Judges of the Land; yea, to the Commiſſioners of Oyer and Terminer, and Goal-Delivery, at the Seſſions at* Newgate, *before whom I appeared, to put them in Mind of their Duty, and of the Law of God, which they had forgotten, and reſted too much upon an Arm of Fleſh; yea, if they had done what they were bound in Conſcience to do, and had obſerved that moſt righteous Law, to which they were ſworn, it would have ſaved me a Labour of going to the Council of State, General Council of the Army, or the Parliament. Now, ſeeing little Fruit yet appears, for the Eſtabliſhing of the Laws of God in this Nation (for the Lives of Men are taken away merely for unvaluable Trifles) I am once more preſſed in Spirit to publiſh the ſame, in Manner and Form following: Thus ſounding an Alarm againſt the Workers of Iniquity, that they may repent, and turn from their evil Ways; ſo delivering my Soul, and clearing myſelf of that Blood-guiltineſs, which lieth upon others, and eſpecially upon rich Men, who are called to weep and howl for the Miſeries that ſhall come upon others: For the Bread of the Needy is the Life of the Poor, and he that defraudeth him of it is a Murderer, and the Scripture ſaith, Thou ſhalt take no Ranſom for the Life of a Murderer that is guilty of Death, but he ſhall ſurely be put to Death. But I hope, that ſome righteous Men will take the Matter into ſerious Conſideration, theſe our Endeavours tending not only to the Good of thoſe Tranſgreſſors, who have not deſerved Death by the Laws of God, but alſo, of thoſe who put them to Death unjuſtly, leſt the Juſtice of God take Hold upon thoſe who are the Cauſers of it, and that the like Puniſhment be inflicted juſtly upon them, which they inflict upon others unjuſtly. And, indeed, I do admire that Men who profeſs to be governed by God's Laws, and ſtand againſt Tyranny, ſhould have a Finger in ſuch a Work! Surely, ſuch Men, though they pretend never ſo much Religion, are not fit to pray, nor to be prayed with: For, when they ſtretch forth their Hands, God will hide his Eyes, and, though they make many Prayers, he will not hear them whoſe Hands are full of Blood.*

To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in Common-Council aſſembled.

The mournful Petition of many Inhabitants of the City of London, *in the Behalf of many thouſand Tranſgreſſors.*

Sheweth,

THAT, foraſmuch as the righteous God exacteth no more of ſinful Man, than his Iniquities deſerve, no Magiſtrate is to puniſh a wicked Man for his Iniquity, beyond the Rule of Equity; that, ſeeing it is evident, that whatſoever is good is of God, and the contrary of *Abaddon*; and that no Man's Will, though great, is good, unleſs it be correſpondent to the Will of him who is greater than the Greateſt; nor the Law of any Authority whatſoever, unleſs it be according to the Law of him who is higher than the Higheſt: Therefore, when great ungodly Men, have by their own Wills, and inhuman Laws, for many Years, deſtroyed not only the Righteous for Conſcience-ſake, but alſo the Wicked undeſervedly, this was Iniquity to be puniſhed by the Judge, though done by Judges themſelves, who, by their over-much Righteouſneſs, and over-much Wickedneſs, the People abetting them, have brought Death and Deſtruction upon this Land, and the Hand of the Lord is ſtretched out ſtill, againſt this ſinful Nation, and unleſs they repent, they ſhall ſurely periſh.

That the Head of this Land is the ſinful City of *London*, who, inſtead of bringing forth monthly Good, for the Healing of the Nation, doth bring forth that which tendeth to the Deſtruction thereof; grey Hairs being ſprinkled here and there upon them, and they not aware; for they conſider not, how many are deſtroyed every Month, by the Law of Man, contrary to the Law of God, who hath declared, that if a Thief be found breaking thro', the Sun being riſen upon him, and be ſmitten that he die, Blood ſhall be ſhed for him, *Exod.* xxii. 3. from whence it appeareth, that thoſe are guilty before the Lord, who take away the Life of any Man, merely for Stealing, when the Lord requireth, that he ſhould make full Reſtitution out of his Eſtate, or, if he have nothing, that he ſhould be ſold for his Theft: But contrariwiſe, their Lives are taken away, merely for Stealing; and commonly many, though found notorious Thieves, yet, have been diſcharged, with little or no Puniſhment, either in Perſon or Purſe, to the great Damage of thoſe who have loſt their Goods, and to the Imboldening of the Malefactors, and the Want of the due Execution of the Law of God upon them; and not Setting them in a Way to make Reſtitution, to the Owners, tendeth to the utter Deſtruction, both of their Bodies and Souls.

Therefore, our Deſire is, That ye would take theſe Things into ſerious Conſideration, and, in your Wiſdoms, take ſuch a prudent and effectual Courſe, that in the Execution of Juſtice, the Remedy may not be worſe than the Diſeaſe, like thoſe who kill their wounded Patients, and wound themſelves; but that Puniſhment may be equaliſed proportionable to the Offences, that the Proſecutors, or Executors of the Law, may have no Cauſe to repent, and that one Witneſs may not riſe againſt any Man, for any Iniquity, but that, at the Mouth of two or three Witneſſes, the Matter may be eſtabliſhed; and that ye would, by no Means, make the Wills of any Men, or any human Laws whatſoever, any Rules for you to walk by, further than you ſee them agreeable to the holy Will and Word of God; and that ye would, according to your Power, ſeek to remove the diſhonourable Badges of Infamy, from off your ſinful City and Nation, though never ſo ancient, familiar, common, and cuſtomary, and that ye would addreſs yourſelves to the Parliament, for the Obtaining of theſe Things.

And your affectionate Petitioners ſhall pray.

Here

Here followeth a Letter, written to Thomas Andrews, *the Lord Mayor that then was.*

London-Bridge, *June* 25th, 1649.

Right Honourable,

I *Hope your Lordſhip* hath not forgotten our Petition in the Behalf of Tranſgreſſors; Chriſt made Interceſſion to God for Tranſgreſſors, who were guilty of eternal Death before God; we make Interceſſion for Men, who are not guilty of temporal Death before Men: Divers Petitions have been promoted in the Behalf of Saints, and it was a very good and acceptable Service; this is for Sinners whom it may be, God will call effectually, for Chriſt died for the Ungodly, and received Gifts for the Rebellious. I have written this incloſed Paper, to further the Petition; I deſire that my Counſel may be acceptable unto your Honour, ſo long as it is agreeable with God's Word, and if it be agreeable to your Lordſhip's Affection, I hope you will aſſiſt in it according to your Power, and proſecute it with all your Might, and make Haſte, and not delay, to keep the righteous Judgments of the God of Judgment, who hath promiſed to be for a Spirit of Judgment, to him that ſitteth in Judgment.

Right Honourable, You may be pleaſed to remember what I ſaid; I know no Friend of mine that is guilty of Theft; what I have done is in Conſcience to God, and Compaſſion to my native Country, and in tender Reſpect to your Honour, that the heavy Wrath of God may not fall upon you, and the whole Nation; at leaſt, that ſome of the Rods of God may be taken away, or that ſome of his Judgments may be ſtayed. I deſire to be a good Example to the Sons of Men, that they may clear themſelves of Blood-guiltineſs; I deſire your Lordſhip again to conſider ſeriouſly of this incloſed Writing; I have ſhewed it to juſt Men, and they approve of it. Your Lordſhip in your Wiſdom may take Counſel of wiſe Men, and of the Ancients, concerning this Matter, and hear what they ſay thereunto; but, above all, ſearch the Scripture, for whatſoever is not according to that, hath no Light in it; and it is a Maxim in Law, That all Laws which are not according to God's Law, and pure Reaſon, are void and null; and if ſo, then not binding to a Citizen, or to any other under Heaven, and ſo are no Rules for me to walk by; but it is the Word of God, which is binding, and yet is not bound.

Honourable Sir, I am

Your Lordſhip's humble Servant.

Samuel Chidley.

Certain Reaſons of weighty Conſideration, in Reference to the Petition to the Common-Council, in Behalf of Tranſgreſſors.

ALthough there be Ground ſufficient enough in the Petition itſelf to evince, that no Malefactor's Life ſhould be taken away, merely for Theft; when the Lord requireth, that Satisfaction ſhould be made out of his Eſtate, and, if he have nothing, that he ſhould be ſold for his Theft; yet, becauſe of the Ignorance and Hardneſs of Men's Hearts, and their Cruelty and Revenge, I ſhall, for their Regulation, propoſe ſome Things to their Conſideration.

To take away the Life of any Man only for Theft, as aforeſaid, is Iniquity, becauſe it is againſt the Rule of Equity; it is not good, becauſe not of God, it is not correſpondent with his Will, it hath no Agreement with his moſt righteous Law, but is inhuman, bloody, barbarous, and tyrannical, and provoketh the God of Judgment, to execute his Judgments upon the Nation that abetteth the ſame; yea, it tendeth to their utter Deſtruction, to deſtroy Men by the Laws of Men, contrary to the Laws of God; conſider I ſay, how contrary it is to the Rule of Equity, the bleſſed and righteous Law of God.

According to the Rule of Equity, there is required Life for Life, Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth, Hand for Hand, Foot for Foot,

Burning for Burning, Wound for Wound, Stripe for Stripe, *Exod.* xxi. 23, 24, 25. It is not Life for Eye, but Eye for Eye; nor Eye for Tooth, but Tooth for Tooth; ſo that, if a Man require more, it is Iniquity, *Prov.* xxx. 6. Therefore, if a Man put out his Neighbour's Eye, ſtrike out his Tooth, and bruiſe his Hand, but doth not kill, he ought not to be killed for this, but muſt loſe his Eye, and his Tooth, and as he hath done to his Neighbour, ſo it muſt be done to him; as it is written, Breach for Breach, Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth; as he hath cauſed a Blemiſh in a Man, ſo ſhall it be done to him again; and he that killeth a Beaſt, ſhall reſtore it, and he that killeth a Man, ſhall be ſurely put to Death; and the ſame Lord ſaith, Ye ſhall have one Manner of Law, as well for the Stranger, as for one of your own Country, *Levit.* xxiv. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. The Lord of Life hath expreſly declared, and it is known to all Men living, That the Life is more than Meat, and the Body is more than Raiment, *Luke* xii. 22. If then the Life be more than Meat, no Man's Life ſhould be taken away for Meat, much leſs for Raiment, which is inferior; and all Things, neceſſary for the temporal Life and Body of Man, are comprehended in theſe Terms, Food and Raiment, *Deut.* x. 18. 1 *Tim.* vi. 8.

The God of the Spirits of all Fleſh hath declared plainly, in his moſt juſt and righteous Law, That, if a Thief be found breaking through, the Sun being riſen upon him, and be ſmitten that he die, Blood ſhall be ſhed for him, *Exod.* xxii. 3. And he renders this Reaſon, for he ſhould make full Reſtitution, and, if he have nothing, he ſhall be ſold for his Theft; and the Lord hath not ſaid, That he that ſtealeth Food, or Raiment, ſhall be put to Death, or that his Blood ſhall be ſhed; but, Whoſo ſheddeth Man's Blood, by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed, *Gen.* ix. 6. So then it appeareth, that it is Murder by the Law of God to kill a Man merely for Stealing, when the Lord ſaith he ſhould make full Reſtitution, and if he have nothing, he ſhall be ſold, not killed, for his Theft; and, amongſt his Statute-Laws, hath ſtated particular Caſes in this, as well as in other Things, and made them ſo plain, that mean Capacities may decide Controverſies of this Nature.

And, as there is no Precept nor Conſequence in the Word of God for this unjuſt Practice, ſo there is no Precedent in *Iſrael*, but many in *England*, the more is their Miſery; but, as that ancient Father *Auſtin* ſaith, That Man is miſerable, who is not ſenſible of his Miſery, which may well be applied unto this ſinful and miſerable Nation, who are not ſenſible of the dangerous Conſequence of this one deadly Evil amongſt the reſt; how unjuſt a Thing it is to kill a Man for Stealing fourteen Pence. let all Men reaſonable judge; for ſo is the Law of this Land, according to which the People are forced to proſecute the Thieves; but, in King *Solomon's* Time, Men did not deſpiſe a Thief in ſome Caſe, *Prov.* vi. 30. And he who is greater than *Solomon*, even the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, who is the Prince of the Kings of the Earth, hath not given the leaſt Hint, that he that ſtealeth Food, or Raiment, ſhould be killed, but He, that leadeth into Captivity, ſhall go into Captivity; and He, that killeth with the Sword, muſt be killed with the Sword, *Revel.* xiii. 10. But, concerning Theft, it is ſaid, Let him that ſtole, ſteal no more; he doth not ſay, Let him be hanged; but rather let him labour with his Hands the Thing that is good, that he may have to diſtribute to him that needeth, *Epheſ.* iv. 28. And it is expreſſly commanded, That he that will not work, neither ſhould he eat, 2 *Theſ.* iii. 10. Many Precepts, Precedents, and Propoſitions may be brought to confirm the Premiſſes, but this is enough at this Time: A Word to the Wiſe is ſufficient.

A Letter

A Letter written the 11*th of* December, 1651, *by* Samuel Chidley, *to the Right Honourable the Commiſſioners of* Oyer *and* Terminer, *and Gaol-Delivery of* Newgate.

Right Worſhipful and Honourable,

ALthough I know not any of my Acquaintance to be guilty of Theft, yet I ſeek to ſave the Lives of theſe Sinners whom God would have preſerved; and, I coming down to this Judgment-ſeat, it being as free for me as another to ſee Juſtice done; and, obſerving your Proceedings from the Beginning hitherto, how, in many Things, you go againſt the very Letter and Equity of the Law of the only Lawmaker, by whom, and by which, yourſelves muſt be judged, cauſed me to call to Mind, how that Great Men are not always wiſe, neither do the Aged always underſtand Judgment.

Right Honourable, I am ſorry to ſee you go on ſtill in your wonted Courſe, of arraigning Men for their Lives merely for Theft. I have obſerved, that the Perſons, who are arraigned before your Honours, are poor Labourers, and ſuch Creatures who ſtole Things of a ſmall Value, peradventure, for mere Neceſſity; yet you arraign them for their Lives, when the Law of God requireth their Preſervation in ſuch a Way, that they may make Satisfaction, and not, if diſabled, to force them into a Neceſſity of ſtealing again; but they are great Sinners indeed, who rob Men of their precious Lives. And the worſt of Men are ſuch, as deſpiſe and deſtroy Thieves that ſteal, merely to ſatisfy their Hunger. It ſeems ſome of the Thieves you will preſs, for not Holding up their Hands at your Command, or for not Anſwering to that Interrogatory, Guilty? or, Not Guilty? Conſider, I pray you, how circumſtantial theſe Things are; the Weight of Trials depends not hereupon, as I humbly conceive. For it is poſſible that a Murderer, when he is arraigned, may want his Hands, and another may be dumb; yet you may proceed to Judgment againſt him, if ſufficient Evidence come in, and that the Jury, who are Judges in Matters of Fact, and, if they will, in Matters of Law, find them guilty: Surely you muſt take no Ranſom for the Life of a Murderer, though he cannot, or will not, hold up his Hand at the Bar, or ſay, That he is Guilty; for, by the Law, No Man is bound to accuſe himſelf, therefore the guilty Perſon is not bound to ſay he is Guilty; and, if he ſhould ſay, Not Guilty, What is he the better?

This is my Opinion, which I humbly leave to the ſerious Conſideration of this Honourable Bench: I would to God that you would try ſuch Men by the Laws of God, who caſt themſelves upon God and the Country: And Oh! that you would put the Judgments of God in Execution, ſeeing you are his Stewards; all Laws being ſubordinate to God's Laws, as the Country is to God himſelf; then your Tranquillity would be lengthened. Conſider what I ſay, in the Fear of God, for Life is above Liberty and Eſtate: The Jewel of one Man's Life all your Eſtates cannot balance. I took Notice of a Paſſage of the Lord Chief Juſtice *Rolls*, and it was well obſerved, How that the Thieves are honeſt, before they come in Gaol, and there they become naught, and learn to lye, by ſaying, Not Guilty, when they had confeſſed it before. If it be ſo, then great Pity it that they ſhould not be in ſuch a Place, where they may be put in a Way and Courſe to make Satisfaction according to the Direction of the Wiſdom of God, by whom Princes and Nobles, yea, all the Judges of the Earth are ſaid to rule. So, leaving theſe conſcientious Dictates to your ſerious Thoughts, I ſubſcribe myſelf,

Seſſions, *Dec.* 11, in the Year of Chriſt 1651.

Your humble Servant, devoted to the Fear of God, and Service of the Commonwealth, according to the Laws of God, and not otherwiſe,

Samuel Chidley.

This Letter was delivered unto the Bench, about the third Hour of the Day, where, when Mr. *Chidley* was called, he made Anſwer, and came to the Board, and the Letter was there publickly owned by him, as his own Handwriting, which he would ſtand by and juſtify,

it

it being, as he ſaid, a Diſcharging of his Conſcience, as a Teſtimony before them all, which he left to their ſerious Conſideration; whereupon he was commanded, by the Bench, to depart, and was put out of the Court, he ſpeaking in the Juſtification of the Statutes of God to be right, and the Precepts of Men to be wrong, in taking away Men's Lives for ſuch trivial Matters.

After he was put out, they gave Sentence againſt the Priſoner at the Bar, who was arraigned for Stealing, and would not hold up his Hand, nor plead, but beſought them that the Letter might be read publickly, that all the Bench might hear; and then, ſaith he, afterwards I will plead, whatſoever comes of it, whether I live, or die: But they would not hearken unto him, but proceeded; and, by the Recorder, Mr. *Steele*, who was their Mouth, gave Sentence againſt him, which was to this Effect: That he ſhould go from thence to the Place from whence he came, and be led into a dark Room where there was no Light, and ſhould be ſtripped naked, only his privy Members and his Head covered, and his Arms ſtretched forth, both on the one Side and on the other, as far as they could be ſtretched; and that he ſhould be laid along on his Back, and have as much Weight laid upon him as he was able to bear, and more; and, the next Day, he ſhould have only three Morſels of Barley-bread, without any Drink; and, the Day following, three Draughts of the Kennel-water running under *Newgate* as much as he could drink, and ſo to remain in that Condition from Day to Day till he died.

Pſal. cxix. 126, 127, 128. *It is Time for thee, Lord, to work, for they have made void thy Law: Therefore I love thy Commandments above Gold, yea, above fine Gold. Therefore I eſteem all thy Precepts, concerning all Things to be right, and I hate every falſe Way.*

To the Right Honourable the Council of State.

The humble Petition of Samuel Chidley.

Sheweth,

THAT your Petitioner, ſetting the Fear of the Lord of Lords before his Eyes, and advancing the Judgments and Laws of the God of Gods in his Heart before the Precepts of frail Man, was moved, in Zeal to his moſt ſacred Majeſty, to diſcharge his Conſcience in the beſt and moſt peaceable Way he could deviſe, and, accordingly, hath given Teſtimony of the Truth, at the Judgment-ſeat before the Seſſions in the *Old-Bailey*, the Eleventh of this Month, as may appear unto your Honours by the printed Relation hereunto annexed; yet, notwithſtanding they proceed according to the uſual Cuſtom, which is againſt the Law of God, the good Things contained in the Solemn League and Covenant of the Nation, the Oath of every Freeman of *London*, Reaſon itſelf, the Witneſs of Conſcience well checked, or rightly rectified, and the whole Creation of God:

My humble Deſire is, That this Honourable Council would be pleaſed, in their Prudence, to take ſuch a ſpeedy Courſe, that the condemned Perſons yet alive (who are not Guilty of Death by the Laws of God, Nature, or Equity) may be reprieved, till the Parliament of this Commonwealth hath heard and determined this Matter; ſo ſhall you find much Comfort: *Jehovah* will be with the Good.

And your Petitioner ſhall pray, &c.

Samuel Chidley.

To the Right Honourable the General Council for the Army.

The humble Propoſals of Samuel Chidley.

Sheweth,

THAT, foraſmuch as the Lord of Lords hath anointed you to be the Heads of the Forces, which he hath muſtered up for the Deſtruction of that Generation of ſinful Men, who are compacted together, as one Man, to eſtabliſh Iniquity by their Laws, which they have

have ſet up in direct Oppoſition to the Laws of God, and have made Uſe of the Kings of the Earth, as their Horns, to protect them in the Exerciſe of their bloody Cruelty; and, ſeeing the Lord of Hoſts hath, in a great Meaſure, ſubdued your Enemies, and that your Swords are not returned empty, it concerns you, Right Honourable, to teſtify your Thankfulneſs by yielding Obedience unto the Statute laws of God, which, at this Day, in the main fundamental Parts thereof, are trampled upon by thoſe who have the Form of Godlineſs, and deny the Power thereof in their Practices, as may appear by their Putting of Men to Death for trivial Matters, contrary to the Law of God; for God's Law ſaith, If a Thief ſteal, he ſhall make Reſtitution out of his Eſtate; and, if he have Nothing, he is to be ſold for his Theft, but not killed. Now, although my Soul abhors the Sin of Theft, it deſerving the Puniſhment of eternal Death before God, How much more the Crying Sin of Murder? And, though I know not any of them, and, for aught I know, not one of them knows me, yet, becauſe I ſee no Man valiant for God, nor ſtand to make up the Gap, I, for Want of a better, am moved, in Zeal for God's Glory, to cry out againſt the irrational and irregular Proceedings of Men, who ſet up or maintain a Flag or Standard of Defiance againſt their own Conſciences, and the moſt righteous Laws of the only Law-maker; and this I have endeavoured to do in ſuch a peaceable Way, that my Tranſaction of this Buſineſs for God may not ſavour of any Bitterneſs of Spirit in me, againſt the Perſons of thoſe Men, or Contempt of their lawful Authority, who ſit in Judgment, and do err therein, as I humbly conceive; but, ſeeing God hath ſaid, He will magnify his Law, and make it honourable; and that it hath been a uſual Courſe with him to make Choice of weak Inſtruments, to make his Truth known: I, therefore, upon this Account, was reſolved to put forth myſelf, and engage my Heart in this Buſineſs, the Conſequence whereof, when accompliſhed, will be more than I will ſpeak of at this Time; and, although I endure ſome Reproaches for it, ſome ſaying, What a Thief is this to attempt ſuch a Work? And that none but Thieves would do it; yet I am led forward by ſuch a Spirit, as, I hope, will ſo carry me upon the Wings of his Providence in the Managing hereof, that I ſhall not be diſcouraged, notwithſtanding human Frailty: And, becauſe I have a ſeaſonable Opportunity to acquaint your Honours with this Buſineſs, and to crave your Aſſiſtance, I deſire you, in the firſt Place, to conſider my printed Papers, wherein I have ſhewed my Diſlike of Putting Men to Death for Stealing; and, for the further Amplification and Inlargement thereof, I deſire you to conſider of theſe Poſitions:

1. That God is the only Law-maker, and that his Law is the ancienteſt and the beſt that ever was, or can be poſſibly invented by any Parliament, to which all Men are bound under Pain of Damnation; and that whatſoever Laws and Proceedings are oppoſite thereunto, in the ſmalleſt Meaſure, are unjuſt, and the Executioners thereof do ſin; and, by how much the greater the Precept is, by ſo much the more do they offend that violate the ſame.

2. God hath no-where given Liberty, but hath prohibited, that the Life of any Man ſhould be taken away for Stealing, and hath manifeſted he would have their Lives preſerved; therefore to take away their Lives is a Sin, a Crying Sin, yea, I may ſay it is a National Sin, for which God hath, and will viſit them with the Arrows of his Indignation: Yea, the People are ſo blinded with this corrupt Cuſtom, that they know it not, neither will they underſtand, but think they do well, and that they ſhall have Peace, though they walk on in Darkneſs, while the Foundations of the Earth are out of Courſe.

Obj. And, whereas they object, That it is the Law of the Land to put Thieves to Death for Stealing to the Value of thirteen Pence Halfpenny,

I anſwer: That no Law is to be obſerved, if it be againſt the Law of God, eſpecially in the Taking away of Men's Lives; yea, God was ſo far from commanding ſuch Thieves to be put to Death, that he requireth their Blood at the Hands of them that ſhed it, though done in the very Act of Breaking through, if the Sun be riſen upon them.

3. The Putting them to Death is expreſly againſt the Law of God, becauſe it diſableth them for ever from making Satisfaction to the Owners of the Goods; yea, ſuch is the Corruption of the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Land, that he, that diſcovers the Thief, is bound over to

proſecute

proſecute him, tho' it be to the Taking away of his Life; and, after he has done that, the Owner ſhall ſuſtain Damage nevertheleſs, and he can have no more than the Life of the Thief; and ſome Men are ſo ignorant, cruel, hard-hearted, and revengeful, that they will take away the Lives of the petty Thieves in Revenge, taking an Opportunity, upon the Advantage of the Law, to exerciſe their bloody Cruelty upon them.

And ſuch is the Corruption of the Laws, that, if the Thief ſteal to the Value of thirteen Pence Half-penny, he ſhall be hanged, as Judge *Byron*, in his Caſes, hath declared; and ſometimes their Lives are taken away upon a ſingle Evidence; whereas there ought to be two Witneſſes to prove every Fact, and one Witneſs ought not to riſe up againſt any Man, to put him to Death: So God hath ſaid, whoſe Word is a Law amongſt Saints, though Sinners caſt the ſame behind their Backs.

4. The Law of putting poor Thieves to Death for Stealing, that are not able to make Reſtitution out of their Eſtates, is againſt God's Law; becauſe, in ſuch Caſes, God hath ſaid they ſhall be ſold for their Theft. Now, though they are worth ſomewhat, while they are living, yet, when they are dead, they are worth nothing; yea, a living Dog is better than a dead Lion; Men would rather, in ſuch Caſes, bury dead Men, than buy them; and, how unjuſt a Thing it is to put them to Death, ſeeing the Apoſtle ſaith, Let them labour with their Hands, let all rational Men judge. The Apoſtle ſaith, They ſhould labour with their Hands: No, ſaith the Bench, They ſhall be hanged; tie up their Hands, and he that hath Benefit of Clergy, and can read his Neck-verſe, burn him on the Hand: By this he is diſabled for the preſent, that he cannot labour with his Hand, and, if he would, he is forced into a Neceſſity of ſtealing again, if no Man will ſet him on Work; which Thing Men will be cautious to do to one that carrieth ſuch a Brand of Infamy upon him.

5. This murdering Law is the Cauſe wherefore many Murders are committed by Robbers in the Act of Stealing; for the Thieves know it is a hanging Matter to ſteal, and it is no more to commit Murder; and then, for Safety of their Lives, and to hide their Theft, they commit Murder, for Fear the Party ſhould come and witneſs againſt them, to the Taking away of their Lives.

6. This Law is the Cauſe wherefore many Thieves eſcape, and Perſons come not in to proſecute them, becauſe they find, that the Remedy would be worſe than the Diſeaſe; for, if they proſecute them, they ſhall be put to a great deal of Expence and Charge, and, peradventure, the Thief ſhall loſe his Life, and the Parties their Goods; whereas, if there were a Way for Reſtitution by them, there would be more Proſecution of them.

Obj. But it is objected, What ſhall we do with them?

Anſw. I anſwer: He that hath ſtolen, if the Theft be found in his Hands, is to forfeit the Double; if he has made it away, he is to forfeit Four-fold, and his Eſtate is to be taken to ſatisfy the Debt.

Obj. But what if he has no Eſtate? It may be, he is ſome poor Rogue, that is worth nothing.

Anſw. I anſwer: He muſt be ſold for his Theft.

Obj. But who will buy him? No-body will be troubled with him.

Anſw. I anſwer: Either the Party who hath ſuſtained the Damage is to take him, or he may be ſet on Work in our own Country, by Land, or by Water, being chained up; they might work in Mines, heave Coals, and earn three or four Shillings a Day; or row in Gallies, or be put in Workhouſes for to pun Hemp, or other ſervile Employments. And why cannot we put them to it here, as well as the *Hollanders* there, till they have made Satisfaction? And not put the Thieves in ſuch Places, which are a Hell on Earth, where they learn to be worſe, than ever they were before. Or they may be tranſported to ſome of our own Plantations, where ſome, that have been in the like Condition tranſported, have ſoon become honeſt, and, being very ingehious, have been able to teach the Planters; which maketh the Merchants to prize the Thieves far above the ordinary Vagrants, or other Perſons that are taken up by the Spirits in the Streets, becauſe they want that Ingénuity that the Thieves have; for, generally, the wittieſt Rogues are the greateſt Cut-purſes.

Obj. But would not this be great Tyranny, that Men ſhould be ſold as Slaves?

Anſw.

Anſw. I anſwer to that: They are not ſold for ever, but only for their Theft; and it is a worſe Slavery, yea, a great Tyranny indeed, to take away their Lives.

Obj. But what if they run away?

Anſw. Then they contract upon themſelves a double Debt.

Obj. But what if they will not work?

Anſw. They muſt not eat: And, before ſuch an one will die for Hunger, doubtleſs, he will eat the Fleſh off his Arm; and, before he will eat his own Fleſh, it may be he will work: Hunger will break through Stone-walls, and, if any Thing will force him to work, this will, for his Belly requires it of him; but, if he will periſh, let him periſh; his own Blood is upon his own Head, and the Commonwealth is diſcharged of it.

Such Courſes as theſe would be a Means to terrify the Thieves, and ſuppreſs Theft, for many of them would rather be hanged: But, if a Man would be hanged, he muſt not have his Deſire, unleſs the Law require it; ſo, though Thieves chuſe to die againſt the Law of God, rather than to live according to it, they muſt be kept alive notwithſtanding, and ſet hard at Work to earn their Bread, and the Overplus muſt pay for their Theft: And then, if any (as I hope many will) be converted in this their captive Condition, O, how will they bleſs the Time that ever ſuch Compulſion was uſed, whereby they learned to know themſelves, and to remember their Creator! And he, that is an inſtrumental Means of converting one poor Sinner, ſhall have no Cauſe to be ſorry for it in the Day of Account.

7. Another Abuſe in the Proceedings of the Law of this Land is, that, whereas God's Law requireth that the Witneſſes ſhould be Executioners of Death on their Malefactor, a condemned Executioner doth it, who is the notorioueſt Rogue that can be found, and one that knows nothing of the Buſineſs, whether he, whom he hangs be an honeſt Man or a Knave; he will hang a Martyr as well as a Thief, but, doubtleſs, he hath a Check of Conſcience, as well as his Maſters, elſe why will he ask them Forgiveneſs before he turns them off? Now all that can be alledged for the Hangman is: He doth but his Office, he is but an Executioner of the Law and Sentence. And the like the Judges do alledge for themſelves: Alas (ſay they) what can we do, we are but the Executioners of the Law of the Land, and, till the Parliament alter the Law, we muſt obſerve our ordinary Rules; Why do you come to us? What would you have us do? We have not Power.

But Judges ought to be Men of Courage, fearing God, and hating Covetouſneſs, and ſuch as will obſerve God's Laws, and judge according to his Statute Book; and by the Laws of God, no Executioner ought to inflict Death upon any Man, unleſs he in the Execution of him be ſatisfied in his own Conſcience, that the Man ought to die, elſe he is a Murderer after a Manner, though the Offender deſerveth Death; yet, if a Man be not convinced of it, he ought not to put him to Death, by any Command whatſoever, and, if the Witneſſes will not do it, they muſt be ſeverely dealt with.

This is my Opinion, which I humbly ſubmit to the Conſideration of thoſe who have more Underſtanding than myſelf.

8. Another Abuſe, which I find in the Proceedings of the Law, is in the Preſſing Men to Death, becauſe they will not hold up their Hands at the Bar, or ſay they are Guilty, or Not Guilty; upon which circumſtantial Nicety, they condemn them to be preſſed in ſuch a tyrannical Manner, that the very Sentence itſelf is enough to terrify the poor Creatures, and make them open their Mouths to confeſs their own Guiltineſs, or elſe to lye againſt their own Conſciences.

Obj. But it is objected, That they are preſſed to Death, within Half an Hour at the moſt, and that they are not kept in ſuch a lingering Condition, according to the Sentence.

Anſ. I anſwer: If they put them to Death before their Time, herein they go beyond their Commiſſion; but indeed the Executioners do it out of Compaſſion to the Condemned, to diſpatch him out of his Torment; ſomething like to a Phyſician, that will give his Patient ſomething in Pity, to rid him out of his Pain, becauſe he believeth he muſt die, and cannot eſcape his Fit of Sickneſs, ſo making more Haſte than good Speed.

Now the Proceeding againſt ſuch Malefactors who will not hold up their Hands, and plead, is without Examination of Witneſſes, yet they will take his Life away *Pro Confeſſo*; but by what Law I know not, unleſs a Law of Antichriſt; I am ſure ſuch Precepts came neither

from Mount *Sion*, nor Mount *Sinai*; theſe have out-ſtripped *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*. The Gentiles, that knew not the Law, did not compel Man to lye, by ſaying Not Guilty, when they were Guilty; nor to go againſt the Law of Nature, to accuſe themſelves by Confeſſing their own Guilt; but of all Cruelty there is none like that of Antichriſt, the Man of Sin, and that Beaſt with ſeven Heads, and ten Horns, ſpoke of in *Revel.* xiii. and they exerciſe it upon their own Brethren, even the Members of their Church. Thus the crowned Locuſts, in the Midſt of *Ægyptian* Darkneſs, are a Plague to the Men of the Earth.

But the Way to try a Thief is to examine the Witneſſes, and, if they prove Matter of Fact, the Judge is to declare, how much he muſt pay, and to command that Law to be put in Execution: That his Eſtate ſhould be ſeized, and, if it will not ſatisfy, he muſt deliver up his Perſon, not ſo much as to loſe a Limb, or any Member of his Body, but to go immediately to the Work-Houſe, or Place where he may be ſafely kept with ſufficient Food, and Work enough, as much as he is able to do, and ply it conſtantly early and late every day (Lord's Days excepted) and to have ſufficient Time to ſleep and reſt; and when they have wrought out their Theft, then to be freed, and, if they ſteal again, to ſerve them in the ſame Kind; as, if the Thief ſteal a hundred Pounds, he ſhould pay two-hundred Pounds, if it be found with him; but, if he have ſpent the Money, he ſhall pay four-hundred Pounds.

If this Courſe were well followed, *Tyburn* would loſe many Cuſtomers, for it would much abate the Number of Thieves and Murderers.

My Deſire is, That your Honours would have the Parliament to put God's Law in Execution, concerning this Thing, and what it is I have declared before.

It hath been deſired, that Laws ſhould be drawn up from God's Word, for the Government of this Nation; but unleſs the Parliament will be pleaſed to confirm them, What are we the better? Ordinary Men cannot impoſe, all they can do is only to propoſe; only God hath declared, His Teſtimonies muſt be bound up, and his Law ſealed amongſt his Diſciples. But others do take upon them to make Laws beſides, and contrary to the Laws of God; moreover, if the Parliament ſhould countenance ſuch a Thing, that certain Men ſhould be appointed to draw up Laws, according to the Laws of God, it will aſk a great Deal of Time; and it is a Work that the wiſeſt and holieſt Men, in the World, will find too great for them to undertake to do, without Errors, unleſs they were infallibly inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt: *Moſes* was in the Mount with God, forty Days and forty Nights, and neither eat nor drank; and forty Days and forty Nights after that likewiſe; neither do we read, that he ſaw Sleep with his Eyes, in all that Time; and after he wrote the Laws and Precepts for all *Iſrael*, with the Statutes and Judgments; he was therein guided by the immediate Direction of the Spirit of God infallibly, and how long he was writing them, we know not, but they are very full and brief, and very ſufficient for the Government of that Nation; neither had any Nation ſuch an excellent Law as *Iſrael* had; neither was there ſo excellent a Government amongſt any People, as amongſt the People of the *Jews*, ſo long as they forſook not the Law of the Lord, nor caſt aſide the Word of the Holy one of *Iſrael*; their chief City was called the *City of Righteouſneſs*, the faithful City, Righteouſneſs lodged in it; their Judges and Counſellors were Gods, and Children of the moſt High, becauſe the Word of God was committed unto them. Now may be it will be a long Time before the Parliament will eſtabliſh the Laws of God, or give Way for Laws to be impoſed upon this Nation, which are ſuitable thereunto; and when ſuch a Work is ſet upon, it will be long before it be accompliſhed, for whoſoever taketh it upon them, muſt devote themſelves wholly to the Work, and when they have uſed their beſt Endeavours, a Wonder it will be, if the Laws they draw up, with the Manner of Proceedings, will be ſo perfect, that they need no Amendments, in Reſpect of Manner and Form; and a long Time will be ſpent in Debate, before ſuch a Work be admitted to be attempted. And therefore I humbly conceive, that it is a meet, that this Buſineſs, concerning the Preſervation of the petty Thieves, ſhould be concluded now, with all Speed, being out of Controverſy, and afterwards to do the reſt according as Time and Opportunity will afford. For this doth concern Life, which is above Perſon, Name, Liberty, and Eſtate: And this Thing, being done, will render the Antichriſtian

tian Prieſts, and lying Lawyers, the baſeſt of Men, who have lived upon the Souls and Bodies of Men, and have not had the Fear of God before their Eyes, but have made their Belly their God, and their Glory their Shame, and their End ſhall be Deſtruction, unleſs they repent. And as a Teſtimony of the Truth of God, in this Particular, I ſet to my Hand, this Thirty-firſt of *December*, 1651.

Samuel Chidley.

A Letter written to the Regulators of the Law, appointed by the Parliament, and ſent, and preſented to that Committee.

From my Mother's Houſe in *Soper-Lane, London, Feb.* 25, 1651.

Honourable Gentlemen,

FOraſmuch as you are appointed by the Parliament to conſider of the Inconveniencies, Miſchiefs, Chargeableneſs, and Irregularities, in your Law, and that you have profeſſed your Willingneſs to receive whatſoever Perſons have to offer in Relation thereunto: I hold it meet to preſent you with theſe incloſed Papers, which, peradventure, may be a Means to ſhorten your ſeven Years tedious Work, and wherein you may obſerve that I have endeavoured to diſcharge my Conſcience before all: Witneſſing againſt that hateful Sin of putting Men to Death merely for Theft, although the God of Nature doth teach a contrary Leſſon: But who is ſo blind as thoſe that will not ſee? Surely Covetouſneſs is the Root of all Evil, and Gifts deſtroy the Heart, and blind the Eyes of the Wiſe, and pervert the Judgment of the Righteous; and Men in the greateſt Places are the greateſt Unbelievers, for they have not ſo much Faith as to truſt God with their Subſtance, but uſe indirect Means to make uncertain Riches certain; as may appear by their putting Thieves to Death for Stealing.

Now, when I found ſo little Fruit in the Magiſtrates of the City of *London*, as you may ſee by my printed Relations, I was ſorry that my Endeavours produced no better Effect amongſt them, whoſe Predeceſſors have always been very forward to put the Laws of Man in Execution, though they were never ſo ridiculous, and contrary to Reaſon and Religion.

I ſent, and went unto others, whom it likewiſe principally concerned, even to thoſe who are called the learned Judges of the Land, and declared my Judgment to as many of them as I could meet with, That they might not ſuffer their Mouth to cauſe their Fleſh to ſin, by pronouncing unjuſt murdering Sentences.

I went down alſo to the Seſſions, but I could gather no Grapes off Thorns.

And after I had delivered a Letter to the Lord Preſident *Bradſhaw*, to be preſented unto the Council of State; I remembered that the Officers of the Army were Men profeſſing great Things, for the Advancement of God's Glory; ſo I preſented ſome humble Propoſals to thoſe honourable Gentlemen, which were well reſented by them, a Copy of which I have ſent you here incloſed with this Petition, which ſhould have been preſented to the Houſe; but ſome of the Members conceive the Buſineſs to be proper for you to take Cogniſance of, becauſe you are appointed to conſider, and make Report of the Evils of your Law, for Reformation thereof; therefore you ought to cry out againſt Murder before you do any Thing elſe, for this concerneth Men's Lives; the beſt of your Actions herein, in my Judgment, having been at the moſt but a Tything of Mint, Aniſe, and Cummin, and you have neglected Mercy, one of the weighty Matters of the Law; for I am verily perſuaded, that it was in your Power to have put a Stop to the Murdering of thoſe Men which were hanged at *Tyburn* the laſt Seſſions, for Stealing five Shillings and ſix Pence: I hoped that you would have gone to the Root, and not cropped only the Branches of wicked Laws; I am angry, and grieved at the Heart, that you ſhould ſo dally in God's Matters, as not to acquaint the Houſe with ſuch a groſs, unnatural, inhuman Practice of the Law, as Killing of the petty Thieves. I deſire the Lord to give you repenting and relenting Hearts, for doing his Work ſo negligently, to value Men's Lives no more; for it is a Sin, and Shame, that the Land ſhould ſtill be defiled with more Blood; and how you can anſwer it in the Day of Account, for not Pre-

venting ſuch Miſchief, when you knew how to do it, and had an Opportunity in your Hands, I know not: In my Opinion, if you follow your Work never ſo cloſe, if you omit this Buſineſs of Weight, you will make a long Harveſt of a little Fruit; no Doubt, but the Time will be long before you have ſwimmed through the Ocean Sea of your troubleſome Laws: For, What is the Chaff to the Corn, or the Heap of Aſhes to the Spark that is hid under it? May not the Parliament, by the Weſt-wind of their Legiſlative Power, blow ſuch combuſtible Stubble away? You ſit as Refiners, but Time is precious, and Droſs is not worth the Labour of Refining, and a leaden Law is too heavy for an honeſt Heart; and we ought not to think, that ſuch a Law, becauſe it is a Law, will be a ſufficient Excuſe to the Executioners thereof, ſo long as it is idolatrous, prophane, rebellious, bloody, adulterous, thieviſh, lying, and covetous; certainly, that Law cannot be good, that forceth all Men to prefer the meaneſt Thing before the greateſt, that is, a little wicked Mammon with an idolatrous Badge upon it, before a Man's precious Life: *Solomon* eſteemed more of a living Dog, than thoſe, who have killed Men merely for Stealing, have (or had) of living Men. Now, if God do touch your Hearts, and make you thoroughly ſenſible of the Abominations of the Time, and ſet you in a mourning Poſture, that you may bewail your Neglect in Suffering the poor Thieves to be put to Death, when it was in your Power to have prevented it; then, you may the better go on, like *Joſiah*'s Men, whom he ſet to ſpy out the Abominations in the Land, and ſet up a Sign, whereſoever you find a Bone of *Haman-gog* unburied, and go on, and let the Nation know the Idolatry, and Superſtition of their Law, and its Prophaneneſs, and the Sabbath-breaking thereof; the Rebellion of their Law, the Murder of their Law, the Adultery of their Law, the Theft of their Law, the Lying of their Law, and the Covetouſneſs of their Law; and laſtly, the Uncharitableneſs of their Law, which is the End thereof, and ſo I end,

Yours (and the Commonwealth's Servant) in all lawful Things.

Samuel Chidley.

Reader,

WHERE are they that are valiant for the Truth, and will do the Work of the Lord diligently? If thou haſt any Spark of Love or Zeal to maintain the wonderful Statutes of God, which my Soul keeps; I charge thee, as thou wilt anſwer before the Tribunal-Seat of God's eternal Vengeance, that thou hinder not the Publication of this to all Perſons, who have an Ear open to hear, neither conceal this precious Truth, which will maintain him that maintaineth it, and bring him into more Acquaintance with God. For, doubtleſs, the Standing for the Statutes and Judgments of the holy and bleſſed God is a moſt bleſſed Work, and the Eſtabliſhment thereof in this Nation will work a more bleſſed Reformation, than yet hath been, or ſhall be ſpoken of, at this Time.

By Mr. *Chidley*'s Appointment, who is the Author of this Book, one of them ſhould have been nailed upon *Tyburn* Gallows, before the Execution, with this Motto written on the Top:

Curſed be that bloody Hand,
Which takes this down without Command.

As a Witneſs againſt ſuch curſed Proceedings of Murdering Men, merely for Stealing Food or Raiment: But the Party could not nail it upon *Tyburn* Gallows-tree, for the Crowd of People; and, therefore, was forced to nail it to the Tree, which is upon the Bank by the Gallows; and there it remained, and was read by many, both before, and after Execution, and it is thought will ſtand there ſtill, till it drop away.

The

The Earl of *Glamorgan*'s Negotiations, and colourable Commitment in *Ireland* demonſtrated: Or, The *Iriſh* Plot, for Bringing ten-thouſand Men and Arms into *England*, whereof Three-hundred to be for Prince *Charles*'s Life-guard. Diſcovered in ſeveral Letters, taken in a Pacquet-boat by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Forces at *Padſtow* in *Cornwall*. Which Letters were caſt into the Sea, and by the Sea coming in, afterwards regained; and were read in the Honourable Houſe of Commons. Together with divers other Letters, taken by Captain *Moulton*, at Sea, near *Milford-Haven*, coming out of *Ireland*, concerning the ſame Plot and Negotiation.

Ordered, by the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, that theſe Letters be forthwith printed and publiſhed.

H. Elſynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London, printed for *Edward Husband*, Printer to the Honourable Houſe of Commons. *March* 17, 1645. *Quarto*, containing thirty-ſix Pages.

To the Honourable William Lenthal, *Eſq; Speaker of the Honourable Houſe of Commons.*

Bodman, March 7, 1645.

SIR,

THESE incloſed Letters being brought to my Hands, by Divine Providence, I held it my Duty to ſpeed to you, becauſe of the great Importance of them, and to acquaint you how I came by them.

Having ſome Dragoons at *Padſtow*, a Pacquet-Boat from *Ireland* came into the Harbour; the Dragoons preſently endeavoured to board her; and after ſome ſmall Reſiſtance, wherein the Captain and the Maſter of the Veſſel were ſlain, they entered, ſeizing upon one Captain *Allen*; the ſaid *Allen* threw a Pacquet and divers looſe Letters, over-board, of which, only theſe incloſed were recovered: I ſhall ſend *Allen* with all convenient Speed, up to you, whoſe Examination you have alſo herewith incloſed: I find him to be a dangerous and ſubtle Man; I believe he has much in his Breaſt, which may be got out of him, by Reaſon he is obnoxious as a Spy, and a Man who, I perceive, loves his Life ſo well, that good Uſe may be made thereof, to diſcover, by further Examination, what we have not Opportunity to do here, but yet may be worthy of your Knowledge: For it appears by ſome of the Letters, that he hath much intruſted by the Earl of *Glamorgan* to him, to give a verbal Account of; I have given Captain *Moulton*, who is upon the *Iriſh* Seas, Advertiſement of the Enemies

mies Intentions. To ſay no more, you will perceive by the Date of the Earl of *Glamorgan*'s Letters, That he has the Honour, Truſt, and Liberty of a very good and loyal Subject. I ſuppoſe you will ſee by theſe Letters, what Reaſon there is to haſten Recruits with Effect, which I muſt withal repreſent to be the more needful, in Regard of the Diminution, which cannot but attend thoſe Marches; and that Hardſhip the Army has been put to in ſuch a Country, and at ſuch a Seaſon. I muſt acknowledge your Proviſions for this Army to be very great, and the Committee of the Army's Care, in obſerving your Appointments therein to be anſwerable. I deſire I may faithfully improve your Favours, as becomes an honeſt Man, to the Glory of God, and your Service: And reſt

Your moſt humble Servant,

T. Fairfax.

To the Honourable William Lenthal, *Eſq; Speaker to the Honourable Houſe of Commons.*

Bodman, March 6, 11 at Night.

SIR,

IN my Laſt, which was but Yeſterday by the Poſt, I gave you an Account of the Agreement made for the Delivery up of Mount *Edgecomb*, and the Disbanding of the Regiments raiſed in thoſe Parts, and of the Coming of Mr. *Coriton*, and divers other Gentlemen of Quality; which is every Day more apparent than other, by their hourly Sending to the General, to be received into the Protection of the Parliament, which is now, in ſome Meaſure, made known to the Country, who had this Day a Meeting upon *Bodman* Downs: It was but Yeſterday they had Notice, and one Hundred of the four had not the Notice come to them, yet about Eight-hundred or Nine-hundred appeared; and now for the Occaſion the Meeting was deſired, which was for this Purpoſe, to let them know the Army was come to protect them, not to ruin them: That the Soldiers, Horſe and Foot, had Charge to defray their Quarters: That, if any Soldier offered Violence unto them, upon Complaint it ſhould be redreſſed: That the Gentlemen of the Country, naming ſuch and ſuch Perſons, were come into the Parliament, which did very much encourage the Commonalty to be the more forward to hearken to what might be for the Service of the Publick, and Defence of their own County: And that which wrought the Impreſſion deepeſt upon their Hearts, was Mr. *Peters*'s Publiſhing to them the Pacquets taken in the *Iriſh* Veſſel, which I mentioned unto you in my laſt Letter, which he not only ſhewed unto them, but read the ſame, and permitted ſuch of them, as deſired it, to read them; and told them they ſhould have Copies of *Glamorgan*'s Articles, and his other Letters, if they deſired them, which abundantly gave them Satisfaction; and that which put it out of Doubt was, That the Ship and Pacquets were ſeized on, and taken by the Aſſiſtance of the Inhabitants at *Padſtow*, within their own County, but the Day before: And indeed, it was a very ſeaſonable and remarkable Accident as could have happened, for the Uniting of this County to the Parliament; for the very Thoughts of *Iriſh* and *French* are hateful unto them. Thoſe Letters, that were moſt conſiderable, miſcarried in the Water; which were the Earl of *Glamorgan*'s to the Prince, Sir *Edward Hyde*, and to another; which Capt. *Allen*, an *Iriſh* Papiſt and Merchant of *Waterford*, confeſſeth he had from the Hands of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, to deliver as aforeſaid. Upon his Examination he ſaid further, That the three-hundred *Iriſh*, deſired for the Prince's Life-Guard, were to be thus diſpoſed: An Hundred to be put into the Mount, an Hundred to *Pendennis*, and the other Hundred to be a Guard to the Prince. The General hath ſent Poſt to Capt. *Moulton*, Admiral of the *Iriſh* Coaſts, to give him Notice in what Forwardneſs the *Iriſh* were to be tranſported, that they may keep out Ships at Sea for Prevention: The Trumpet, that went with the Summons to the Lord *Hopton*, is not yet returned. To-morrow early, the whole Army, Horſe and Foot, advances towards *Truro*: All Paſſes, By-lanes, and Fords being, for the moſt Part, barricadoed or blocked up; ſo that, if the Enemy ſhould ſlip by, which we no ways fear, their Marches will be ſo ſlow, that their Rear will be engaged before they get half through the Paſſage. Before this comes to your Hands, without Peradventure, the Buſi-

neſs

neſs will be very near decided by a Treaty, or Retreat into the Sea. There came ſeven or eight of the Prince's Servants this Day for Paſſes to go Home, much lamenting the ſudden Carrying the Prince on Shipboard, when they dreamed not of it. At *Foy* we took thirteen Pieces of Ordnance mounted, beſides Arms and Powder: The firſt Night the Town ſtood upon their Guard, but the next Morning repented of their Folly, and, without Diſpute, admitted our Forces to come in. Be pleaſed to haſten down Monies to the Army, and Match and Powder with all Speed to *Lyme*; neither of theſe will admit of Delay: And haſten Recruits, that they may meet us when we face about.

Your moſt humble and

faithful Servant,

Joh. Ruſhworth.

The Examination of *Allen* is ſent up by this Bearer, who can inform you more of the Carriage of the Man: I hope the Bearer will come ſafe with the Letters; he is enjoined to have great Care, he comes far with ſuch a Truſt.

To the Prince his Highneſs.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

SINCE my Coming from his Majeſty on the Fourteeth of *October* laſt, I have gone in ſuch untrodden Paths, as have not afforded me the Poſſibility of making any Addreſs unto your Highneſs, until this Opportunity, which hath made me live under no ſmall Affliction, leſt my Actions ſhould have been miſrepreſented to your Highneſs, and leſſen me in that good Opinion of yours, which I value as the greateſt Bleſſing of my Life. I ſhall not preſume to trouble your Highneſs with ſo tedious a Narrative, as the Reaſons of my Coming from the King, and the Relation of my Adventures ſince muſt needs be; but I have done it at large to Sir *Edward Hyde*, and I moſt humbly beſeech your Highneſs to give him Leave to entertain you with them, at ſuch leiſure Times, when he ſhall find that you can admit of it with leaſt Trouble; which that you may the more eaſily grant me, I ſhall not importune you myſelf with any Thing more at this Time, than this ſincere Proteſtation, That, while I have the Honour to live in your Highneſs's Thoughts, in this Favour I ſhall think myſelf above all Misfortunes, how miſerable ſoever otherwiſe; and I doubt not but your Goodneſs will, by preſerving me ſo happy in your Memory, encourage me in that which you cannot hinder me, from being

Your Highneſs's moſt humble

and moſt faithful Servant,

George Digby.

To Sir Edward Hyde, *Chancellor of the* Exchequer.

My dear Chancellor,

I SEIZE with much Joy this Occaſion, that flatters me with the Hopes of conveying ſafe unto you, and by you unto the reſt of my Friends there, an Account of my Adventures ſince you heard from me; theſe incloſed Papers will give you a very particular Relation of all Matters of Fact. I make no Queſtion, but my Unſucceſsfulneſs in that Employment will give Occaſion to my Enemies to accuſe me of a great Diſſervice to the King, in having been the Loſs of ſo many of his Horſe, not in the Conduct of them (for I apprehend not Malice itſelf in that Point) but in putting them upon ſo deſperate a Deſign. This Point I deſire you to clear, by letting all, with whom you ſhall find the Objection, know, That, altho' I was of Opinion, that the King himſelf ought to have ventured, when he was at *Welbeck*, the Paſſage into *Scotland*, in Caſe there had been a Certainty of my Lord of *Montroſe*'s being on this Side *Forth*, yet, when that was once diverted, upon both my Intelligence and Advice, I had afterwards the leaſt Share of any Man in the Council in adventuring any Part of the King's Horſe upon ſo hopeleſs a Deſign, as that of *Scotland* was, while we

were

were doubtful of my Lord of *Montroſe*'s Condition; but the Northern Horſe, being diſguſted with *Gerrard*, refuſed abſolutely to march back Southward to *Welbeck*, and ſo, rather than they ſhould diſband, it was thought fit to try, whether they would be engaged to adventure to *Montroſe*, who in all his Letters had ſeemed much to reſent the Neglect of him, in not ſending him a Supply of Horſe, aſſuring, that, with the Help but of One-thouſand, he could carry through his Work: The Propoſition being made to Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, he at firſt point-blank refuſed it, as an Undertaking which had, by *Gerrard* and all the reſt, been declared deſperate, even with all the King's Horſe; but, upon ſecond Thoughts, finding that all his Horſe would diſband, if they were drawn Southward, he and all the Northern Gentlemen came to the King, and told him, that, if he would lay his Commands upon me to take the Charge, and to go along with them, they would adventure it, otherwiſe not: Whereupon, I having declared my Obedience to whatſoever the King ſhould impoſe upon me, his Majeſty commanded me poſitively to that Charge, uſing, beſides his Pleaſure, this Argument to me, That, if I ſucceeded in it, I ſhould reap much Honour; if not, I could incur no Prejudice by failing in that which was at firſt given for deſperate: And ſo, at Half an Hour's Warning, having (I proteſt to God) not dreamed of the Matter before, I marched off from the Rendezvous with an Addition only to the Northern Horſe of ſuch as would voluntarily chuſe to go with me, which proved to be a Matter of Three-hundred, with which I made that Progreſs, which you will find related in the incloſed Papers. But here I am ſure you will wonder, how I, holding that Place I did near the King, and having the Honour of ſo great a Part in his Truſts, eſpecially at a Time when he had ſcarce either Counſellor or Penman about him, ſhould be put upon ſo extravagant and deſperate an Employment. To this I muſt let you know, and ſuch only as you ſhall think fit, That, though I had no Thought of the preſent Action, yet the King and I had long before (that is, ever ſince his Affairs were made ſo deſperate by the Loſs of *Briſtol*) concluded it moſt for his Service, That I ſhould abſent myſelf from him for ſome Time, in Caſe I could find a fair and honourable Pretence for it. I believe, the Accidents ſince befallen at *Newark*, with Prince *Rupert* and *Gerrard*, will have given you a Light of ſome Reaſons of my Remove. The Truth [Here follow many Lines of Characters.]

Over and above theſe urging Reaſons, as to the Time, upon the Main of the King's Condition and mine, I found the King likely to ſuffer much by my Stay near him, the Wearineſs of the War being ſo univerſal, and the Deſpair of any Approvement in his Condition being ſo great in all about him, I found it almoſt every Man's Opinion [Here come in more Lines of Characters.]

I thought it then high Time to watch an Opportunity of Freeing his Majeſty from an Attendant ſo pernicious to his Honour and Intereſt; and this, my deareſt Friend, is as much as I think neceſſary to ſay unto you upon this Subject, hoping, that, by your dexterous Conveyance of it to his Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, it will have the ſame Impreſſion with him, which I cannot doubt of with you.

Since my Coming out of *England*, I ſtaid a Month, for a Wind, at the Iſle of *Man*; which Time I cannot think miſpent, having there received great Civilities from my Lord of *Derby*, and had the Means of a particular Acquaintance with his noble Lady, whom I think one of the wiſeſt and generouſeſt Perſons that I have known of her Sex. From thence, I and my Company were very ſecurely conveyed hither in a light Frigate of his Lordſhip's, where I found all Things in a great Forwardneſs, the Concluſion of which was expected within few Days, and great Forces, as was pretended, already in a Readineſs for *England*, under the Command of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, the Confederates great General and Favourite; but his Lordſhip being ſent for by my Lord Lieutenant and myſelf, to confer about the Ways of Diſpoſing thoſe Aids moſt to the Advantage of his Majeſty's Service, the Buſineſſes contained in the incloſed Papers broke forth in ſuch a Manner as you will find there ſet down, and obliged me to that Part in the King's Vindication, which was thought could not ſo properly be performed by any as myſelf; you will find the whole Buſineſs ſo fully ſtated in the Tranſactions themſelves which I ſend you, and in my Letter to my Brother Secretary, that I ſhall need to ſay no more upon the Subject, only let me aſk you, Whether, according to the Rules

of

of Policy, I have not carried my Body ſwimmingly, who, being before ſo irreconcileably hated by the Puritan Party, have thus ſeaſonably made myſelf as odious with the Papiſts? Well, my Comfort is, that the very few honeſt Men that are in the World will love me the better; and, whilſt I do the Part of a Man of Integrity and Honour, I am willing to truſt God with the reſt. I muſt not conclude without telling you, that, if I had been brought hither by far greater Misfortunes, I could not have repined at any Thing that had given me the Happineſs of ſo particular a Knowledge of, and Friendſhip with, the Marquis of *Ormond*, who, if I can judge at all of Men, is not only the wiſeſt young Man, but the moſt ſteady, generous, and virtuous Perſon that I have ever known. I conjure you, as you love Virtue, and as you love me, who have ſo little a Share of it, build carefully by a diligent Application upon thoſe Grounds which I have laid for a Friendſhip between you; for, indeed, I love him ſo much, as I cannot be at reſt till we make up the Triangle equal on all Sides, to that Perfection wherewith I am

Dublin, Jan. 4. 1645. *Yours*,

George Digby.

Pray fail not to let my Father partake of what I write to you, and General *Goring* alſo, as far forth as you ſhall judge neceſſary.

To Secretary Nicholas.

My good Brother,

YOU will receive by this Diſpatch a particular Account from my Lord Lieutenant of the State of the Treaty here, and of thoſe Conditions upon which he was hopeful ſuddenly to have concluded ſuch a Peace, as would have afforded his Majeſty powerful and timely Aids from this Kingdom, had not the unfortunate Madneſs (for I can give it no other Name) of my Lord of *Glamorgan*, and the neceſſary Proceeding thereupon, caſt all Things back into a Poſture as uncertain and more dangerous than ever. You will receive from my Lord Lieutenant, and the Council here, a punctual Relation of the Matter of Fact; and it is referred to me to convey unto you, and by you to his Majeſty, the Circumſtances and Reaſons of the whole Proceeding againſt his Lordſhip.

About ten Days ſince, Matters of the Treaty growing near to a Concluſion, and, in Confidence thereof, Preparations being made by my Lord of *Glamorgan*, and the *Iriſh*, as they aſſured us, for the ſpeedy Sending over of three-thouſand Men for the Relief of *Cheſter*, which were to be made up Ten-thouſand before the Beginning of *March*: It was thought neceſſary that we ſhould confer with the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan*, and ſome of the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners, to the End that, before my Lord Lieutenant's final Conſent to the Articles of the Treaty, the Buſineſs of the King's Supply might be reduced from Diſcourſe to a Certainty, and directed, in the moſt advantageous Way for his Service; to which End (we little ſuſpecting then what was ſince diſcovered) the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan*, and ſome of the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners then at *Kilkenny*, were earneſtly invited hither, both by my Lord Lieutenant and myſelf.

Upon *Monday* laſt, the Day before the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan* was expected in Town, my Lord Lieutenant received out of the *North*, from an honeſt and well-affected Perſon, the Copy which is ſent you of my Lord of *Glamorgan's* Articles and Oath, with the Confederate Catholicks, aſſured to have been found in the titulary Archbiſhop of *Tuam's* Pocket, killed in *October* laſt at *Sligo*. At firſt, the Thing appeared ſo impoſſible, as that we were apt to think it a Forgery and Plot againſt the King of the Parliamentary Rebels, till, conſidering the Circumſtances, Formalities, and Punctualities thereof, we grew to apprehend ſomewhat more in the Matter; and, ſoon after, a ſecond and third Copy of the ſame coming to other Perſons, all with Letters to the Effect of this incloſed, it was then thought high Time to take the Buſineſs into moſt ſerious Conſideration; which being done by my Lord Lieutenant and myſelf, aſſiſted by ſome of the wiſeſt and beſt affected Perſons here, we ſoon concluded, that, if theſe Things were once publiſhed, and that they could be believed to be done by his Majeſty's Authority, they could have no leſs fatal an Effect than to make all Men ſo believing conclude, all the former Scandals caſt upon his Majeſty, of the inciting this *Iriſh* Rebellion, true, That he was a Papiſt, and deſigned to introduce Popery even by Ways the moſt unkingly and perfidious;

perfidious; and, conſequently, that there would be a general Revolt from him of all good Proteſtants, with whom this Opinion could take Place.

Now, when we conſidered the Circumſtances convincing the Truth of this Tranſaction on my Lord of *Glamorgan*'s Part, and how impoſſible almoſt it was for any Man to be ſo mad, as to enter into ſuch an Agreement without Powers from his Majeſty, and there being ſome Kind of a formal Authority vouched in the Articles themſelves, we did alſo conclude, that, probably, the greateſt Part of the World, who had no other Knowledge of his Majeſty than by outward Appearances, would believe this true, and do according to that Belief, unleſs his Majeſty was ſuddenly and eminently vindicated by thoſe who might juſtly pretend to know him beſt. Upon this Ground it was alſo concluded by us, that leſs than an Arreſt of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, upon Suſpicion of High-Treaſon, could not be a Vindication of his Majeſty eminent or loud enough; and that this Part could not properly nor effectually be performed by any other Perſon than myſelf, both in Regard of my Place and Truſts near his Majeſty: That the Buſineſs of *Ireland* had paſſed, for the moſt Part, through my Hands: That I attended his Majeſty about the Time of the Date of his Majeſty's pretended Cummiſſion: That, ſince that Time I had, by his Majeſty's Command, written to the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners a Letter, whereof I ſend you a Copy, ſo diametrically oppoſite to the ſaid Earl's Tranſactions: And, laſtly, in Regard that my Lord Lieutenant, to whom, otherwiſe, his Majeſty's Vindication in this Kind might properly have belonged, was generally thought to be unworthily couſened and abuſed in the Matter, in Caſe there was any ſuch ſecret Authority given by his Majeſty to the Earl of *Glamorgan*.

This being our unanimous Judgment of what was fit to be done, and by whom, the only Queſtion, then remaining, was to the Point of Time; in which we were alſo of Opinion, That, if it was deferred till the Buſineſs, growing publick otherways, ſhould begin to work its Miſchief, his Majeſty's Vindication would loſe much of its Force, and be thought rather applied to the Notorieting, than to the Impiety of the Thing, and rather to the pernicious Effects, than to the deteſtable Cauſe itſelf; notwithſtanding I muſt confeſs unto you, that the Conſideration of Fruſtrating the Supplies of three-thouſand Men, which were ſo confidently affirmed to be in Readineſs for the Relief of *Cheſter*, in Caſe the Condition of that Place could not bear the Delay which this might occaſion, wrought in us a very great Suſpenſion of Judgment, Whether the Proceeding againſt my Lord of *Glamorgan* ſhould not be forborne till that ſo neceſſary Supply was ſent away: But, the Caſe being more ſtrictly examined, we found, *Firſt*, That, by the Lord of *Glamorgan*'s Oath, the Forces were not to be hazarded till his Majeſty's Performance of the ſaid Earl's Conditions. And, *Secondly*, That the ſaid Supply was never intended by my Lord of *Glamorgan* and the *Iriſh*, till the Articles of Peace were conſented to, which the Lord Lieutenant durſt in no wiſe do without a preceding Vindication of the King's Honour, ſince this Tranſaction of my Lord of *Glamorgan*'s was known unto him, and known to be known unto him by thoſe who wanted neither Art nor Malice to make Uſe of it; ſo that, the neceſſary Forbearance to conclude the Treaty fruſtrating as much the Relief of *Cheſter*, as the ſudden and vigorous Proceeding againſt my Lord of *Glamorgan* could do, our Reſolutions did, in the End, determine upon that Courſe, when, at the Inſtant, to remove all Objections, Information was brought us, That the Thing was already publick throughout the Town, and began to work ſuch dangerous Effects, as, in Truth, I do not believe that my Lord Lieutenant, or any of the King's faithful Servants, could have been many Hours ſafe in the Delay of this his Majeſty's and their Vindication; which hath now been ſo ſeaſonably applied, as that it hath wrought here not only a general Satisfaction in all moderate Men, but even ſuch a Converſion in many leſs well-inclined, that whereas before a Peace with the *Iriſh*, even upon thoſe unavoidable Conditions, upon which my Lord Lieutenant muſt needs, within a few Days, have concluded it, would hardly have been publiſhed in this Place without very much Danger; Men's Minds are ſo ſecured and ſettled by this Proceeding, as that, I believe, the Peace now would be embraced upon thoſe, and, perhaps, upon harder Terms, without much Mutiny or Repining. This being ſo, our chief remaining Fear is, leſt what hath been done againſt my Lord of *Glamorgan* ſhould ſo far incenſe the *Iriſh*, as to drive them to ſudden Extremes: Things here, on his Majeſty's Part, being in ſo ill a Condition to enter again upon a War

a War unto this Danger, the beſt Preventives we could think of are applied, this incloſed Letter written to my Lord of *Muſkerry* by my Lord Lieutenant; apt Perſons employed to *Kilkenny*, to acquaint them with the Reaſons and Neceſſities of this Proceeding: And, *Laſtly*, The Articles of Peace ſent unto them with my Lord Lieutenant's Aſſent, in the very Terms propoſed, and acquieſced in by themſelves in the laſt Reſults of this long Treaty; which, in all Probability, will have one of theſe two Effects, either to make them conclude a Peace, notwithſtanding this intervening Accident, whereby *Cheſter* may be ſpeedily relieved, and his Majeſty further ſupplied this Spring, or make it break ſo fouly on their Side, as to divide from them the moſt conſiderable of their Party. Whatever the Event be, my Lord Lieutenant and I ſhall comfort ourſelves with this Satisfaction, that we have done what belonged to Men of Honour, faithful to their King, and to their Religion, and as wiſely as ours and our Friends beſt Underſtandings could direct us, leaving the reſt to God Almighty, whom we beſeech (* *to direct*) his Majeſty to that Courſe herein on his Part, which may be correſpondent to our faithful Endeavours; and that he will bleſs them with as good Effects upon the Minds of all honeſt Men, towards his Majeſty's Vindication in that Kingdom, as I make no Doubt but what we have done will have in this, when ſeconded and purſued by thoſe further Directions from his Majeſty, which I am ſure his own Wiſdom and Princely Indignation, to find his Honour, Conſcience, and Piety thus infamouſly traduced, will dictate unto him without further Advice from

Dublin, Jan. 4, 1645. *Your*

I believe you will be as much ſtartled as I was, to find the Signet mentioned in my Lord of *Glamorgan*'s Tranſaction; but it ſeems that was miſtaken; and that he now pretends to ſome Kind of Authority under the King's Pocket-ſeal, which I certainly believe to be as falſe as I know the other.

Articles † *of Agreement, made and concluded between the Right Honourable* Edward *Earl of* Glamorgan, *in Purſuance, and by Virtue of his Majeſty's Authority, under his Signet and Royal Signature, bearing Date at* Oxon, *the Twelfth Day of* March, *in the twentieth Year of his Reign, for, and on the Behalf of his moſt Excellent Majeſty of the one Part, and the Right Honourable* Richard *Lord Viſcount* Mountgarret, *Lord Preſident of the ſupreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks of* Ireland, Donnogh *Lord Viſcount* Muſkerry, Alexander Mac Donnell, *and* Nicholas Plunket, *Eſqs*; *Sir* Robert Talbot, *Baronet*; Dermot O Brian, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, *and* Jeffrey Browne, *Eſqs*; *for, and on the Behalf of his Majeſty's* Roman *Catholick Subjects, and the Catholick Clergy of* Ireland, *of the other Part.*

Imprimis,

THE ſaid Earl doth grant, conclude, and agree, on the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, to, and with the ſaid *Richard* Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell*, and *Nicholas Plunket*, Eſqs; Sir *Robert Talbot*, Baronet; *Dermot O Brian*, *John Dillon*, *Patrick Darcey*, and *Jeffrey Browne*, Eſqs; That the *Roman* Catholick Clergy of the ſaid Kingdom ſhall, and may from henceforth for ever, hold and enjoy all and every ſuch Lands, Tenements, Tythes, and Hereditaments whatſoever, by them reſpectively enjoyed within this Kingdom, or by them poſſeſſed, at any Time, ſince the Twenty-third of *October*, 1641, and to all other ſuch Lands, Tenements, Tythes, and Hereditaments, belonging to the Clergy,

* Some ſuch Words ſhould be ſupplied to make it Senſe, though they be not in the Original.

† This is the true Copy of the Articles ſent by the Lord *George Digby*, to Secretary *Nicholas*, to be by him communicated to his Majeſty.

within this Kingdom, other than ſuch as are now actually enjoyed by his Majeſty's Proteſtant Clergy.

Item, It is granted, concluded, and agreed on by the ſaid *Richard* Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell*, and *Nicholas Plunket*; Sir *Robert Talbot*, *Dermot O Brian*, *John Dillon*, *Patrick Darcy*, and *Jeffrey Browne*, on the Behalf of the Confederate *Roman* Catholicks of *Ireland*, that two Parts in three Parts to be divided, of all the ſaid Lands, Tythes, and Hereditaments whatſoever, mentioned in the precedent Article, ſhall, for three Years next enſuing the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, which ſhall be in the Year of our Lord God 1646, be diſpoſed of, and converted for and to the Uſe of his Majeſty's Forces employed, or to be employed in his Service; and the other third Part to the Uſe of the ſaid Clergy reſpectively: And ſo the like Diſpoſition to be renewed from three Years to three Years, by the ſaid Clergy, during the Wars.

Item, It is accorded and agreed by the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan*, for, and in the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, that his Excellency, the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, or any other or others authoriſed, or to be authoriſed by his Majeſty, ſhall not diſturb the Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in the preſent Poſſeſſion, and Continuance of the Poſſeſſion of their Churches, Lands, Tenements, Tythes, Hereditaments, Juriſdiction, or any other the Matters aforeſaid, in theſe Articles agreed and condeſcended to by the ſaid Earl, until his Majeſty's Pleaſure be ſignified, for Confirming and Publiſhing the Grants herein articled for, and condeſcended unto by the ſaid Earl.

Item, It is accorded and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for and in the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, that an Act ſhall be paſſed in the next Parliament, to be held in this Kingdom, according to the Tenour of ſuch Agreement or Conceſſions, as herein are expreſſed; and, in the mean Time, the ſaid Clergy ſhall enjoy the full Benefit, Freedom, and Advantage of the ſaid Agreements and Conceſſions, and every of them. And the Earl of *Glamorgan* doth hereby engage his Majeſty's Royal Word and publick Faith unto the ſaid Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret*, and the reſt of the ſaid Commiſſioners, for the due Obſervation and Performance of all and every the Articles, Agreements, and Conceſſions herein mentioned, to be performed to the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Clergy, and every of them. In Witneſs whereof, the Parties to theſe Preſents have hereunto interchangeably put their Hands and Seals, the Twenty-fifth of *Auguſt*, *Anno Dom.* 1645.

Glamorgan.

Signed, ſealed, and delivered in the Preſence of *John Somerſet*, *Jeffrey Browne*, and *Robert Barry*.

WHEREAS, in theſe Articles, touching the Clergy's Livings, the Right Honourable the Earl of *Glamorgan* is obliged, in his Majeſty's Behalf, to ſecure the Conceſſions in theſe Articles by Act of Parliament: We holding that Manner of Securing theſe Grants, as to the Clergy's Livings, to prove more difficult and prejudicial to his Majeſty, than by doing thereof, and ſecuring theſe Conceſſions; otherwiſe, as to the ſaid Livings, the ſaid Earl undertaking, and promiſing in the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, as hereby he doth undertake, to ſettle the ſaid Conceſſions, and ſecure them to the Clergy, and their reſpective Succeſſors, as another ſecure Way, other than by Parliament at preſent, till a fit Opportunity be offered for Securing the ſame, do agree and condeſcend thereunto. And this Inſtrument, by his Lordſhip ſigned, was, before the Perfection thereof, intended to that Purpoſe, as to the ſaid Living: To which Purpoſe we have mutually ſigned this Endorſement. And it is further intended, that the Catholick Clergy ſhall not be interrupted by Parliament, or otherwiſe, as to the ſaid Livings, contrary to the Meaning of theſe Articles.

Glamorgan.

Copia vera collata fideliter cum Origin.

Tho. Caſhell, F. Patricius, Waterford, & Liſmor.

WHEREAS much Time hath been ſpent in Meetings and Debates, betwixt his Excellency *James* Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant, and General Governor of his Majeſty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, Commiſſioner to his moſt Excellent Majeſty, *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. for the Treating and Concluding

Concluding of a Peace in the ſaid Kingdom; of his Majeſty's humble and loyal Subjects, the Confederate *Roman* Catholicks of the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland*, of the one Part, and the Right Honourable *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, and other Commiſſioners, deputed and authoriſed by the ſaid Confederate *Roman* Catholick Subjects of the other Part: And, thereupon, many Difficulties did ariſe, by Occaſion whereof, ſundry Matters of great Weight and Conſequence neceſſarily requiſite to be condeſcended unto by his Majeſty's ſaid Commiſſioner, for the Safety of the ſaid Confederate *Roman* Catholicks, were not hitherto agreed upon, which retarded, and doth as yet retard the Concluſion of a firm Peace and Settlement in the ſaid Kingdom: And whereas the Right Honourable *Edward* Earl of *Glamorgan* is intruſted and authoriſed by his moſt Excellent Majeſty, to grant and aſſure to the ſaid Confederate *Roman* Catholick Subjects farther Graces and Favours, which the ſaid Lord Lieutenant did not, as yet, in that Latitude as they expected, grant unto them: And the ſaid Earl, having ſeriouſly conſidered of all Matters, and due Circumſtances of the great Affairs now in Agitation, which is the Peace and Quiet of the ſaid Kingdom, and the Importance thereof in order to his Majeſty's Service, and in Relation to a Peace and Settlement in his other Kingdoms; and here, upon the Place, having ſeen the ardent Deſire of the ſaid Catholicks to aſſiſt his Majeſty, againſt all that do, or ſhall oppoſe his Royal Right or Monarchick Government, and having diſcerned the Alacrity and Chearfulneſs of the ſaid *Roman* Catholicks, to embrace honourable Conditions of Peace, which may preſerve their Religion, and other juſt Intereſts: In Purſuance thereof, in the Twentieth of his Reign, granted unto the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan*, the Tenour whereof is as follows, *viz.*

CHARLES R.

Charles, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

To our *Right truſty and well beloved Couſin*, Edward, *Earl of* Glamorgan, *Greeting.*

WE, repoſing great and eſpecial Truſt and Confidence in your approved Wiſdom and Fidelity, do by theſe (as firmly, as under our Great Seal, to all Intents and Purpoſes) authoriſe and give you Power to treat and conclude with the Confederate *Roman* Catholicks, in our Kingdom of *Ireland*, if, upon Neceſſity, any Thing be to be condeſcended unto, wherein our Lord Lieutenant cannot ſo well be ſeen in, as not fit for us at this Preſent publickly to own, and therefore we charge you to proceed according to this our Warrant, with all poſſible Secrecy: And, for whatſoever you ſhall engage yourſelf, upon ſuch valuable Conſiderations, as you in your Judgment ſhall deem fit, we promiſe, on the Word of a King, and a Chriſtian, to ratify and perform the ſame that ſhall be granted by you, and under your Hand and Seal; the ſaid Confederate Catholicks having, by their Supplies, teſtified their Zeal to our Service: And this ſhall be in each Particular to you a ſufficient Warrant.

Given at our Court at *Oxon*, under our Signet, and Royal Signature, the 12th Day of *March*, in the twentieth Year of our Reign, 1644; to our Right truſty and well-beloved Couſin, *Edward*, Earl of *Glamorgan*.

It is therefore granted, accorded, and agreed by and between the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan*, for, and on the Behalf of his moſt Excellent Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, on the one Part, and the Right Honourable *Richard* Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret*, Lord Preſident of the ſupreme Council of the ſaid Confederate Catholicks, and the ſaid *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel*, and *Nicholas Plunket*, Eſqs; Sir *Robert Talbot*, Baronet; *Dermot O Brian*, *John Dillon*, *Patrick Darcy*, and *Jeffrey Browne*, Eſqs; Commiſſioners in that Behalf appointed, by the ſaid Confederate *Roman* Catholick Subjects of *Ireland*, for, and on the Behalf of the ſaid Confederate *Roman* Catholicks of the other Part, in Manner following: That is to ſay,

Imprimis, It is agreed, accorded, and granted by the ſaid Earl, for, and on the Behalf of his moſt Excellent Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, That all and every of the Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in this Kingdom of *Ireland*, of whatever Eſtate, Degree, or Quality ſoever, he or they be, or ſhall be, ſhall, for ever hereafter, have and enjoy, within the ſaid Kingdom, the free and publick Uſe and Exerciſe

Exerciſe of the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Religion, and of the reſpective Functions therein.

Item, It is granted, accorded, and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for, and on the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, That the ſaid Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion ſhall hold and enjoy all, and every of the Churches by them enjoyed within this Kingdom, or by them poſſeſſed, at any Time, ſince the Twenty-third of *October*, 1641; and all other Churches in the ſaid Kingdom, other than ſuch as are now actually enjoyed by his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects.

Item, It is granted, accorded, and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for, and on the Behalf of his moſt Excellent Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, That all, and every of the Catholick Subjects of *Ireland*, of what State and Condition, Degree, or Quality ſoever, ſhall be free and exempt from the Juriſdiction of the Proteſtant Clergy, and every of them; and that the Catholick *Roman* Clergy of this Kingdom ſhall not be puniſhed, troubled, or moleſted for the Exerciſe of their Juriſdiction over their reſpective Catholick Flocks, in Matters Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical.

Item, It is further accorded, granted, and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for, and on the Behalf of his moſt Excellent Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, That an Act ſhall be paſſed in the next Parliament to be held in this Kingdom, the Tenour and Purport whereof ſhall be as followeth, *viz.* An Act for the Relief of his Majeſty's Catholick Subjects of his Highneſs's Kingdom of *Ireland*: Whereas, by an Act made in the Parliament held in *Dublin*, in the ſecond Year of the Reign of the late Queen *Eliſabeth*, intitled, 'An Act for Reſtoring to 'the Crown the ancient Juriſdiction over the 'State Eccleſiaſtical and Spiritual, and abo-'liſh all Foreign Power repugnant to the 'ſame;' and by another Statute, made in the ſaid laſt-mentioned Parliament, intitled, 'An 'Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer 'and Service in the Church, and the Admi-'niſtration of the Sacraments,' ſundry Mulcts, Penalties, Reſtraints, and Incapacities are and have been laid upon the Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, in and for, and concerning the Uſe, Profeſſion, and Exerciſe of their Religion, and their Functions therein, to the great Prejudice, Trouble, and Diſquiet of the *Roman* Catholicks in their Liberties and Eſtates, to the general Diſturbance of the whole Kingdom: For Remedy whereof, and for the better Settling, Increaſe, and Continuance of the Peace, Unity, and Tranquillity of this Kingdom of *Ireland*, his Majeſty, at the humble Suit and Requeſt of the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, is graciouſly pleaſed, that it may be enacted: And be it enacted by the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, That from, on, and after the firſt Day of this Seſſion of Parliament, it ſhall and may be lawful, to and for all the Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, of what Degree, Condition, or Quality ſoever, to have and enjoy the free and publick Exerciſe and Profeſſion of the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Religion, and of their ſeveral and reſpective Functions therein, without Incurring any Mulct and Penalty whatſoever, or being ſubject to any Reſtraint or Incapacity concerning the ſame, any Article, Clauſe, Sentence, or Proviſion in the ſaid laſt-mentioned Acts of Parliament, or in any other Act or Acts of Parliament, Ordinances, Law, or Uſage to the Contrary in any Wiſe notwithſtanding. And be it alſo further enacted, That neither the ſaid Statutes, or any other Statute, Act, or Ordinance heretofore made in your Majeſty's Reign, or in any the Reigns of any of your Highneſs's moſt noble Progenitors or Anceſtors, and now of Force in this Kingdom; nor all, nor any Branch, Article, Clauſe, and Sentence in them, or any of them contained and expreſſed, ſhall be of Force and Validity in this Realm, to extend to be conſtrued, or adjudged to extend in any Wiſe to inquiet, prejudice, vex, or moleſt the Profeſſors of the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Religion, in their Perſons, Lands, Hereditaments, or Goods, for any Thing, Matter, or Cauſe whatſoever touching and concerning the free and publick Uſe, Exerciſe, and Enjoying of their ſaid Religion, Functions, and Profeſſion. And be it alſo further enacted and declared, by the Authority aforeſaid, That your Majeſty's *Roman* Catholick Subjects in the ſaid Realm of *Ireland*, from the firſt Day of this Seſſion of Parliament, ſhall be and be taken, deemed, and adjudged capable of all Offices of Truſt and Advancement, Places, Degrees, and Dignities, and Preferments whatſoever, within your ſaid Realm of *Ireland*, any Act, Statute, Uſage, or Law to the Contrary notwithſtanding; and that other Acts ſhall be

paſſed

paſſed in the ſaid Parliament, according to the Tenour of ſuch Agreement or Conceſſions, as herein are expreſſed; and that, in the mean Time, the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Subjects, and every of them, ſhall enjoy the full Freedom, Benefit, and Advantage of the ſaid Agreement or Conceſſions, and of every of them.

Item, It is accorded, granted, and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for and on the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, That his Excellency the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, or any other, or others, authoriſed by his Majeſty, ſhall not diſturb the Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in their preſent Poſſeſſion, and Continuance of the Poſſeſſion of their ſaid Churches, Juriſdiction, or any other the Matters aforeſaid in theſe Articles agreed and conſented unto by the ſaid Earl, until his Majeſty's Pleaſure be ſignified for Confirming and Publiſhing the Grounds and Agreements hereby articled for, and condeſcended unto by the ſaid Earl. And the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan* doth hereby engage his Majeſty's royal and publick Faith unto all and ſingular the Profeſſors of the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Religion, within the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland*, for the due Obſervance and Performance of all and every the Articles, Grounds, and Clauſes herein contained, and the Conceſſions herein mentioned to be performed to them.

Item, It is accorded and agreed, That the publick Faith of the Kingdom ſhall be engaged unto the ſaid Earl, by the ſaid Confederate Catholicks, for Sending ten-thouſand Men to ſerve his Majeſty, by Order and publick Declaration of the General Aſſembly now ſitting: And the ſupreme Council of the ſaid Confederate Catholicks ſhall engage themſelves to bring the ſaid Number of Men armed, the one Half with Muſquets, and the other Half with Pikes, unto any Port within this Realm, at the Election of the ſaid Earl, and, at ſuch Time as he ſhall appoint, to be by him ſhipped and tranſported to ſerve his Majeſty in *England*, *Wales*, or *Scotland*, under the Command of the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan*, as Lord General of the ſaid Army: Which Army is to be kept together in one intire Body, and all other the ſaid Officers and Commanders of the ſaid Army are to be named by the ſupreme Council of the ſaid Confederate Catholicks, or by ſuch others as the ſeveral Aſſembly of the ſaid Confederate Catholicks of this Kingdom ſhall intruſt therewith. In Witneſs whereof, the Parties of theſe Preſents have hereunto interchangeably put their Hands and Seals, the twenty-fifth Day of *Auguſt*, 1645.

Glamorgan.

Copia vera, collata fideliter Originali,
Thomas Caſhell, F Patricius,
Waterford & Liſmore.

I *Edward*, Earl of *Glamorgan*, do proteſt and ſwear faithfully to acquaint the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty with the Proceedings of this Kingdom, in Order to his Service, and to the Endearment of this Nation, and punctual Performance of what I have (as authoriſed by his Majeſty) obliged myſelf to ſee performed; and, in Default, not to permit the Army intruſted to my Charge to adventure itſelf, or any conſiderable Part thereof, until Conditions from his Majeſty, and by his Majeſty, be performed.

Sept. 3, 1645. *Glamorgan.*

Copia vera, concordans de verbo & verbis cum Originali.
Tho Caſhell.

To the Lord Hopton.

My Noble Lord, *Waterford, Feb.* 28, 1645.

IF the Report of the many Difficulties, wherewith I have ſtruggled, in compaſſing my Deſigns for his Majeſty's Service, have not before this reached you, a faithful Relation of the Whole will be made to you by the Bearer hereof, Capt. *Allen*, whom I deſire your Lordſhip to preſent unto the Prince's Highneſs, as an honeſt Man, and one that propoſeth a Courſe for Intelligence to paſs between this Country and his Majeſty's Quarters, whereof there is great Need. Now (God be thanked) the Buſineſs is brought to that Upſhot, that the ten-thouſand Men are deſigned for his Majeſty's Service, Six-thouſand whereof are ready for Tranſportation; the Means for which are wanting, unleſs your Lordſhip will pleaſe to ſollicit his Highneſs the Prince for Tranſmitting what Shipping thoſe Parts are furniſhed with,

with, that all poſſible Expedition may be uſed. We hear (God be thanked) that as yet *Cheſter* holds out, to relieve which the 6000 Men are ready for Tranſportation. This Bearer hath intimated the Prince's Deſire for having three-hundred Men hence for his Highneſs's Life-guard, which may be tranſported to his Highneſs by the Return of ſuch Shipping as ſhall be ſent hither for the aforeſaid Service. By his Return, I deſire to learn from your Lordſhip the King's preſent State and Being, that we may ſhape our Deſigns accordingly. Thereby I ſhould be moſt glad to know of the Prince's and your Lordſhip's good Succeſs and Proſperity; for which none can be more ſollicitous, than I, who am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt

affectionate, humble Servant,

Glamorgan.

Dublin, Jan. 2, 1645.

Right Honourable,

I Have hitherto been ſo far from troubling you with many Letters, that I can ſcarce abſtain from excuſing this Addreſs; but, as I hope you will do me the Favour, to believe, that thoſe Omiſſions have proceeded out of a Tenderneſs to moleſt you unneceſſarily, and not out of any Slothfulneſs in Things eſſential to my Duty, ſo in my own Opinion I were now to much to blame, if after ſo long Time, and ſome late Hazards, I ſhould not take this Occaſion to repeat unto you the Aſſurances of my moſt humble Service, proceeding from the due Senſe I have of your Goodneſs to me; which howſoever I have been deficient in expreſſing, as to the Outward, I aſſure your Honour, I preſerve the Memory in a very ſure Cabinet, as a Treaſure there laid up wholly for your Service, whenever you ſhall think me worthy the Trial.

For what concerns the Affairs of this Kingdom, my Lord gives you ſo full and particular an Account thereof, that I cannot add to your Knowledge of them: Therefore, I ſhall ſufficiently have obſerved the Decorum of the Place, and complied with my Duty too, when I ſhall have made theſe few Reflexions upon the general Condition of thoſe Parts, and eſpecially of the *Engliſh* Quarters, which in my Judgment is very ſad, they being not only reduced within a very narrow Compaſs of Ground, but totally ruinated, the whole Country waſte and uninhabited, Farms and Villages burnt down to the Ground, not a Gariſon of his Majeſty's, 36. 45. 188. 23. 27. 58. 24. 12. 66. or any wiſe 5. 69. 11. 13. 38. 57. 61. 59. 70. 37. 71. 63. 40. 6. 5. 59. 72. juſt 66. 84. 45. 36. Proviſions of all Sorts very ſcant. The Corporations: 8. 35. 55. 16. 62. and 49. 63. 46. 68. 12. 2. 49. between 36. 4. 25. 15. 63. 6. 67. 29. 87. 4. 19. 34. 58. 42. 13. 11. 6. 66. 45. the 8. 16. 35. 67. 62. 51. 67. 70. 11. 29. 40. 20. 2. 15. 70. 16. 5. 31. 36. equal to either. The Army in 66. 3. 55. 40. 29. 23. 12. 2. 34. 71. 38. 10. 62. as 300. 3. 22. 11. 6. 68. 29. 5. 58. 56. 37. 20. 39. above 45. 5. 35. 30. 59. 66. thouſand 27. 58. 46. 2. 66. 48. 19. 40. 49. 16. 69. 12. Foot, and 66. 67. 28. 34. 2. 62. 69. hundred Horſe, Gariſons and all, and thoſe for the moſt Part of 51. 52. 6. 4. 2. 3. 42. 2. 49. 71. 27. 39. 24. 26. 67. 68. 55. 56. 29. This Place itſelf in a Manner blocked up by the Parliament Ships, riding continually without it, and no leſs pinched at Land by the *Iriſh* quartered within a very few Miles of it. This Condition of his Majeſty's Quarters here, compared with that of the *Iriſh*, contrary to it almoſt in every Reſpect, may ſeem unlikely, upon any Conditions offered hitherto, to further ſuch a Peace as muſt diſpoſſeſs them of great Advantages gotten by the War, and ſuch a Peace as thwarts the Ambition and covetous Deſires of all thoſe of the Long-Robe, whether they be their Clergy or Laity, and the Sway and Authority of their Nobility, and the unlimited Liberty of the People: The Pope's Intereſt conſiſting in being Head, not of a Militant, but Triumphant Church, and (it may be) the ſecret Negotiations, which they have, and do ſtill entertain with Foreign Princes. It is true, the Duty that Subjects owe to their Prince ſhould out-balance all ſuch Conſiderations; but I doubt, that Duty is taught at *Rome*, with as many Limitations, as at *Edinburgh*, or in *Weſtminſter* itſelf: And, as for thoſe Reflexions that ſhould be made upon the Future, they are not for every Capacity, but for underſtanding Men only; and ſuch may (for aught appears to me to the Contrary) ſee as fair and promiſing Hopes for themſelves in our Embroilments at Home, as we can ſee for our Advantage in their Refuſal and Obſtinacy;

To

To which I may add this further Conſideration, how they will be able to ſuppreſs *Inchiquin*, aſſiſted and ſupported from *England*, and maintain their own too, againſt the *Scots*, if they ſhall once have parted with ten-thouſand of their beſt Men, and with ſo many Arms; ſince it is plain that, ſince the Ceſſation, they have made no great Progreſs againſt either of the two, with their intire Strength: For, as for any Aſſiſtance they can expect from my Lord Lieutenant, it is inconſiderable, and theſe Garriſons muſt not be drained for Fear of Inſurrections within, where we find much Wavering, and ſuch a Hatred even in the Soldiers themſelves againſt the Confederates, that I can promiſe myſelf but little Good from their Conjunction. Thus your Honour may ſee what Probability my Lord Lieutenant, though never ſo good a Gameſter, hath of the Game in Hand between the Danger of War, and the Difficulty of procuring an uſeful and honourable Peace for his Majeſty by this Treaty. The Proceedings whereof I leave to his Lordſhip's Relation, reſting,

S I R, Your Honour's

moſt humble, affectionate,

and obliged Servant,

John Poingdexter.

To the Lord Culpeper.

Waterford Feb. 27, 1645.

My Lord,

HAVING overpaſſed many Rubs and Difficulties, the long expected Work is at laſt compaſſed, which by what Means it was retarded, your Lordſhip, perhaps, before hath learned, and will be more faithfully and amply related by the Bearer, Captain *Bamber*, whom I have employed to his Highneſs the Prince, to give an Account of the State of Affairs here, and in what a Miſt we are for Want of Intelligence, whereby we might be aſcertained of the King's and Prince's Condition, which one *Allen* a Merchant of *Waterford* propoſeth to undertake a Courſe for. And his Highneſs's Deſire, which moved for three-hundred Men for the Prince's Life-Guards, which the *Iriſh* Party is willing ſhould be ſent him by the Return of ſuch Shipping as, I have humbly deſired from his Highneſs, might be ſent hither to *Waterford* for to waft over the Men, whereof ſix Thouſand are in a Readineſs for the Relief of *Cheſter* (which yet we hear holds out) and the other four Thouſand, by the Firſt of *May*, are to follow. Your Lordſhip would extremely further the Service by your Repreſenting to his Highneſs the Neceſſity of a Courſe of Intelligence, that we might not, as we are now, be buried in Ignorance of his Majeſty's and the Prince's Being and Condition; of which I hope your Lordſhip will vouchſafe me ſome Light, that our Motion may be according thereunto, by which likewiſe to be aſcertained of your Lordſhip's Welfare and Happineſs would be moſt welcome News to,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt affectionate

and humble Servant,

Glamorgan.

Theſe ſeveral Letters and Papers, coming from *Ireland*, were taken at *Milford*-Haven, by Captain *Moulton*.

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons, for the Committee of the Admiralty, and Cinque-Ports.

Aboard the *Lyon*, in *Milford*-Haven, *Jan.* 23, 1645.

Right Honourable,

THESE contrary Winds have, much againſt my Deſire, detained me ſtill in this Harbour, ſo that my intended Voyage for *Ireland* hath not the free nor ſpeedy Paſſage I wiſhed; but the firſt Opportunity of Wind, that offers itſelf, ſhall be laid Hold of. Yeſter-

day a Barque, that ſtole away from *Dublin*, came in hither, wherein I found the incloſed Letters, committed to a Paſſenger, which I ſend unto your Honours, to be diſpoſed of, as to your Honours ſhall ſeem good; this Place being barren, both of News, and Action to produce any, makes me forbear to give your Honour's any further preſent Trouble, ſave to aſſure, that I am ever

Your Honours affectionate, humble,

and moſt obedient Servant,

Robert Moulton.

To Colonel Pigott.

Dublin, this 5th of *Jan.* 1645.

Worthy Couſin,

I Have here ſent, incloſed, two Letters, to the Counteſs of *Glamorgan*, at *Ragland*, her Lord being lately confined here, to the Caſtle of *Dublin*; and leſt her Ladiſhip may take Things too much to Heart, theſe Letters are ſent to add ſome Comfort. Both my Lord, and I, ſhall acknowledge our Thankfulneſs unto you, if you be pleaſed to uſe the beſt and ſpeedieſt Courſe you may, for Conveighing them to my Lady; you were wont to honour noble Ladies, eſpecially in Diſtreſs, and I am aſſured now, more than ever, having the Happineſs of enjoying ſo noble a Lady of your own. Your Father, Mother, and Friends in *Leix* are all in good Health, and daily expect to hear good News out of *England*; thus not doubting of Care herein, with my beſt Wiſhes of Happineſs, to yourſelf, and your noble Lady, not unmindful of our good Friends all, I remain

Your aſſured loving Couſin to ſerve you.

Roger Brereton.

To the Counteſs of Glamorgan.

Dublin, this 5th of *Jan.* 1645.

Madam,

I Preſume that ſome Rumours of my Lord of *Glamorgan*'s being confined to the Caſtle of *Dublin*, for ſome Matters laid to his Charge by the Lord *George Digby*, have, before this Time, come to your Ladiſhip's Hearing; I thought fit therefore, by theſe few Lines, to let you know, that my Lord is in perfect Health, hearty, and very chearful, not doubting to give a ſatisfactory Anſwer, to what may be laid to his Charge. I have ſo much Confidence in your Ladiſhip's accuſtomed Diſcretion, that I know there need no diſſuaſive Arguments to your Ladiſhip, from either grieving, or taking any Reports you may receive to Heart too much, not doubting but his Lordſhip will before long ſee your Ladiſhip, when you may partake of all Things more fully, than may be by Writing. My Lord your Uncle is in Health at *Bunraly*, and with him there, the Earl of *P.* my Lord *John*, and my Lady *Honora*; I wiſh your Honour all Health and Happineſs, and am

Your Ladiſhip's ſtill faithful Servant

and Kinſman,

Roger Brereton.

Lord Herbert, *pretended Earl of* Glamorgan, *his Letter to his Lady.*

My deareſt Heart,

I Hope theſe will prevent any News ſhall come unto you of me, ſince my Commitment to the Caſtle of *Dublin*, to which, I aſſure thee, I went as chearfully and as willingly as they could wiſh, whoſoever they were, by whoſe Means it was procured; and ſhould as unwillingly go forth, were the Gates, both of the Caſtle and Town, open unto me, until I were cleared, as they are willing to make me unſerviceable to the King, and lay me aſide, who have procured for me this Reſtraint: When I conſider thee a Woman, as I think,

I know

know you are, I fear leſt you ſhould be apprehenſive; but, when I reflect, that you are of the Houſe of *Thomond*, and that you were once pleaſed to ſay theſe Words unto me, That I ſhould never, in Tenderneſs of you, deſiſt from doing what in Honour I was obliged to do; I grow confident, that in this you will now ſhew your Magnanimity, and by it, the greateſt Teſtimony of Affection, that you can poſſibly afford me; and am alſo confident, that you know me ſo well, that I need not tell you how clear I am, and void of Fear, the only Effect of a good Conſcience, and that I am guilty of nothing, that may teſtify one Thought of Diſloyalty to his Majeſty, or of what may ſtain the Honour of the Family I come of, or ſet a Brand upon my future Poſterity. Courage, my Heart, were I amongſt the King's Enemies you might fear; but being only a Priſoner amongſt his Friends, and faithful Subjects, you need doubt nothing, but that this Cloud will be ſoon diſſipated, by the Sun-ſhine of the King my Maſter; and did you but know, how well and merry I am, you would be as little troubled as myſelf, who have nothing that can afflict me, but leſt your Apprehenſion might hurt you, eſpecially ſince all the While I could get no Opportunity of ſending, nor yet by any certain probable Means, but by my Couſin *Brereton*'s, Mr. *Mannering*'s, our Couſin, Conſtable of the Caſtle, and my Lord Lieutenant's Leave; and I hope you and I ſhall live to acknowledge our Obligation to them, there being nothing in this World, that I deſire more, than you ſhould at leaſt hear from me; and believe it, Sweetheart, were I before the Parliament in *London*, I could juſtify both the King and myſelf, in what I have done; and ſo I pray acquaint my Father, whom I know ſo cautious, that he would hardly accept a Letter from me, but yet I preſume moſt humbly to aſk his Bleſſing, and as heartily as I ſend mine to pretty *Moll*, and I hope this Day, or To-morrow, will ſet a Period to my Buſineſs, to the Shame of thoſe who have been Occaſioners of it; but I muſt needs ſay from my Lord Lieutenant, and the Privy-Council here, I have received as much Juſtice, Nobleneſs, and Favour, as I could poſſibly expect; the Circumſtances of theſe Proceedings are too long to write unto you, but I am confident, all will prove to my greater Honour; and my Right Honourable Accuſer, my Lord *George Digby*, will be at laſt rectified, and confirmed in the Good, which he is pleaſed to ſay, he ever had of me hitherto, as the greateſt Affliction that he ever had, did do what his Conſcience inforced him unto, and indeed did wrap up the bitter Pill of the Impeachment of Suſpicion of high Treaſon in ſo good Words, as that I ſwallowed it, with the greateſt Eaſe in the World, and it hath hither had no other Operation, than that it hath purged Melancholy; for as I was not, at the preſent, any Way diſmayed, ſo have I not ſince been any Way at all diſheartened. So I pray let not any of my Friends, that is there, believe any Thing, until ye have the perfect Relation of it from myſelf. And this Requeſt I chiefly make unto you, to whom I remain

A moſt faithful, and

moſt paſſionately devoted,

Husband and Servant,

Glamorgan.

Remember my Service to my Brother, my Couſin *Brown*, and the reſt of my good Friends.

To Thomas Piggot, *Eſq;*

11th of *January*, 1645.

My dear Friend,

I Have very much to write to you concerning this Place, and yet know not what to write; you have heard, I do believe, of the Earl of Glamorgan's Agreement with the *Iriſh*, by which he undertook they ſhould have all the Churches within their Quarters, and all other Churches in the Kingdom, not actually poſſeſſed by the Proteſtant Party, as alſo all the Lands, Tenements, Tythes, and Hereditaments belonging to the Clergy, not actually poſſeſſed by the Proteſtant Party, and that they ſhould be free from the Juriſdiction of the Proteſtant Clergy; for which wild Undertaking, my Lord *Digby* accuſed him of high Treaſon, for which the Earl doth now ſtand committed in the Caſtle. What further Effects this

this will produce, I am not able to judge, but the *Iriſh* give out, that they will treat no further with us, if that he be not ſet at Liberty; it was Part of his Agreement with them, that they ſhould ſend into *England* ten-thouſand Men, to aſſiſt his Majeſty, and a great Part of them was ready to be ſhipped, where he was committed, which were thereupon ſtaid; we are in a very ſad Condition here, environed with Enemies of all Sides, and in a very weak Poſture to defend ourſelves, but the God of *Jacob* will I hope be our Refuge. Your Father and the reſt of your Friends are in good Health. I would you had known my Thoughts, or that I were with you for ſome Time to unburden myſelf; God keep you and us, in the Midſt of theſe Streights, and ſo in Haſte I reſt

Your aſſured loving Friend,

Mau. Euſtace.

This Gentleman hath ſome Buſineſs to *Briſtol*, I pray you to befavour him therein; ſome Eſtate is there fallen to him, and he is gone thither in Purſuit thereof.

My own and my Wife's Service to your noble Lady.

A Letter to a Country-Gentleman *: Setting forth the Cauſe of the Decay and Ruin of Trade. To which is annexed a Liſt of the Names of ſome Gentlemen who were Members of the Laſt Parliament, and now are (or lately were) in Publick Employments. *London*, printed in 1698. *Quarto*, containing twenty-four Pages.

SIR,

YOURS I received, bearing Date the Third of the laſt Month, by which I find you ſeem to be much afflicted to ſee the Trade of the Nation ruined, and your Native Country brought into ſo great Calamity as now it is; and deſire me to give you ſome Account, if poſſible, How, and by what Means, all theſe Evils have been brought upon the whole Kingdom? Which I ſhall endeavour to do, in as brief a Manner as I can, and, in order to it, ſhall relate to you ſome publick Tranſactions in Relation to the late War, and then leave you and all rational Men to judge, who it is have been the grand Inſtruments of bringing all theſe Evils upon us.

For the Situation of our Country and the Conſtitution of our Government, we have always been eſteemed the happieſt Nation in *Europe*: And no People in the Univerſe ever enjoyed a longer Series of Peace and Plenty than we have done. Yet, during the Time of the late War, we have ſeen the Trade of the Nation, ſome Ages a Raiſing, almoſt totally ruined; and a general Poverty and Diſtreſs brought upon the whole Kingdom, and that in the Reign even of the beſt of Princes.

Trade has ever been the univerſal Miſtreſs of Mankind, courted and careſſed by all civilized Nations, many bloody Wars having been carried on by thoſe that have been Rivals for her Favour; for ſhe never fails to beſtow invaluable Bleſſings upon her Admirers, being always attended with Riches, Honour, Power, and all other Earthly Bleſſings.

Thoſe Nations that obtained her Favour, and have not had the Wiſdom and Prudence to retain her, we ſee have grown weak and deſpiſeable, and lain expoſed a Prey to other Nations, which appears to be the preſent Caſe of *Spain*.

Our Forefathers enjoyed a large Share of her Favour, which they carefully handed down to us; but we, like unthrifty and undutiful Children, have been ſo far from following their Footſteps, that we have been, as appears by our Actions, great Enemies to Trade, and uſed all Manner of Violence to make her fly the Nation, wherein ſhe had long cohabited with us, and ſeemed unwilling to depart, till our continual Acts of Violence were ſuch as

* *Vide* the 514th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets.

they

they grew insupportable; so that she has now taken her Flight into the neighbouring Nations, *viz. Holland* * and *Ireland*, by whom she is highly caressed, and not like to return in Haste; and, unless she do return, we can expect no other than to be a miserable People, Land itself having a Dependence upon Trade, and rises or falls as that ebbs or flows.

But, before we can expect that, it is necessary to be known what Way and Means it was we took to make her desert us: Unless we do so, we can never expect her Return; for she is coy and nice, and will not bear the least Affront, but cleave to those who treat her best.

The first Ill-usage, Trade appears to have met withal from us, was at the Breaking out of the late War. Ever since, all Manner of Persons, Things, or Matters, that have had Relation to, or were interested in Trade, have been evil treated by those whose immediate Duty it was to have encouraged and protected them.

It is well known our Ships (under God) are our greatest Security, and the Glory of our Isle, and the Sailors our Myrmidons, whom we ought to cherish as the Apple of our Eye; yet, all the Time of the late War, they were most barbarously treated, evenas if they had not been of the Race of Mankind, but a Sort of Vermin fit to be rooted out; for, what by their evil Treatment on board Ship, and frequent Turning over without Pay, the unjust Pricking them *Run*, and being harrassed with the Uncertainty of Payments, many Thousands of these poor Wretches and their Families have been destroyed, and great Numbers constrained to leave their Native Country, and betake themselves to foreign Service, or, which is worse, turn Pyrates.

This evil Treatment of the poor Sailors, though in itself highly wicked, seems to have been one of the least of the Crimes committed in the Government, tending to the Destruction of Trade †; for it appears, there were Articles brought into the House of Peers (the highest Court of Judicature in the Nation) against the Lords of the Admiralty, the Commissioners of the Navy, and the Commissioners for the sick and wounded Seamen, by one Mr. *Crosfield*, in the Year 1694.

Upon which, their Lordships examined divers Witnesses at the Bar of the House, and were very zealous in the Matter; but it seems the Articles were drawn out of the House, by the Commissioners for Stating the publick Accounts, who never proceeded therein, though their Lordships issued out two successive Orders for them so to do; but for your better Satisfaction, and that Posterity may see the Wickedness of the Age; I here give you a true Copy of those Articles, and which are as followeth:

Article 1. That the present Commissioners for sick and wounded Seamen, and Exchanging Prisoners at War (depending on the Admiralty) not regarding Instructions, or the Good of the Government, have committed gross Enormities; as holding or conniving at an unlawful Correspondence with the *French*, and wronging both the King and Subject in their Accounts, with other great Miscarriages: All which has been, about a Year since, laid in Writing, before the Secretary of State, by one Mr. *Baston*, and, by the King's Command, examined before the Lords of the Admiralty, *&c.* And it will appear, that the said Commission has been very injurious to the poor Sailors in particular, and very detrimental to the Government in general.

* The *Dutch* having grown rich by the late War, and improved themselves eight Millions; they are a wise People, and, among themselves, strict Observers of Justice, never suffering any to grow great out of the Ruins of the Publick; as Sir *William Temple* well observes in his Memoirs, and which is the true Cause of the flourishing Condition of their State.

† For the first five Years of the War, it appears, we were seldom free from an Embargo upon Shipping; few or no Ships were allowed to sail, till they got Protections or Permits, to the great Charge of the Merchants, and Damage to Trade in general; as little Care was taken to protect our Shipping, not any one Person having been so much as appointed to examine Sea-Commanders Journals, all the Time of the late War; but they were left to their own Genius, to act and do as they pleased: And thus, by the Lords of the Admiralty's, and Commissioners of the Navy's wise Conduct, and prudent Management of Affairs, we lost above a hundred Ships of War, with many Hundreds of Merchantmen, to the great Honour of the Nation.

Artic.

Artic. 2. That the Lords of the Admiralty and Commiſſioners of the Navy have acted contrary to the publick Good, by Countenancing, Supporting, and Preferring Criminals; and on the contrary, Perſecuting the Diſcoverers, and Turning juſt Men out of their Offices.

Artic. 3. That their Lordſhips have had great Diſcoveries laid before them of Embezzlements, and other great Frauds committed in the King's Yards, attended with Forgery and Perjury.

Artic. 4. That it is manifeſt, ſome of the Commiſſioners of the Navy have, in that Office, advanced themſelves from Salaries of thirty Pounds *per Annum*, to vaſt Eſtates, having paſſed great Frauds, and totally diſcouraged the Diſcovery of embezzled Stores, to the great Waſte of the publick Treaſure.

Artic. 5. That it has been a long Practice in the Navy, to make out falſe Tickets and Powers, Suſpending and Delaying the poor Sailors in their juſt Payments, to the general Diſcouragement of them, and Starving their Families.

The Commiſſioners of the Poſt-Office appear to have as much contributed towards the Ruin of their Country, as any Perſons living, having all along ſupported their Officers in all their evil Actions, as correſponding with known Papiſts, and others diſaffected to the Government, ſtopping the King's Mail, breaking open Perſons of Quality's Letters, all along countenancing and ſupporting a Smuggling Trade, by bringing in the Mail, and otherways vaſt Quantities of *Flanders* Lace *, *&c.* Being reſolved, it ſeems, to make as plentiful an Harveſt as they could, ſo long as the War laſted. Withal, they were not wanting to uſe all indirect Means to ruin ſuch of their Officers, or others, that detected the Crimes.

All theſe Matters relating to the foregoing Articles, and the Commiſſioners of the Poſt-Office, were long ſince publiſhed in Print, by divers Hands, wherein a more large and ample Account has been given of them; and they were dedicated and preſented to our late Repreſentatives in Parliament, who took no more Notice thereof, than if theſe Things had been acted and done in the Great *Mogul*'s Country.

Moreover, there appears to have been laid before our late Repreſentatives many other Matters of the greateſt Importance:

Firſt, In Reference to the *Toulon* Squadron getting into *Breſt*: It having been declared by the Houſe, the Government had timely Notice given, whereby the ſaid Fleet might have been intercepted.

Secondly, In Relation to the *Mint*, it did appear to the Houſe, the Moneyers in the *Tower* had committed foul Crimes, and that ſeveral Dyes had been conveyed away for Coining falſe Money Abroad.

Thirdly, In Reference to the diſbanded Troopers, that ſerved in *Ireland* and *Flanders*, who, by their Petition, appear to have been moſt barbarouſly treated, contrary to his Majeſty's expreſs Commands.

Fourthly, In Reference to the evil Actions of the Commiſſioners of the *Victualling-Office*.

Fifthly, In Relation to the twenty-ſeven Sail of Victuallers being taken by the *Dunkirkers*; the Houſe having declared, the Lords of the Admiralty had timely Notice given them, whereby they might have prevented their Falling into the Enemies Hands.

Theſe, with a Multitude of other Matters, that lay before the Houſe, were dropped by our late Repreſentatives, who took no Manner of Care to do the People Juſtice †: Indeed, the Houſe appeared very zealous in the Proſecution of Mr. *Duncomb*, who, as they alledged, wronged the King, of about three-hundred and ſixty Pounds, by the falſe Endorſement of *Exchequer* Bills; though, at the ſame Time, it plainly appeared,

* Indeed, theſe Gentlemen have ſince been very inſtrumental in Cauſing a late Act to be made, the better to prevent the Bringing in foreign Bone-Lace; as likewiſe have been the Lords of the Admiralty, and Commiſſioners of the Navy, in Procuring an Act to prevent the Embezzlement, and Stealing his Majeſty's Naval Stores; and therein they have done wiſely, when the Steed is ſtolen, to ſhut the Stable-door.

† Sad it is to conſider, how all Complaints of Abuſes done in the Government have been ſtifled, for Want of a Committee of Grievances, according to our ancient Laws and Cuſtoms, to be ſitting, during the Seſſion of Parliament, to hear the Grievances of the People; which, it is plain, was not done all the Time of the late War.

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the King and Kingdom had been wronged, by Means of the *Treaſury* *, to the Value of twenty-thouſand Pounds, in Relation to *Exchequer* Bills. Yet, all they did, therein, was to take Care how to waſh them white; and, while the War was on Foot, our late Repreſentatives ſeemed to be very zealous for an Act to be made againſt the Buying and Selling of Employments; but, when once we had obtained an honourable Peace, they ſoon dropped the Matter, as conceiving the People then better able to bear their Pack †, than they were before. There is a Matter, wherein it appears, the King has been wronged ſeveral thouſand Pounds, that was deſigned to have been laid before the late Houſe of Commons; but the Gentleman, who intended to have done it, was diſſuaded from doing it, by a Member of the Houſe, who plainly told him, of all their Members, they could not make above a hundred, or a hundred and ten at moſt, in the whole Houſe, that ſeemed to have any Regard to the Welfare of the Nation: Saying, one had one Employment, another another, touch one and touch all, and ſaid they did and would ſupport one another ‡; and ſo by all Means adviſed him to decline it. Now I conceive, it is obvious, by what Means, and by whom, the Trade of the Nation has been brought to ſo low an Ebb, and ſo many publick Debts contracted, by the Conſequence of which, many Thouſands of honeſt induſtrious Families, in *London*, &c. are reduced to extreme Poverty, at the ſame Time, not knowing the true Cauſe from whence their Evils have riſen. Theſe Things are very harſh to Fleſh and Blood, when we conſider how all our Calamity appears to have been brought upon us, by thoſe very Perſons, in whoſe Hands we entruſted our Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates.

We find King *David* complained he could not do the Juſtice he would have done, the Sons of *Zerviah* were too ſtrong for him; no Wonder then, if we ſee our Prince ‖ under the ſame Circumſtance, who has had ſo many Sons of *Zerviah* to deal withal, who were ſenſible of the great Intereſt, they and their Friends had in the ſeveral Corporations, and how they were able thereby to ſupport one another in whatever they ſhould act or do, and put it out of the Power of any, even the King himſelf, to call them to an Account for their Actions. It is evident, ours is a mixed Government, wherein the People have a large Share; and if we will not act our Part, in Reference to the Chuſing of Members of Parliament, great Pity it is we ſhould ever be relieved, but remain as we are.

By this, we may ſee what a great Duty there lies upon all Gentlemen that live in, or near any Corporation and the principal Inhabitants thereof, to inform the meaner Sort of People therein (who, in moſt Corporations, have Votes) the abſolute Neceſſity there is of Chuſing Gentlemen of good Eſtates to be their Repreſentatives, as have not been in any (or long ſince declined) publick Employment, during the late War, there being no other Means poſſible, whereby to make them ſenſible of theſe paſt Miſcarriages, or we to have ſuch Members, as will be able to

* The publick Treaſure, in all Ages and Nations, has ever been accounted as ſacred as the King's Perſon; and thoſe that have been found to purloin, waſte, or miſpend the ſame, have been ſeverely chaſtiſed; and if it muſt be acknowledged, as every Man will do, who is not a profeſſed Atheiſt, we are obliged by the Dictates of Nature, and that holy Religion we profeſs, to do all ſuch Acts as tend to the Good and Benefit of Mankind in general. What Ground of Fear then can any Man have, that lays open publick Crimes, in order to their being examined in a judicial Manner? And, if the Law, which favours and countenances the Act, ſhall not be able to protect him, little Reaſon can any Man have to flatter himſelf of being ſecure, the publick Peace and Tranquillity not being long to be maintained by any other Means, than a due Adminiſtration of Juſtice.

† Vide *England's Calamities diſcovered*, ſold by ——— *Fox*, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, &c.

‡ Thoſe Gentlemen, that have been in publick Employments, have had great Opportunity to execute their Malice againſt them that detected or publickly laid open their Crimes, and have not been wanting to uſe all Arts and Means whereby to bring them to Ruin; by which Means, ſeveral honeſt ingenuous Gentlemen have died through Grief, and many others through Grief and Want; and who may all truly be ſaid to have died Martyrs for their Country.

‖ Whatever *Engliſhman* duly conſiders, how great and glorious the Actions of his Majeſty have been, and to what Hazard he expoſed his Royal Perſon for our Sakes, and the great Things he has done for us, cannot but be moved with Grief and Anger, to ſee how unfaithful, in his Abſence, he has been ſerved, and his People oppreſſed.

rectify

rectify them, and do the King and Kingdom Juſtice * ; publick Leaks being not to be ſtopped by the Hands that made them.

It is ſufficient to make any *Engliſhman* bluſh, to conſider how ſtrenuouſly our Foreſathers withſtood thoſe who made a Breach of the Law, and how indifferent and careleſs we appear to have been therein, ever ſince the late happy Revolution, not at all conſidering, how Mankind are generally more liable, and in greater Danger of being ruined by the Falſhood and Treachery of Friends, than open Enemies; and that thoſe who lay the Foundation of great Eſtates, for the moſt Part, raiſe themſelves by Fraud, Oppreſſion, and Injuſtice. And how in all Ages they that were in publick Employments, or ambitious of Honour and Preferment, likewiſe generally have been found too ready to abuſe their Prince's Ear, and trample the Laws under their Feet.

We may ſee by the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*'s Paſtoral Letter, burnt by the common Hangman, what Sycophants theſe Sort of Men are, who care not what Evils they bring upon the reſt of Mankind, ſo they may but advance themſelves; and Weeds commonly are apt to grow ſo faſt, as to overtop the Corn.

Thus, Sir, have I given you a ſhort Relation of ſuch Matters of Fact, which plainly appear, as I conceive, to have been the true Cauſe, all the Blood and Treaſure ſpent in the late War, for Want of Juſtice, in a Manner has been loſt, like Water ſpilt on the Ground.

Our Trade being in great Meaſure ruined, and the Nation miſerably plunged in Debt, and in Danger of being involved in a new War, about the Succeſſion of *Spain*, in which (according to the preſent Circumſtance, and Management of Affairs) we are in no Condition to engage: So, you may ſee the fatal Conſequence that attends the Actions of Men, when they leave the Paths of Virtue, and go along with the Multitude to do Evil. I am, Sir, his Majeſty's faithful Subject, a true Lover of my Country, and,

London, *July* 16, 1698. *Your moſt humble Servant,*

G. W.

A Liſt of the Names of ſome Gentlemen who were Members of the laſt Parliament, and now are, or lately were, in publick Employment or Truſt.

A.

SIR *Edward Aſkew*, Knt. Commiſſioner of the Prizes, for *Grimſby*, *Lincolnſhire*.

Sir *Matthew Andrews*, Knt. Gentleman of the King's Bed chamber, and Maſter of *Trinity houſe*, *Shafton*, *Dorſetſhire*.

Matthew Aylmer, Eſq; a Flag-Officer in the Fleet, *Dover*, *Cinque-Port*.

B.

The Honourable *Peregrine Bertie*, Vice-Chamberlain, *Boſton*, *Lincolnſhire*.

The Honourable *Hugh Boſcawen*, Governor of St. *Maw*'s Caſtle, *&c.* County of *Cornwall*.

William Blaithwait, Eſq; Secretary of War, one of the Council of Trade, and one of the Clerks of the Council, *Bath*, *Somerſetſhire*.

Nathaniel Bond, the King's Serjeant at Law, *Dorchſter*.

William Bridges, Eſq; Secretary to the Commiſſioners for Paper and Parchment, *Liſcard*, *Cornwall*.

John Burrard, Eſq; Governor of *Hurſt* Caſtle, *Lymington*, *Southampton*.

John Burrington, Eſq; Commiſſioner of the Victualling, *Oakhampton*, *Devonſhire*.

Thomas Blofield, Eſq; Receiver-General of the Exciſe for the County of *Norfolk*, *Norwich*.

The Honourable *George Booth*, Eſq; late Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms, *Boſtney*, *Cornwall*.

The Honourable *Charles Bertie*, Eſq; Treaſurer of the Office of the Ordnance, *Stamford*, *Lincolnſhire*.

C.

The Right Honourable Lord *Coningſby*, late Lord Juſtice of *Ireland*, *Leominſter*, *Hereſordſhire*.

* It is hoped the Citizens of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, who correſpond with all Parts of the Kingdom, will be ſo juſt to themſelves, their King and Country, as forthwith to ſend this and other Things of the like Nature, to the ſeveral Corporations, for it will be as they make their Choice, we may conclude, we ſhall be either happy or miſerable.

John

John Conyers, Esq; one of his Majesty's Council at Law, *East-Grimstead*, *Sussex*.

Sir *Robert Clayton*, Knt. late one of the Commissioners of the Customs, *London*.

Edward Clark, Esq; Commissioner of the Excise, *Taunton*, *Somersetshire*.

The Honourable *John* Lord *Cuts*, Baron *Gouram*, Governor of the Isle of *Wight*, and Colonel of Foot, *Cambridgeshire*.

Sir *Robert Cotton*, Knt. Post-master-General, *Newport*, Isle of *Wight*.

William Culliford, Esq; Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Customs, *Corfe-Castle*, *Dorsetshire*.

William Coward, Esq; King's Serjeant at Law, *Wells*, *Somersetshire*.

William Cowper, Esq; King's Council, *Hertford*.

D.

Edward Dummer, Esq; Surveyor of the Navy, *Arundel*, *Sussex*.

Thomas Done, Esq; Auditor of the Impress of the *Exchequer*.

Thomas Dore, Esq; Lieutenant-Colonel to Col. *Gibson*'s Regiment, *Lymington*, *Southampton*.

Sir *Robert Dashwood*, Knt. and Bart. Commissioner of the Excise, *Banbury*, *Oxfordshire*.

Sir *Ralph Delaval*, late a Flag Officer in the Fleet, *Great Bedmin*, *Wilts*,

E.

Sir *Stephen Evans*, Knt. Commissioner of the Excise, and Commissioner for Wine-Licenses, *Bridgeport*, *Dorsetshire*.

Thomas Earle, Esq; Major-General of the Army, Governor of *Portsmouth*, and Colonel of two Regiments of Foot, *Warhaw*, *Dorsetshire*.

F.

Sir *Stephen Fox*, Knt. Lord of the Treasury, *Westminster*.

Sir *Thomas Felton*, Bart. Master of his Majesty's Houshold, *Orford*, *Suffolk*.

Sir *William Forrester*, one of the Commissioners of the Greencloth, *Northumberland*.

William Farrer, Esq; one of the King's Council, *Bedford*.

The Right Honourable Viscount *Fitzhardinge*, a Teller in the *Exchequer*, *Windsor*, *Berkshire*.

Sir *Thomas Frankland*, Bart. Post-master-General, *Heydon*, *Yorkshire*.

The Right Honourable Lord *Fairfax*, Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons, *York*.

Charles Fox, Esq; Pay-master to the Army, *Cricklade*, *Wiltshire*.

G.

Sir *Henry Goodrick*, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, *Burrowbridge*, *Yorkshire*.

John Gauntlet, Esq; Clerk of the Signet, *Wilton*, *Wilts*.

Charles Godolphin, Esq; Commissioner of the Customs, *Helston*, *Cornwall*.

Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, late Treasurer of the King's Chamber, *Tiverton*, *Devonshire*.

Francis Gardner, Esq; an Employ in the Mint at *Norwich*, *Norwich*.

The Honourable *Ralph Grey*, Esq; Auditor of the *Exchequer*, *Berwick*.

Sir *Bevil Granvil*, Governor of *Pendennis* Castle, and Colonel of Foot, *Fowey*, *Cornwall*.

John Gibson, Esq; Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, and Deputy-Governor of *Portsmouth*, *Portsmouth*.

H.

The Honourable Sir *Robert Howard*, Knt. Auditor of the *Exchequer*, *Castlerising*, *Norfolk*.

Henry Haveningham, Lieutenant of the Band of Pensioners, *Dunwich*, *Suffolk*.

Robert Henley, Esq; Commissioner of the Customs, *Lime-Regis*, *Dorsetshire*.

Thomas Howard, Esq; a Teller of the *Exchequer*, *Bleching*, *Surrey*.

Sir *Joseph Herne*, Patentee for Copper Halfpence, and Trustee for Circulating *Exchequer*-Bills, *Dartmouth*, *Devonshire*.

Sir *John Hawles*, Knt. Sollicitor-General, *Wilton*, *Wiltshire*.

Sir *Henry Hobart*, Bart. Commissioner of the Customs, County of *Norfolk*.

James Herbert, Esq; Treasurer of the *Prize-Office*, *Ailesbury*, *Bucks*.

Simon Harcourt, Esq; Secondary in the *Crown-Office*, *Abingdon*, *Berkshire*.

I.

Sir *Henry Johnson*, Knt. a great Builder of Ships for the King by Contract, *Aldborough*, *Suffolk*.

Sir *Jonathan Jennings*, Commissioner of the *Prize-Office*, *Rippon*, *Yorkshire*.

K.

James Kendal, Esq; Lord of the Admiralty, *Port-Pigham*, alias *West-Loe*, *Cornwall*.

John Knight, Esq; late Auditor of the First-Fruits, *Weymouth*, *Dorsetshire*.

L.

Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Bart. Lord of the Treasury, *New-Woodstock*, *Oxfordshire*.

James Lowther, Eſq; Clerk of the Stores of the *Tower*, *Carliſle*, *Cumberland*.

William Lownds, Eſq; Secretary to the Lords of the Treaſury, *Seaford*, a *Cinque-Port*.

Sir *John Lowther*, Bart. for many Years paſt Lord of the Admiralty, *Cumberland*.

M.

Charles Montague, Eſq; Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, Under-Treaſurer of the ſame, one of the Lords of the Treaſury, *&c. Weſtminſter*.

Sir *Thomas Mompeſſon*, Knt. one of the Commiſſioners of the Privy-Seal, in the Abſence of the Earl of *Pembroke*, *New Sarum*, *Wilts*.

John Methuin, Eſq; Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, *Devizes*, *Wilts*.

Chriſtopher Montague, Eſq; Commiſſioner for Paper and Parchment, *Northampton*.

Sir *Charles Muſgrave*, Bart. Maſter of the Robes to the Queen Dowager, *Appleby*, *Weſtmoreland*.

N.

Thomas Neale, Eſq; Maſter of the Mint, and Groom-Porter, *Lurgeſhall*, *Wilts*.

O.

Foot Onſlow, Eſq; Commiſſioner of the Exciſe, *Guildford*, *Surry*.

Charles Oſbourn, Eſq; Lieutenant-Governor of *Hull*, *Hull*, *Yorkſhire*.

P.

Thomas Pitt, Eſq; Maſter in *Chancery*, *Old Sarum*, *Wilts*.

Thomas Pelham, Eſq; Lord of the Treaſury, *Lewis*, *Suſſex*.

The Honourable *Henry Prieſtman*, Eſq; Lord of the Admiralty, *Shoreham*, *Suſſex*.

Thomas Papillon, Eſq; Commiſſioner of the Victualling, *London*.

R.

The Right Honourable Lord *Edward Ruſſel*, Treaſurer of the Chamber, County of *Bedford*.

Sir *Robert Rich*, Lord of the Admiralty, *Dunwich*, *Suffolk*.

The Right Honourable Lord *Robert Ruſſel*, Clerk of the Pipe, *Taviſtock*, *Devonſhire*.

The Right Honourable *Richard* Lord *Ranelagh*, Pay-maſter-General to the Army, and Governor of *Chelſea*-College, *Chicheſter*, *Suſſex*.

S.

The Right Honourable *John Smith*, Eſq; Lord of the Treaſury, *Andover*, *Southampton*.

George Sayer, Eſq; Lieutenant of the Yeomen of the Guards, *Canterbury*.

Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, Admiral of the Blue, Commiſſioner of the Navy, and Colonel of a Marine Regiment, *Rocheſter*, *Kent*.

James Slone, Eſq; Secretary to the Chief Juſtice in *Eyre*, *Thetford*, *Norfolk*.

The Honourable *James Stanley*, Eſq; Groom of the King's Bed-chamber, Secretary to the Houſhold, and Colonel of Foot, County of *Lancaſter*.

T.

Sir *William Trumball*, Knt. late Principal Secretary of State, *Oxford* Univerſity.

Sir *Thomas Trevor*, Knt. Attorney-General, *Plimpton*, *Devonſhire*.

John Taylor, Eſq; Book-keeper to the Treaſurer of the Navy, and Uſher of the Receipt of the *Exchequer*, *Sandwich*, *Kent*.

Charles Trelawney, Eſq; a Major-General in the Army, and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, *Eaſt-Low*, *Cornwall*.

Henry Trelawney, Eſq; a Colonel in the Army, *Eaſt-Low*, *Cornwall*.

Joſeph Thurbarne, Eſq; King's Serjeant at Law, *Sandwich*, *Kent*.

U.

The Right Honourable *J. Vernon*, Eſq; Principal Secretary of State, *Penryn*, *Cornwall*.

W.

Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Keeper of the Records of State, *Rocheſter*, *Kent*.

Sir *William Wogan*, one of the King's Serjeants at Law, *Haverford-Weſt*, *Wales*.

Richard Woolliſton, Eſq; Receiver-General for the County of *Hertford*, *Whitchurch*, *Southampton*.

The Honourable *Good Wharton*, Eſq; Lord of the Admiralty, *Cockermouth*, *Cumberland*.

Edmund Webb, Eſq; Gentleman-Uſher to the Prince of *Denmark*, *Cricklade*, *Wilts*, *&c.*

Taxes no Charge: In a Letter from a Gentleman to a Perſon of Quality; ſhewing the Nature, Uſe, and Benefit of Taxes in this Kingdom, and compared with the Impoſitions of foreign States; together with their Improvement of Trade in Time of War. Licenſed, *Nov.* 11. 1689. *London*, printed for *R. Chiſwell*, at the *Roſe* and *Crown* in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard. 1690. *Quarto*, containing thirty-four Pages.

The PREFACE to the READER.

UPON the Receipt of the following Letter, concerning the Nature of Taxes, and Levying of Money upon the Subject, I immediately reſolved to commit it to the Preſs, as conceiving, that it might be inſtrumental towards the Removal of that popular Argument, which the Malecontents of the Age are ſo induſtrious to inſtil into the Minds of the common Sort, viz. *That frequent Taxes are an inſupportable Grievance and Oppreſſion to the Nation; and this by ſo much they the more ſucceſsfully propagate, by how much it is a received Opinion among the Populace, and ſuch as, either for Want of Parts, or not accuſtomed to ſerious Reflexions, have not thoroughly conſidered this Affair: Whence it comes to paſs, that this vulgar Error has obtained ſo general a Conſent and Approbation, that it needs not to be much inculcated. This the diſaffected Party to the preſent Government are ſufficiently ſenſible of, and therefore are not unactive in the Eſtabliſhment of an Untruth, which has the Advantage of making a deep Impreſſion upon ſuch, whoſe biaſſed and prejudicate Sentiments render them fit Objects of their Deſign.* Sed dato, & non conceſſo, *but ſuppoſing, and not granting, that Taxes were really a Burden to the Nation, yet, if it be true, that* e malis minimum, *of two Evils the leaſt is to be choſen, it will thence follow, that it is better for the Kingdom to have purchaſed its Redemption from Popery and Arbitrary Power, though at the Price of ſome Part of the Eſtates and Fortunes of the Subject, rather than to have loſt all at one Throw by a tyrannical Invaſion upon their Religion, Laws, and Liberties. I preſume, that even ſome of thoſe buſy Agents, who ſow theſe Seeds of Diſcord and Diviſion among us, would have been content to have bought their Safety almoſt at any Rate, whilſt the Storm was imminent; and, now that it is happily blown over, and nothing appears at preſent, but a ſerene Sky and fair Weather, Why ſhould they either endeavour a Reduction both of themſelves and others to their former Danger (to which their turbulent Devices do immediately tend) or ſtrive to create unreaſonable Diſſatisfactions againſt ſo juſt an Expedient, as each one's Diſcharging a few Pence for an Inſurance of the publick Peace, and quiet Settlement of the Nation?*

It is, surely, very unaccountable, that those Men, who discovered so great an Alacrity and Forwardness in opposing of Popish Tyranny and Arbitrary Power, should now endeavour to inslave us under the same uneasy Yoke, but with this additional Aggravation to our former Servitude, that, whereas we were then allowed so [illegible] we must now make Brick without Straw. This seems so wild a Notion of Obedience [illegible] (the Result of the Passive Doctrine) and that the chief Wheel in that unaccountable Engine of Absolute Sovereignty, is destructive of all Government, inasmuch as it is utterly irreconcileable with the Preservation and common Interest of human Society. But those murmuring, factious Spirits, after shamefully Retracting from their early Officiousness, in their Encouragement of the late Expedition of the then Prince of Orange, *are not content with a complete Enjoyment of their Properties, under the even Steerage of this great and skilful Pilot, who so justly manages the Helm of the present Government, as not to invade the Rights of any Man; nor yet to retain their particular Sentiments within their own Breasts, but they must needs vent and divulge them to others, by which they become the publick Incendiaries of the Nation. But, as I cannot enough admire both the Folly and Ingratitude of these Men, who strive to disseminate so poisonous a Contagion; so have I not Room left for Wonder and Surprise, to observe divers innocent, well-meaning Persons so unwarily catched and infected by it, when, not many Months ago, their Lives, Religion, Liberties, all that was dear or acceptable unto them, lay apparently at Stake: For, Which, I pray, do they account the more advantageous? Whether their Properties to be infringed, their Religion violated, their Laws subverted, their Estates confiscated, and they, with their Wives, Children, and Relations, to be exposed to the fiery Trial? Or to be seasonably freed from these amazing Terrors, ready to overwhelm them in a full Career, when they received a signal and miraculous, as well as a gracious Deliverance, and that as much above their Hopes, as it has since appeared to be beyond their Desert?*

What would not every honest Man, or good Christian, have given, at that Time, to have had that Security under his own Vine, and under his own Fig-tree, the Liberty of his Religion, the full Enjoyment of his Property, and an equal and just Administration of the Laws, which he enjoys under the benign Influence and Protection of the present Government? And then, With what Face can he deny to contribute his respective Share and Proportion, not only to the Assuring of his own particular Right, but also that of the general Interest, together with what is infinitely preferable to either, the Protestant Religion in the three Kingdoms?

All this, and much more, which might be offered, and insisted upon (were not Prolixity improper in a Preface, especially to so small a Discourse, as is that of the following Letter) seems exceeding reasonable, upon the former Hypothesis, *if Taxes were really a Burden and Oppression to the Nation; which the following Sheets do abundantly evince that they are not, by shewing, that they are so far from being a Diminution of, that they really add to the Trade and Riches of a State.*

This the Author has fully proved, from the opulent Condition of those Countries where Taxes are most numerous; and, after several copious parallel Instances, derived from foreign Monarchies and Republicks, shewing their great Advancement by Taxes and frequent Levies upon the Subject, he undertakes to demonstrate the Practicableness, as well as equal Advantage of the same to these Kingdoms. This I thought to be of such seasonable and publick Importance, in Reference to the present State of Affairs, as well in Order to the Rectifying the aforementioned general Prejudice and Mistake, as to the Silencing of all intemperate and unreasonable Murmurers against the Proceedings of the grand Council of the Nation, in the Methods taken for a Supply of the Naval and Land-forces, that I thought fit to usher it

into

into publick View, as conſidering that, if theſe Men, who moſt inveigh againſt Taxes, could be brought to believe, that they naturally tend to the Advantage and Intereſt of the State, and do really conduce to the Inriching and Improvement of it, they muſt needs ceaſe from their ſeditious Clamours againſt, and ſatyrical Reflexions upon the Government, in this Reſpect. And that this would not be the ſole Advantage which would accrue from the Clearing up of this Miſtake, but that all honeſt and good Men will join more cordially than ever in their unanimous and chearful Contributions to its Support, when they are made ſenſible, that not only the common Duty of Subjects (that indiſpenſable Obligation of a perpetual Gratitude, which they owe to their Deliverer) and the natural Inſtinct of Self-preſervation ought to quicken and excite them thereunto; but, beſides all this, that they are really Gainers by this Courſe, and, conſequently, what they expend upon that Account does, after a due Circulation, return to them with a conſiderable Improvement and Augmentation.

Worthy Sir,

PURSUANT to my Promiſe, at our late Conference, I here preſent you with a ſhort Eſſay, concerning Taxes, which I ſubmit to your private Cenſure, and ſhall not limit you from Sending it to the Preſs, if, in your Opinion, it may prove ſerviceable to the Publick.

That Tribute, or, as we now call it, *Cuſtoms*, *Taxes*, &c. were originally a Mark of Servitude, is evidenced by the Interrogatory of an infallible Author, Of whom do the Princes of the Earth take Tribute?

But, as Government became more humane, the ſavage Exaction upon Strangers, was leſs rigid; and the *Romans*, who were then Maſters of Civil Government in the World, found it conducing to the Eſtabliſhment of that overgrown, and prodigious Empire, to make every Part of their Conqueſt eaſy to the People, and that, in Point of Taxes, they ſhould be univerſally equal, which ſeems to be confirmed by that of *Auguſtus*, when he ordered all the World to be taxed; wherein we find no Exemption of a *Roman* above others. They were, indeed, inveſted in divers other Privileges, but, in the Matter of Taxes, we find the Wiſdom of that Empire to make a Diſtinction from any that were under their Conqueſt and Government.

In Imitation of whoſe equal and prudent Conduct, all ſucceeding Governments have been guided in Tempering of their Conqueſts, and not, as in the firſt Ages, making both Perſons and Eſtates the Purchaſe of Victory. By this Means, Civilities, Laws, and Chriſtianity have been propagated in the World with that advantageous Succeſs, to which they could never have attained, if Conqueſt had been purſued, and employed as in former Ages, in all the inhuman Acts of Slavery, Violence and Rapine.

The *Romans* were the firſt we read of, that regularly paid their Armies; before them, the *Barbarians* might ſometimes divide the Spoil of their Enemies, and other ſavage Ways they had, to ſatisfy their Herds of Men, but no exact Payments were in Uſe, until the *Romans*; and, for the Maintenance and Encouragement of ſo good a Government, they impoſed Taxes, that ſo, in Intervals of Peace, their Armies might not be expoſed to the Neceſſity of Committing the like Ravage, they did in Times of War, and publick Hoſtility.

They ſoon became Artiſts in Taxing the People, inventing Ways to bring in Money. That of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, in Taxing the whole Empire, ſeemed to be in the Manner of a Poll with us. There was alſo a Tribute impoſed upon Paſſengers, going from Place to Place, and a Cuſtom levied upon Goods and Merchandiſe.

They had alſo an Art of raiſing Money from Aliens, upon the Account of being admitted to the Privileges of *Romans*; and many other Ways and Devices they had to advance Money, which, if duly conſidered, was the chief, if not only Reaſon, why they were ſo famed in the World for good Government, becauſe that they paid their Army and Miniſters of State ſo well, that they lay not under the Temptation of Violence or Bribery.

I ſhall here come to a Cloſe, in Relation to Taxes and Impoſitions, under the Heathen *Roman* Emperors; and only, in Order to the making good my Poſition, That Taxes are no

Charge,

Charge, infer from this done by the *Romans*, that it was none in their Days, inaſmuch as it kept the People from Violence, and Ravage of the Soldiers, and the worſe Exactions and Corruptions of Civil Magiſtrates.

We will now make an Enquiry into the Taxes and Impoſitions of Chriſtian Princes, and then compare them with thoſe of theſe Kingdoms.

Firſt, Then, let us look into the Impoſitions of Commonwealths; the greateſt and moſt ancient is *Venice*. None will ſay, that they are a poor State, though all muſt own, that they lie under heavy Taxes, inſomuch that it is believed in thoſe Countries, that the Chriſtians under the *Turks* are ſubject to leſs Impoſitions, than ſuch as live under the *Venetians*; where, beſides great Cuſtoms upon all Merchandiſe, they pay Exciſe for every Bit of Bread and Meat, nay, for the very Salt they eat; and, after all this, the pooreſt Labourer pays his Poll-Money: And yet, Where is there a richer People? And no Government, either Chriſtian or Heathen, in the known World of ſuch Antiquity, and without Charge, though peſtered with continual Wars, at one Time, for the Space of ſeven Years, had all the Chriſtian Princes in *Europe* in a League and War againſt them, except *England*.

We will mention the next Commonwealth, in Power and Riches, the United Provinces: I need not particulariſe their Taxes, few there are of our Kingdoms, but know them; and that they are ſo great, that it is believed, the pooreſt labouring Man in *Holland* adds to their *Intrado* four Pounds Sterling a Year, ſo great is the Exciſe on every Thing they eat or drink; beſides, upon the Occaſion of any War, it is uſual to raiſe the fortieth Penny upon their whole Eſtates; yet theſe People vie with all Nations, in Matter of Trade and Riches; and it is Matter of Controverſy, which of the two, whether they, or *Venice*, in Proportion to their Extents of Land, are the richer. They of *Holland* out-do them in their common People, as to Wealth and Coin. Now, then, it muſt be allowed, that Taxes there do no Harm, ſince the very Peaſants, *Bores* they call them, are ſo rich, as frequently to give a Tun of Gold, which is ten-thouſand Pounds of our Money, in Portion with their Daughters.

The Naming of theſe two Commonwealths may ſerve for all under that Diſtinction. I ſhall now come to Taxes under Monarchies. To nominate ſome few, as Inſtances to ſupply the reſt, I will begin with the Empire, where Taxes are generally low, and conſequently the People poor; for it will be ſo, as I ſhall hereafter demonſtrate, wherever the Prince, Generals and others have nothing to fetch Money out of their Coffers, but their own Expence, by which the Commonalty can have little Opportunity to improve themſelves.

Spain follows much the Steps of the Empire in their Taxes, and although there are numerous Cauſes aſſigned for the Poverty of that Part particularly, under the Name of *Spain*, yet, that of their irregular and uncertain Taxes does powerfully contribute to the indigent State of that Kingdom; for that the Country cannot be planted, by Reaſon of the Armies living upon the Spoil of it, not having a Penny Pay for ſix Months together; by which Means, the Country feels little Difference from the Conqueſt of their Enemies, and the Quartering their own Forces.

Portugal is more craving in its Taxes, Impoſitions being heavy on Importations, which are of the worſt Sort, yet better than none; and, ſeeing it raiſes a conſiderable Revenue, their Army and Officers of State are well paid, and their Country much richer, and more populous than *Spain*, that borders upon them.

I ſhall put a Period to that Part of my Diſcourſe, referring to the Taxes of foreign Princes, with that of *France*, which is rather the Abhorrence, than Example of any Chriſtian Prince; his tyrannical Impoſitions being grown to an unlimited Exaction upon all Men, both Sacred and Civil; and yet ſo, if the Barbarity of the Thing could have been ſeparated from the Effect, thoſe unbounded Taxes would not have impoveriſhed the Country; if the Money had not been ſpent out of his own Dominions in foreign Conqueſts, which rarely prove beneficial to the Country that invades.

If we conſider *France*, in the Beginning of their Invaſions on their Neighbours, we ſhall find them not ſo rich as they were ſeven Years after, notwithſtanding that great Part of their Taxes were ſent out of the Kingdom to raiſe Men, and more ſpent in Paying the Army in the Enemy's Country, and Buying of Towns. Now, at firſt View, this may ſeem ſtrange and unaccountable, That Impoſitions upon a People, and

and a great Part of them carried out of their Country, ſhould make them thrive: Yet, notwithſtanding this ſeeming Paradox, it is a certain Truth, as, in the Sequel of the Diſcourſe, will be fully evident: And, that *France* might have managed a War with all *Europe*, and not have beggared the Kingdom, as now it is, if they had not deſtroyed it by their fierce Perſecution of the *Hugonots*; for that has evidently been the Ruin of that Kingdom. Whereas, had the *French* Proteſtants been encouraged and maintained in their Rights and Religion, they would have been their beſt and moſt loyal Men, both in Peace and War; for ſo they proved in the Minority of this King, in the general Defection of *France*; and, had they been now poſſeſſed of their Religion and Rights of *France*, it is to be feared, we had not ſo eaſily commanded the Seas, moſt of the *French* Seamen being of that Profeſſion.

We now come to compare the Taxes of theſe Kingdoms with thoſe of foreign Princes; and, to ſave Multiplying of Words, will reduce all under two Heads:

Firſt, The Laws and Manner of Impoſing Taxes upon their Subjects: And,

Secondly, The *Quantum* and Duration of ſuch Taxes.

For the *Firſt*, The Laws and Manner of Impoſing Taxes: That is as different as the Climates which they are under. I ſhall not trouble myſelf, or the Reader, with Naming of all the Kingdoms in *Europe*, but ſhall only inſtance ſome of the moſt conſiderable; in Order whereunto, I ſhall begin with *Germany*, the Impoſitions of which Country may be brought under two Heads: That of the Tenure and Obligation of the Princes, Nobility, and free Cities, to furniſh a certain Number of Men in the Wars againſt the *Turk*.

The *Second*, By Levying Money in the Dyets, neither of which, if compared with thoſe of *England*, can be thought eaſy. That of Furniſhing Men is little better than tyrannical in the Lords and Nobles, who arbitrarily force their Tenants, and perhaps Neighbours, to compleat their Numbers, without any Relief in the greateſt Abuſe, having none to make Complaint or Application to, to redreſs their Grievances and violent Uſage. Then, for their Dyets, they are ſo few for the Commonalty, and ſo much influenced and overpowered by the predominant Intereſt of their Grandees, that the Impoſitions can hardly be laid with any equal or juſt Regard to, or right Conſideration of the Poor.

Taxes in *Spain* are yet more arbitrarily impoſed, the People having no Vote there, but all the Duties laid in Effect by the King and his Council: In ſome Caſes, they will adviſe with the Nobility and other Communities, but it is no more than mere Compliment, or Matter of Form; for, whatſoever the King and Council enact, that they muſt acquieſce and agree to; and the Truth is, it appears ſo by their irregular, vexatious, and yet moſt unprofitable Way of Taxes, in which they are much ſhort and inferior to any Government in *Europe*.

France makes a fair Shew to the People, and yet makes a better Market for the King: He impoſes Duties under the Pretence of the Parliament's of each Province Laying it on the People; but, at the ſame Time, it is only the King's Word that makes the Ordinance of Parliament; not as here in *England*, where it comes laſt to the King, for the Royal Aſſent: But there the King ſends the Parliament Word, that he will have ſo much Money; and all the Favour, that they can obtain from him, is, to place it on ſuch Commodities, or Ways, as they think moſt expedient.

And it is not unworthy Obſervation to remark, That theſe Parliaments of *France* are, in Effect, no more than Courts of Judicature, in Matters of Right, betwixt Man and Man, hearing and judging Cauſes, and their Places bought from the King, not elected by the People. So that, from ſuch Parliaments, nothing can be expected but the King's Dictates.

The great Duke of *Muſcovy* is above all tyrannical in his Impoſitions, charging on the Subject what he pleaſes; and yet, which is more oppreſſive to his People, foreſtalls the chief Commodities of the Kingdom, or what comes from others, and ſets what Price he thinks fit upon them, by which he deſtroys his own Merchants and Dealers; and where other Kings make themſelves, and their Subjects, rich, by Raiſing Money on them, he makes himſelf poor, and his Subjects miſerable Slaves, barring them of all Induſtry, by ſhutting them out from Trade, and, agreeably to ſuch Oppreſ-

ſions,

ſions, his vaſt Dominions are thinly planted, and poor to a Prodigy; and, had they the Liberty of ſeeing other Countries, he would yet have a ſmaller Stock of Inhabitants; but he keeps what he has, by making it Death for all the Kindred of ſuch as go out of his Dominions, without his Licenſe and Permiſſion.

Next to him, in arbitrary Impoſitions, is the Duke of *Florence*, who is not bounded in his Taxes, and likewiſe ingroſſes ſeveral Trades, and ſets what Price he pleaſes, upon his own Commodities; by which his Country would alſo be made poor, but that he has the Opportunity of other Helps, which the Great Duke of *Muſcovy* is not aſſiſted with, *viz.* a Country placed in the Garden of the World; and by, his making *Leghorn* a free Port, made it the Center of Trade, and by that, got the Start of all Princes in *Europe*.

The Kingdom of *Sweden* has many Advantages of raiſing Money from the Country, rather than People, and yet they are not exempt from Taxes; all which contributes to the Inriching of that Kingdom, which has little of Arts or Trade to improve it, only that which Nature produces; and ſhe indeed has been liberal to that great Kingdom, in Mines of all Sorts, though leaſt of Gold or Silver; but abounds in Copper, Tin, Iron, *&c.* of all which, the King has a Tenth, as alſo of Cattle and Corn; he has likewiſe the vaſt Demeſns of Biſhops and Church-Lands, out of which he only allows a ſmall Competency to his own Biſhops, and after all this, he has Liberty, by the Laws of the Land, to raiſe Money on the Subject, in Caſe of War.

The King of *Poland* is reſtrained, and can do nothing, but by the Decree of the Dyet; yet has, by that, Power, upon Occaſion of ſudden Streights and Emergencies in War, to raiſe Money upon the People, by his own Command, without aſſembling the Dyet.

Denmark has a Proviſion for its Support, above any Kingdom in *Europe*, God Almighty having, as it were, out of a particular Providence, ſupplied that Kingdom, out of its own Production, ſeeing there is little in it, either of Arts or Nature.

The Toll of the *Sound* is a conſiderable Revenue to the Crown, and, as before-mentioned, ſuch as no Prince in *Europe* has the like, for that, in all other Kingdoms, Taxes are raiſed on themſelves; but this of the Toll from Ships, paſſing the *Sound*, is from Strangers, that only [illegible] by his Country, and can not reimburſe themſelves there: Whereas Duties impoſed on Foreigners, that bring in their Commodities to another Country, is no more than Laying it on themſelves, only with this Difference, that they make Foreigners the firſt Collectors of it.

The other Duties on *Denmark* are not conſiderable; that on Cattle, which they ſell in *Germany*, is of moſt Value; as their *Intrado* is not great, ſo is their Country poor.

I need not mention the Manner of laying Taxes in Commonwealths; it is always with the Conſent of the People, who are too apt to cenſure their Repreſentatives, if they give not Satisfaction to the Populace.

And, notwithſtanding that of *Venice* is Ariſtocratical, yet have they ſuch Numbers in their Senate, that no Tax can be laid, but for the Good of the Commonwealth, there being, at leaſt, Two-thouſand five-hundred Gentlemen of *Venice*, which are all the Senate; and although many of them are engaged in the Wars, and foreign Employments, yet there there can never be leſs, if but one Quarter of them, than our great Council the Parliament.

Thus I have given but a ſuccinct Account of the Nature and Impoſitions of Taxes in foreign Kingdoms, which now in as few Words let us compare ours with, and we ſhall ſee how happy a People we are above the beſt of our Neighbours.

And *firſt*, let us conſider who it is that lay Impoſitions upon us: It is Men choſe by ourſelves.

The Difference indeed is great, in the *Modus* of our Taxes from other Kingdoms, and alſo in the Uſe of them. For the *Modus* in other Kingdoms, they generally conſider only the Nobility and Gentry, that Impoſitions may not touch or affect them, and care not how inſupportable or grievous they are to the Commonalty: But with us the Taxes reach every Man in Proportion to his Quality and Expence.

In other Kingdoms they place Taxes only to raiſe Money, and have no Regard to the Trade of their Kingdoms, that ſo their Taxes may not prejudice their Commerce. But in *England*, Care is always had, that Impoſitions may not impede our Trade and Manufactories.

Now,

Now, as to the Uſe and Employment of Taxes in other Kingdoms, they alſo differ much from ours.

In ſome Kingdoms they are impoſed to inſlave the People, and keep them poor, as in *Muſcovy*; in other Parts Taxes are laid to inrich the Nobility, as in *Poland*; in others, to fill the Coffers of the Prince, as in *Florence*.

Whereas none of theſe Uſes take up our Taxes; they are with great Care and Caution laid out, and by the ſame Law that raiſes them, appropriated for a particular Service, and laſt no longer upon the People, than the Neceſſity of the Nation requires; for that we never have Money raiſed, but for the Defence of the Kingdom; though as I ſhall ſhew in the Cloſe of this Diſcourſe, it would redound to the Advantage of the Kingdom, if there were more Taxes raiſed, and theſe aſſigned to publick Uſes in Peace as well as War.

I ſhall now come to the chief Deſign of this Diſcourſe, which is, to demonſtrate, That Taxes are no Charge either to the Kingdom in General, or to particular Perſons; but on the contrary, a Gain to all.

But to render this Matter the more plain and intelligible, I ſhall proceed after the following Method:

I. Shew who in the Kingdom pay the greateſt Part of the Taxes.

II. What Uſe is made of theſe Taxes; and how they circulate in the Kingdom.

III. How Trade is improved by Taxes.

IV. That the Poor are employed by them.

V. That a Set of Men, of no Uſe in the Kingdom, are by Taxes made profitable in the Commonwealth.

VI. That Taxes, eſpecially when Trade is ſtopped by War, is the only Remedy to keep the trading and mechanick Hands of the Kingdom employed.

VII. That Taxes will inrich the Nation, and diſperſe in it as much Treaſure, when there is no foreign Trade, as when it is open.

To begin then with the firſt Head, Who it is that pay moſt of the Taxes: They are the worſt Members in the Commonwealth, *viz.* The Extravagant and Debauched. The greateſt Duties are, or ſhould be, laid upon Commodities for Pleaſure and Sumptuouſneſs, as Silks, Gold and Silver Lace, *&c.* Now theſe are wore in the greateſt Exceſs, by the Extravagant of the Kingdom, both Men and Women. A Debauchee ſhall ſpend more out of an Eſtate of a thouſand Pounds a Year, than a regular Man will from the annual Income of five Times that Proportion; and a Miſs lay out more on Cloaths, than a Counteſs: So in the Exceſs to indulge the Belly, as well as providing for the Back. The vaſt Conſumption of Wines and ſtrong Liquors is by this Sort of Men; nay, the pooreſt Debauch, that can riſe no higher than to Beer and Tobacco, pays ten Times as much in the Year, in Proportion to his Income, as the greateſt Peer. It will hardly gain Belief, that there are many of the meaner People, Labourers and Mechanicks, that by their Expence, when they are, as too many be, extravagant, pay to the publick Taxes, above one Tenth of their daily Profit: As, ſuppoſing that a labouring Man may earn ſixteen Pounds a Year, he will expend, though not very extraordinarily profuſe, one Half of it in Drink and Tobacco, upon which, the Duty of Cuſtoms and Exciſe is, at leaſt, two Pounds of the Eight, which he lays out in idle Expences. Now, it would be vehemently decried and exclaimed againſt, as the greateſt Oppreſſion upon the Poor imaginable, if by a Poll or Land-Tax, this Man, that virtually pays forty Shillings, ſhould actually, and above-board, pay ſo many Pence by the Year.

Thus we ſee, that moſt of the Duties and Impoſitions on the Kingdom light upon ſuch as do leaſt Good with their Subſtance; and ſince they imprudently fling it away upon their Extravagancies, it is certainly a Benefit to the Kingdom, that there are Taxes, to catch ſomething out of it, for the Improvement of better diſpoſed Men; as we ſhall ſee in the next Paragraph.

The *Second* Particular is, What Uſe is made of theſe Taxes; and how they circulate in the Kingdom: In Order to which, there are but two Ways, in which they are employed; one is for the King's Court, the other for Proviſions of War, in the Maintenance of Naval and Land Forces. Now, both theſe are as well the Employment of Trade and Artiſans, as they reſolve into the Security of the Kingdom, and the Preſervation of the Publick Peace. There is no Money which circulates ſo faſt, as that which comes into the Hands of Seamen and Soldiers. Other Men, that get Money, frequently

frequently lay it up, and ſo it becomes of no Uſe or Benefit in the Kingdom: But Men, that live by their Pay, generally ſpend it faſter than it comes in, by which Means the Money of the Kingdom, like the Blood in the Veins, has its regular, circular Motion, and every Member in the Body is warmed and refreſhed by it, which gives Life and Motion in the Whole. And thus, I preſume, this ſecond Inſtance of the Uſe of Taxes proves, That they are of Advantage and Profit to the Kingdom.

Thirdly, How Trade is improved by Taxes. Upon this Head, there is much to be ſaid; and, firſt, it will be requiſite to ſay ſomething of the Nature of Trade, how it affects the Kingdom; for that Trade may in ſome Caſes prejudice a Nation, and make it poor; as the Trade of *Spain* does that Kingdom. Trade may alſo effeminate and debauch a Country, as it does *Italy*.

Now, it is certain, that we are not free from both theſe publick Miſchiefs and Inconveniences in *England*; though our Fortune is ſuch, that being Iſlanders, and Maſters of one Commodity, which no Kingdom has in that Perfection as ourſelves, which is Wool, that hath put our People upon Manufactories, which is the Treaſure of this Nation, and keeps our Exports to a Balance with our Imports; otherwiſe, this Kingdom would have been as poor as *Spain*, and as effeminate as *Italy*; but the Employment of our milder Sort in Manufactories at Home, and the more robuſt, at Sea Abroad, keeps us a People in Action, and ſo preſerved from the Luxury and Effeminateneſs of *Italy*, and the Poverty of *Spain*. I need not ſpend Time to prove how far we are tainted with the Miſchiefs before-mentioned. Our Trade with *France*, in all Ages paſt, ſufficiently proves, That a Kingdom may be made poor by Trade; as we ſhould have been by the vaſt Treaſure, their Linnens, Wine, Silks, Toys, and Salt, drew from this Kingdom, if our other Commerce in the World, had not balanced our Loſs there.

Nor are we free from the Effeminateneſs of *Italy*, which I take to be the Returns of our Gentry's Travels; a Miſchief to be lamented, rather than expected a Reformation of, ſince we are arrived to that Height of Vanity, as to think that Man not accompliſhed, who is not become Maſter of the Delicacies of *Italy*, and extravagant Modes of *France*.

But to return to my Province, How Trade is improved by Taxes: For the Proof of which Aſſertion, it ſeems plain, that ſome Trade may impair a Kingdom, and ſuch Taxes and Impoſitions may abate, by impoſing ſuch Duties as they cannot bear. So far then it will be allowed, that they improve Trade, as we commonly ſay, Saving is Gain: So, if we keep out a deſtructive Trade by Duties, we may allow that an Improvement of our own.

But to come nearer to the Matter: Taxes improve Trade, by employing Numbers of idle Men in Naval and Land-Service, that would otherwiſe be of no Uſe, but, on the contrary, a Peſt and Charge to the Commonwealth. We ſeldom ſee any inliſted into the Army, that are Men of Induſtry, or Labour; ſuch Perſons are the Wens and Excreſcencies of the Commonwealth, that deform, but not ſtrengthen the Body; and theſe being paid by the Taxes of another Sort of Creatures, as, before I mentioned, are of no Uſe in the State, but to throw abroad the Treaſure left them by their Fathers, is virtually an Improvement of Trade: For that all, like the Rivers in the Sea, terminate in the Hands of Induſtry and Trade: And, perhaps, if duly conſidered, more Men, and with more certain Profit, make Voyages within this Iſland upon this Fund, than there do to moſt of our foreign Trades. And in this Place I muſt touch again upon the Nature of Trade, to ſhew that private Hands may raiſe their Fortunes by a Trade, that may yet be a Loſs to a Kingdom, as in that of *France*, already inſiſted upon, many, I was like to ſay, too many, have acquired great Eſtates by. Now, all the Hands, employed in that Trade, were no better than Robbers of the Kingdom, in carrying away our Treaſure, as we uſe the *Moors*, giving us Gold for Glaſs-beads.

There is another Sort of Trade, that, though it may not immediately carry away any of the Stock of the Kingdom, yet it does Hurt in taking off Hands, that might be employed to the Advantage of the Kingdom. Now, in both theſe, the *Trade* of Taxes, for ſo I will call it for the Future, has the Advantage, for that it carries nothing out of the Kingdom, nor yet takes off Hands that would be better employed; but, on the contrary, takes away the Diſeaſe of the Country, Idlers, and makes them at leaſt ſo profitable, as to ſpend Money, which they would not be able to do, if the publick Revenue were not their Stock.

Fourthly, The Poor are employed by Taxes, and are, by that Means, taken off from being a Charge to the Kingdom: Many Men of broken Fortunes are brought into the Hoſpital

of

of the Revenue, which may be ſo accounted, ſince it is generally filled with Perſons that are reduced to ſuch Neceſſities, as qualify them for Charity.

This is one Way, that Taxes employ the Poor, but not the main Thing I mean, which is, That the Trade of Taxes employs the poor Artiſans and Mechanicks, and that in a greater Meaſure than our *Virginia* and Plantation-Trade, we, with ſo little Reaſon, ſo much boaſt of, in theſe Kingdoms.

By the Obſervations I have always made in my Traverſing the World, I find, that thoſe Parts have been moſt opulent, and the People ſafeſt, that filled their own Hives, and kept their Swarms at Home. That little Commonwealth of *Lucca* to me ſeems a Pattern for all the Princes of *Europe*, and is as practicable in the greateſt Dominions, as that little Spot, whoſe Land and Cities, having *Lucca* joined to it, are all circumſcribed within the Limits of ſix or ſeven Miles ſquare; yet in that Compaſs they are able to raiſe about twenty-thouſand Horſe and Foot; a Thing almoſt incredible, but known by all that have travelled that Way, and were curious into ſuch Enquiries.

Theſe People are of wonderful Induſtry, and inrich themſelves by their Manufactories, which they go not Abroad to ſeek a Market for, but mind their Work at Home, and ſo become more conſiderable, than thoſe that ſpend their Time in Travels; being, by their ſettled Living, able to afford their Commodities they make, cheaper than the *Genoeſe* and *Florentines*, their Neighbours.

When I ſee in foreign Parts, how rich and powerful a little Seigniory, Commonwealth, or State, is made by Huſbanding their People, I often lament the Misfortunes of my Native Country, that might certainly abound with the greateſt, and moſt formidable People in *Europe*, if they followed their Steps. I have taken up ſome of your Time in this Diſcourſe of Trade, which may ſeem foreign to my Subject of Taxes; yet I muſt be obliged to do it in all my future Arguments, becauſe Taxes both ariſe out of Trade, and maintain Trade.

To return then to where I left off, That the Poor are employed by them in their ſeveral Occupations: How many Thouſands of Tradeſmen have we, that are ſupported by our Land and Sea-forces, which could have no Vent for their Commodities, if they were not taken off at Home? Saddles, Bridles, Swords, Guns, *&c.* have no foreign Market; yet they employ Thouſands of Hands, who are paid by Taxes.

Fifthly, There is a Set of Men, who, like Rats in a Cieling, live upon Prey, and do no Good in a Commonwealth, which theſe Taxes ferret out of their Holes; thoſe Impoſitions, I mean, which our Parliament has, with great Wiſdom, now laid on Stocks by Poll; for Nothing but Land-taxes will reach Uſurers and Miſers, who ſpend Nothing but for the Supply of the Neceſſities of Nature. Now theſe Men are the Moths of the Country, it being more miſchievous to the Kingdom in General to hoard up Money, than for Robbers to take it by Force; and, though the Law protects theſe ſilent Thieves, yet they are real Criminals, that lock up the Tools of the Induſtrious, many ſuffering through Want, that could be profitable both to themſelves and others, had they but Money to ſet them at Work. Uſurers are, by too many, thought a Vermin in the Commonwealth; I cannot but have a better Opinion of them, and think that the Peſt and Plague of the Nation is a Sort of pious Extortioners, who declaim againſt Uſury as unlawful Gain, but will buy for half Value any Thing they can meet with from a Perſon in Extremity; and, next unto theſe, are ſuch as adore their Bags, and will, upon no Terms, part with theſe Deities; their Bags are no Thoroughfair, only a Way in, but none out. Theſe Men are, by Taxes made, againſt their Wills, ſmall Benefactors to their Country, and it were to be wiſhed, that our great and wiſe Council of the Nation would yet purſue them farther, and lay a double Impoſition upon Money locked up in Cheſts, more than what is out at Uſury, which, being employed, is on the Duty it was made for; but the other is in Captivity, and the Paltroon ſhould be puniſhed for his Cruelty.

Sixthly, Taxes, eſpecially in Time of War, are the only Preſervation of all Men employed in Trades and Manufactories; and, perhaps, not much inferior to foreign Trade, if, in all Reſpects, conſidered; for, as to what is ſpent in the Kingdom, if it bring Nothing in, yet it carries Nothing out; and ſo far the Taxes are profitable, in that the Kingdom is not the poorer for Money ſo raiſed, and ſo ſpent; and, in Times of War, and Prohibition of Trade Abroad, if Money were not raiſed by Taxes, and that employed amongſt our Mechanicks and Manufactories, Men would be forced to ſeek their Bread Abroad, and the Loſs of Men is the greateſt Misfortune that can befall a Kingdom. The Practice of the *Dutch*, in burning their Spices when they have ſuch Quantities as would

lower the Price, might be ſomething in Direction in this Caſe, and ſeems a better Government to employ all our Hands in Time of War, as fully in their Manufactories, as ever they were in a free Trade, though, when they were made, they were burnt, it being of dangerous Conſequence to diſcontinue Trade. There is no Adjourning Labour, and Mechanical Arts, in a few Months, will either loſe the Men, or they their Trade by ſome other Courſe of Life.

Seventhly, That Taxes make the Kingdom rich, and, in Time of War, diſperſe as much Money in the Nation, as Trade does in Time of Peace?

Here I muſt touch again upon Trade, and enquire what Trade brings us in Bullion, Gold, or Coin, for we have ſome of all, though, conſidering the Value of our native Commodities, it is wonderful that we ſhould have ſo little; and that of thoſe numerous Trades which our Navigation intitles us to, that we ſhould, by Carrying in our Ships our own Manufactories, out of all thoſe Advantages add ſo little to the Treaſure of the Kingdom, and bring Home no Bullion but by our Trade to *Spain*, and ſome little from the *Levant*, our *Guiney* Trade, and, for ſome Years paſt, Buccaniers in the *Weſt-Indies*. But that, which is our beſt Fund, is the Trade of *Spain* and *Portugal*; the former is made conſiderable to us by our *Eaſt-India* Commodities, which fetch from *Spain* more than we ſend out in Specie, though ſome believe the *Eaſt-India* Company does us Hurt, by Carrying out the Gold of the Kingdom.

Now then, if the greateſt Part of our Trade conſiſts in Bringing in Commodity for Commodity, then all the Benefit of that Trade is, That it gives Employment to our common People in their Mechanick Arts; and, if we can do that by our own Expence at Home, it is more the Profit of the Kingdom, than by Sending them Abroad; for that we avoid the Hazard of the Sea, and other Accidents Abroad: It ſeems then, that Taxes do that, ſince they iſſue forth Money for Payment of our Artiſans and Mechanicks, that are employed in making Commodities for our own Uſe, and at the ſame Time, enough for that foreign Trade, which furniſhes us with Bullion; and by that it appears, that we are much greater Gainers by the Trade of Taxes, than by all our foreign Trade, which brings in nothing but Commodity for our own Expence. We ſee that the Care of our Parliament is, to prevent the Importation of foreign Commodities, and to encourage that Commerce, which brings us in Money for our own. This, then, is the ſureſt Trade, I know for that Purpoſe, of laying ſuch Impoſitions as may fetch out the Miſers Hoards, which are as remote and foreign to the Employments of the Kingdom, as thoſe in the Mines at the *Indies*; and I know no Difference betwixt Bringing Treaſure out of an Iron Cheſt by a good Law, and Plowing the Seas, by long and dangerous Voyages; only the Advantage ſeems greater, by getting it from an Enemy at Home, than a Friend Abroad. But undoubted it is, that the Kingdom is as much increaſed in its common Stock, as is brought out from the moneyed Men: It would exceed the Limits of a Letter to evince what I am morally ſure of, that the Pole and Land-taxes, paſſed this laſt Seſſion, have actually brought, into the Bank of Trade, more ready Money than came into the Kingdom, during the late King's unhappy Reign; and it is a vulgar Error, to believe that Taxes, even to the meaneſt Man, is a Charge, for that his Mite is, with Increaſe, returned by the Expence of that, which would never have ſeen Day, but by the Force of a Law; ſo that publick Taxes, expended in our own Country, may be accounted the Poor and the Mechanick's Bank, by which they are employed and maintained; and, as the meaner Sort have Advantage by Taxes, ſo have they of better Quality; the Landlord has his Rent the better paid by the quick Returns of Money; the Merchants, and other Traders, find it in their Payments and Receipts; the Country-Farmer in the Sale of his Corn and Cattle: For this is certain, that moſt Men's Expence, either in Cloaths or Food, is according to their Money or Fortune, not Appetite or Vanity; many Men content, or rather confine themſelves to a Three-penny Ordinary, that would ſpend Twelve-pence, if they had it. So that, after all the Noiſe and Clamour that is made in the Kingdom, inveighing literally againſt the heavy Taxes, which are on the Subject, this unreaſonable Declaiming is made for them that no Man loves, the griping Miſers, that hoard up Money: For he, indeed, ſeems only aggrieved, that pays out to ſupport Trade, in which, he never had the Heart to do Good; and even this Man would be a Gainer too by Taxes, if he were not ſepa-

rate

rate from human Society, and truſted neither God, nor Man; whatever he has to do in the World, is, to ſee that he runs no Hazard in it, and whoever he deals with muſt be ſure to him, though he cannot be ſo to himſelf. And, beſides this extreme Earth-worm that hoards, there is another Set of Men, that do little Good in the Commonwealth, and that is ſuch as have more Money by them, than they can employ, and, perhaps, would gladly put it out to Intereſt, but cannot: Theſe are leſs faulty than the former, yet ſhould be obliged to do ſome Good with their Treaſures; and the beſt Way ſeems, to lay a round Tax upon that Money. It is with Reaſon believed, that there is now ten Times the Proportion of Money in the Kingdom, as was in the Reign of King *James the Firſt*; yet no more ſtirring in the Kingdom, but what is brought out by Cuſtoms and Duties: Then, Would it not be as beneficial to Trade, by Taxes upon the Miſers and Hoarders of Money before-mentioned, to fetch it out from them, as with Ships, to get it from Foreigners? We have rich Mines at Home, that may keep us in full Trade theſe ten Years, if we had none Abroad; and nothing but ſuch Impoſitions, as may ſupply the Want of Trade, can keep our Artiſans and Manufactories together.

Thus, I have huddled together a mixed Diſcourſe, which, I fear, may be troubleſome to collect and ſhape for your Apprehenſion; but your greater Judgment will unite its Incongruities: I can only juſtify the Matter to be, in the Main of it, Collections from the Practice and Uſage of other Places; for what relates to this Nation, you are a better Judge than I am, who am guided by the Practice of Trade, and that is, I doubt, too often exploded by Miniſters of State.

I confeſs the Fatigues of Government are above the Conduct of a Mercantile Head; and, therefore, I acquieſce, without much Enquiry into them, only ſit often down with doubtful Conjectures of the Iſſue of our preſent Affairs.

I mean not of the preſent Diſtractions which an inconſiderable Number of Malecontents fling among us, whoſe Profeſſion more immediately obliges them to the Characters of Peace-makers, than it does other Chriſtians: Theſe will ceaſe with the *Romiſh* Intereſt, that maſks itſelf under them; but that, which I fear, is, a Diſtraction of the Trades, Manufactories, and Induſtry of the Nation, becauſe I ſee none concerned for it. The Tumour of the Times looks more like the Riſing of a Camp, than Improvement of Trade and Commerce; moſt Men in Court and City purſuing Employments, Civil or Military, which I take to be an ill *Omen*, and doubly to be blamed:

Firſt, For Men of Fortune and Employment in Trade, to take away that which ſhould be Bread for the decayed Man.

And then, *Secondly*, It is miſchievous to the Commonwealth, to have Men, that can employ themſelves in it, to be taken off from promoting the Publick in their proper Station.

Having thus run through the Nature and Uſe of Taxes, with the Reaſons that ſeem perſuaſive, as to the great Help they are to the Support of this Kingdom; you may, perhaps, expect I ſhould ſay ſomething of the Way, how Taxes may be moſt beneficially, and eaſily, laid; but, in that, I am barred by ſome impertinent Pens, who are every Day printing their Follies; to which is added an unaccountable Boldneſs, not to ſay more, by their Deſigning to direct the great Council of the Nation. I could name ſeveral that have taken Pains in this Matter; but, omitting others, I cannot but name a Paper I ſaw the other Day, intitled, *Propoſals humbly offered to the Conſideration of this preſent Parliament, being a ſoft and eaſy Way for Raiſing of Money, in order to the perpetual Maintaining and Defending of this Kingdom.*

The Author there tells you, how the Nation ſhall be ſupported by a Miracle; and, if it were only ſo, I might not think it impoſſible: But, as our Faith muſt be above Reaſon, yet not againſt it, ſo I think are Miracles; but, perhaps, that Gentleman has another Fund for his Invention out of the *Turk*'s Opinion, That Lunaticks and Idiots are inſpired, and ſuch may be thought ſo, that propoſe to break the moſt ancient Tenure of *England*, and to raiſe up a Treaſure, which, to uſe his own Words, Nobody ever thought of before; a Stock of Honeſty to pay Fleets and Armies: He is only ſhort in not Propoſing a Way, how to make that Treaſure ſaleable; for he, that has it, will not part with it; and they, who have it not, are ſeldom in Love with it, nor will take it in Payment, without the Gentleman's Token, that found out this unknown Treaſure.

I beg

I beg Pardon for this Digreſſion, which I make only to ſhew the Cauſe, why I am loth to croud in among the Politicks, as he, that gives this Advice to the Parliament, often mentions.

But, though I dare not preſume to direct the beſt and moſt profitable Way of Taxes, yet I will here name ſuch as, I think, are not the moſt deſireable, and then mention ſuch as, in other Parts of the World, are thought moſt agreeable.

For, ſuch as I take to be uneaſy to the People, and not moſt profitable to the State, are,

Firſt, Thoſe that are levied on the Subject, by Way of Fees in Offices. This, that in its Original, was either to be a Profit to the Crown, in Bringing in Money to the King's *Exchequer*, or an Eaſe to the Crown, in Saving the Charge of Salaries, for Officers about the Law, *&c.* is now become neither. Perhaps, if an Eſtimate was made, there would be found ſome Millions Sterling, raiſed in this Kingdom on Offices, of which there comes not the thouſandth Part into the King's *Treaſury*; nor that which is more ſtrange, not a Penny ſaved of the King's Charge, in Maintaining thoſe Officers. Some have Thouſands a Year, in Fees and Perquiſites, that yet have a large Salary from the King.

Others have Offices, whoſe Fees, when firſt eſtabliſhed, would but afford an honeſt Livelihood to the Officer that officiated; but in Proceſs of Time, it is advanced to ten Times that Value, and now is managed by a Deputy, perhaps, for leſs than a twentieth Part of the Profit of the Office. This ſeems a grievous Tax, and would be thought ſo, if appropriated to any particular Uſe of the Crown: As for Example, if the Parliament ſhould give a certain Tax to the King, for Maintaining a War with *France*; and this Tax, contrary to Expectation, amounted to five Times the Charge of that War, Would it be thought reaſonable for the King to demand a farther Supply from the People? Or rather, Would it not be thought equal, to eaſe the Subject of ſo much of that Tax, as is ſurplus to the Charge.

The Caſe ſeems parallel in Offices, and if inquired into, there may be thought almoſt enough there to ſave the Kingdom from other Taxes; but I would not be underſtood to invade any Man's Property. The Wiſdom of the Nation might find Expedients to do a general Good, without a particular Injury to any Man.

Secondly, Poll-money ſeems an unequal and unprofitable Tax; unequal, if it be by a general Way, all Heads to pay alike, the Cobler with the Lord; and unprofitable, if it be by Diſtinction of Qualities; for that it gives great Opportunity of Frauds in Collection, and not without ſome, in Point of Eſtate and Quality, broken Men thinking it, and too often affecting a Credit, by being returned in the Poll-book of that Value, which in Truth they may not be.

Thirdly, Such, as are raiſed by Benevolence, are the worſt of Taxes, and this of free Gift is of double Conſideration: *Firſt*, as it is from the Subject to the Prince, and then as it is from the People, one to another.

Benevolence from the Subject to the Prince is dangerous, in that it brings Men under Diſcrimination; he that gives not largely, perhaps, beyond his Ability, will be looked upon as diſaffected. And ſuch is the Unlimitedneſs of this Way of Taxing, that Men have no Rule, whereby they may be ſafe, but ſhall, it may be, be compared to Men of twice their Eſtates, or, that which is worſe, with Sycophants, Fools of the Times, who are extravagant in their Contributions to that Government, which refunds them equally to their Service.

That of Benevolence one to the other is a frequent Tax in the Kingdom, and in my Opinion one of the greateſt Miſtakes in our Government.

There is nothing more common than this, given by Authority, for Loſſes by Fire, and other general Calamities. I ſeldom ſee it for Loſſes at Sea, though they are yearly much greater than thoſe by Fire. But to return, this Way of raiſing Money by Benevolence, to relieve one another, is a Tax on the beſt Men, and an Impunity on the worſt. Good Men are apt to commiſerate the Neceſſities of their Neighbours, when bad Men too often rejoice at them, and ſeldom give any Thing to relieve them; it is God only that can regulate the Affections; Man can compel the outward Conformity. And there ſeems in nothing a greater Want of the Aid of Government, than in this of Payments to any publick Uſe, the Want of which renders honeſt Men a Sacrifice for uncharitable Miſers.

I have

I have ſometimes thought the Collection for the Poor at Church-doors no better; for, till Men be alike virtuous or vicious, that can be no equal Levy, that leaves Men at Liberty. The Government are beſt Judges of what the Poor ſhould receive, and the Rich pay; and if that were thought convenient, it ſeems to me moſt equal, where every one ſhould give to the Relief of his diſtreſſed Neighbour, according to his worldly Subſtance, not Chriſtian Charity.

Fourthly, Impoſitions upon Men, for their Religion, ſeems no good Way of Taxes. Indeed, the truly conſcientious Man will think that well beſtowed, which purchaſes the Exerciſe of his Religion, but that is no Warrant for impoſing it. We may ſay, under the Goſpel, that which *David* could not under the Law: That he would not ſerve God with that which coſt him nothing.

I ſo much doubt my Judgment in my own Province, that I dare not intrude into that ſacred one of Divinity; but think it allowable to take any Choice of Opinions in this Matter, and with thoſe I join, that think no Error, in Fundamentals, ſhould be allowed in a Chriſtian Church, nor any Difference, in Circumſtantials, purchaſed by Money.

Fifthly, Monopolies are an ill Way of raiſing Money; for any Set of People, to have the particular Selling of any Commodity, or Uſing any Arts, though they pay a great Rent to the Government, is yet a great Prejudice and Tax to the People, where no Induſtry ſhould be reſtrained.

Yet I am of Opinion againſt them that think the *Turkey*, *Hamborough*, *Eaſt-India*, and other Companies, for foreign Trade, a Monopoly. The Caſe is vaſtly differing, and ſo far from hindering a publick Good, that they preſerve thoſe Trades in the Kingdom, which would be torn to Pieces, by a confuſed and general Trade: It was evident in the Time, when the *Eaſt-India* Trade was at large; but this requires an ample Diſcourſe of itſelf.

Sixthly, I take the Alteration in the Value of Money to be a Tax, and no good one. We are leſs afflicted with that, than any People in the World; yet ſome little Touches we have had, rather by Accident than Deſign, ſo needs the leſs to be ſaid on them; but whereever it is uſed, the Subject is the Sufferer; for, call Money what you will, it has its Standard in the World, and is no more than what other Nations account it, according to its Intrinſick Value, not what Name any King or Government gives it.

Now, if a Prince, as the *French* often do, raiſe Money in Name, the Landlord and Officer, that receive Fees and Penſions, are the Loſers. The Merchant and Tradeſmen loſe but once, by as much as they have in their Hands, at firſt Coming out of the Charge; but thoſe Men of real Eſtates are Loſers, as long as it laſts, for that they muſt take it for what the Government calls it; but the Merchant and Tradeſmen will not, becauſe they put a Value upon their Commodities accordingly. If the Government makes twenty Shillings three and twenty, the Merchant will have three and twenty Shillings, for twenty Shillings Worth of Commodities: So that he muſt value it according as it bears with the intrinſick Value; for in Proportion to that, he buys and ſells throughout the World, however Kings and Governments give Names to their ſeveral Coins. So we ſee it in *France* and *Holland*, where they reckon their Caſh by Livres or Crowns, and in *Holland*, by Gilders, and Pounds *Flemiſh*; yet ſtill the Merchant rules himſelf by the Standard in *England*, which is thought the beſt in *Europe*.

Seventhly, Raiſing Money from Travellers and Paſſengers, over Bridges, and through Cities, as they do much in *Holland*, ſeems an unequal Tax, and ſubject to great Frauds. I take it to be unequal, becauſe generally it is the pooreſt and moſt induſtrious that are liable to it, and perhaps, it often reaches thoſe that are travelling to find out Charity, or Labour for a Living. Now, to exact from them, before they have purchaſed it, is a Severity equal to that of making Brick, without Straw or Stubble.

It is liable to great Frauds, ſince it is impoſſible to have a Check; ſo that the Gatherers are under great Temptations, and the Collectors, being Men of mean Quality, are apter to be ſeduced.

Thoſe Taxes ſeem moſt beneficial to the Government, which paſs through few and moſt ſolvent Hands. And, as it is ſecure for the State,

State, ſo it is moſt eaſy for the People; and, the better that Impoſitions are collected, the more are the People disburdened from new Levies.

I ſhall now come to ſhew what are thought in other Kingdoms moſt adviſable, and they are theſe:

Firſt, That of Exciſe, which is moſt uſed in the United Provinces, which we ſhould here think intolerable, to be laid on every Bit which we eat; but there it is found uſeful, and Time has made it natural to the People; ſo in *Venice* and other Parts. The Great Duke of *Florence* does the ſame, by raiſing moſt of his Revenue upon Conſumptions in his own Dominions, which indeed ſeems, of all Taxes, the moſt equal; for that no Man by it can be ſaid to be oppreſſed, he being his own Aſſeſſor, and pays but what he pleaſes, according to his Expence: But Laying it, as they do in the United Provinces, upon the Food of the Poor, might be thought a Grievance. If that, and one Defect more, could be remedied, there could be nothing ſaid againſt this Tax; and that is, the rich Miſer, who ſtarves his miſerable Body, goes moſt free; therefore, as to him, I have before given my Opinion, how he might be reached.

Where this Exciſe is moſt uſed, Importations and Exportations are moſt eaſed, by which Means, Trade is greatly improved, and at the ſame Time, the Levies to the King or State much augmented; for that the Expence of thoſe Merchants and Seamen that repair thither, though they ſell nothing, but come to ſee a Market, is conſiderable.

Secondly, In other Countries, *Jews* are particularly taxed, and for which there ſeems good Reaſon, for that no Tax hardly reaches them, but, like the Miſers before ſpoken of, they are indeed beyond them, for that Exciſe toucheth not them: They neither eat nor drink with Chriſtians; a few Eggs or Herbs are moſt of their Food; live ſordidly, and ſpend little: Have no Lands or Rents to be reached by any Tax; nor is their Trade profitable to a Kingdom, or advantageous to the Revenue, dealing moſt in Bills of Exchange, Jewels, and concealable Commodities, that pay no Duty.

Theſe Men ſhould be reached by a particular Tax, and ſo made profitable to a Kingdom.

Thirdly, In ſome Places, the Government maintains Play-houſes and Matters of Sport and Recreation, paying the Actors Salaries, and taking the Profit into their Treaſures: And in other Parts, as in *Holland*, the Publick have one that takes Part of what is given by Spectators; ſo that they make a Gain out of that waſte Money, for no better can I term it. If a Calculation was made of all the Money ſpent in *England*, by ſuch Diverſions, it might be thought, a round Sum might be raiſed to the King. Does it not ſeem an Omiſſion, that a Play-houſe, which receives twenty-thouſand Pounds a Year, ſhould pay nothing to the Publick; when a Coffee-houſe, that receives not one-thouſand *per Annum*, pays twenty Pounds? And ſo it is in Muſick-houſes, Bear-gardens, and Plays in Fairs, *&c.*

Fourthly, In ſome Parts of the World, as *Italy*, *France*, and *Spain*, a Tax of Labour upon Malefactors condemns ſuch, as we here puniſh with Death, to the Gallies and Mines, which is a Puniſhment of greater Terror and longer Example than Death, and, at the ſame Time, of Profit to the Kingdom. I have often thought upon this Particular, and ſpent Hours in Debate with myſelf, and therefore ſhall beg your Patience, if I trouble you with a tedious Harangue of but Part of my Conceptions.

I have enquired firſt into the Law of God, then into that of other Kingdoms, and find that we differ from both in our Puniſhment for Felonies. The Law of *Moſes*, which is more ſevere than ours in many Things (as that of Adultery, and Diſobedience to Parents, the latter of which is by our Law not ſo Penal as a broken Head) yet, in Felonies, not ſo extreme as we are; ſo far from making it Death, as not to inflict a corporal Puniſhment: The Reſtoring of Four-fold was directed by the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth; and, if the Thief had nothing to make Satisfaction with, he was to be ſold. But our Laws and Cuſtoms differ much, when we puniſh the Kingdom for the Fault of an evil Member. It will not be denied, but that the Treaſure of Men is of more Value than that of Money.

Now, to take away the Life of a Man is, in its Proportion, equal to a Man's Cutting off a Limb, becauſe it is ſore. A Thief is a diſeaſed

ceaſed Member, better to be cured, than deſtroyed. It will be thought an extravagant Fancy, yet to me it ſeems a real Truth, That a Thief is leſs miſchievous to a Body Politick, than a Miſer; for he only makes a wrong Transferring of Riches; the other, I mean the Miſer, keeps all buried, ſo that the Community is wronged by him, and only particular Perſons by the other; and, as the Taking away the Life of a Man weakens the Kingdom, ſo does it injure the Perſon robbed; for that, if the Thief were not able to pay, then might he be ſold, and kept at Work in Mines, or other penal Labour, both for Satisfaction to the Perſon injured, and Corporal Puniſhment to the Offender: *And it may be thought to be of more Terror, to have a Spectacle for many Years labouring with a ſhaved Head in Chains,* than an Execution of half an Hour, that is oftentimes ſoon forgotten.

I have named but theſe four Heads, for all the foreign Uſe in Taxes, becauſe I do not remember, amongſt the numerous Ways they have, any other practicable and profitable in theſe Kingdoms. The two latter of theſe we do not uſe; but I preſume, if they were taken into the Conſideration of better Heads than mine, they might find a Way to make ſomething out of them; foraſmuch as I am able to judge, a great Revenue might be made to accrue to the Kingdom, out of the Vermin of the Nation, leud Perſons of both Sexes, which now paſs as if tolerated in their Enormities; and only one Sett of them, that the Law ſeems ſevere againſt, puniſhing them with Death; which by ſo much appears to be the worſe, by how much we ſuppoſe nothing too rigorous for Offences againſt ourſelves, and nothing too little or indulgent for Crimes committed againſt God. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant.

A Diſputation: Proving, That it is not convenient to grant unto Miniſters Secular Juriſdiction; and to make them Lords and Stateſmen in Parliament. *London*, printed in the Year 1679. *Quarto*, containing thirty-ſix Pages.

It is not expedient to grant unto Clergymen Secular Juriſdiction.

1.

I Do not undertake to prove that it is ſimply unlawful: And the worthy and judicious Biſhop *Davenant* doth grant and aſſert, That the Law of Prudence and Equity itſelf doth forbid Kings to burden Clergymen with it, ſo far as it will let and avocate them from their ſpiritual Office and Function.

2. It will be demanded, Who muſt be Judge what is, and what is not expedient? To which the forenamed *Davenant* makes Anſwer, That is to be accounted expedient which a wiſe Man ſhall ſo judge and determine; whereunto I aſſent. He afterwards adds, That which a wiſe and religious Prince ſhall ſo determine. Neither do I diſſent in this, provided it be ſoundly underſtood: For that which a wiſe and religious Prince ſhall judge to be expedient, if it be ſo indeed, all wiſe Men will, at leaſt they ought ſo to think, for ſound Wiſdom is the ſame in all: But it is too poſſible for the moſt wiſe and prudent Prince to enjoin Things not good and expedient. King *David* thought it moſt prudent to number the People, who was a moſt wiſe Prince; but in that his Wiſdom failed him. *Joab*, his General, that was much inferior to *David* in Goodneſs and heavenly Wiſdom, thought it very imprudent; and the Event proved *Joab* to be the wiſer Man in that.

3. Some Things are more evidently, other Things are leſs evidently expedient: The Scales may hang ſo even and equilibrious, that a wiſe comparing Judgment can ſcarce tell whether is the heavier End, and whether Part hath the ſtronger Reaſons; and the Scales may be ſo odd

and unequal, ſo much ſolid Reaſon may be ſaid for the one Side, and ſo little for the other, that, to a wiſe comparing Judgment, the Caſe is not doubtful to decide. Now I ſhall manifeſt that it is evidently inexpedient to grant Secular Juriſdiction to Miniſters and Clergymen, that is, That the ſame Perſon be a Miniſter, Biſhop, or Paſtor of Souls, and a Magiſtrate, or coercive Judge, one that beareth the Sword, *Rom.* xiii. 4.

4. *Arg.* I. *Jeſus Chriſt* did not ſee it meet to exerciſe any ſuch Power, while he was upon Earth; being moved to be a Kind of worldly Judge between two Brethren, he refuſed, ſaying, Who made me a Judge or a Divider over you? *Luke* xii. 14. As if he ſhould ſay, ſays *Davenant* upon the Words, Neither by divine nor by human Ordination do I exerciſe judiciary Power over private Perſons, much leſs over Kings: By which Argument the ſame *Davenant* goes about to prove the Nullity of the Pope's Power in Temporals. Now, if his Argument be of Force againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, I ſee not but it is of equal Force againſt worldly Juriſdiction in all Biſhops and Paſtors whatſoever. Now, if Chriſt ſaw it not meet for him to exerciſe worldly Juriſdiction, methinks all Biſhops and Paſtors of Souls, who have their Office and Calling particularly from him, ſhould ſee it meet to learn of him and imitate him herein, and Princes themſelves ſhould not think it expedient to burden Miniſters with that, which Chriſt himſelf refuſed, and put from him, as either unlawful in itſelf, or inexpedient. *Mat.* xi. 29, Take my Yoke upon you, and learn of me.

5. *Arg.* II. The Apoſtles, and the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Churches for the Space of three-hundred Years unto the Time of *Conſtantine*, had no Temporal Juriſdiction, nor did exerciſe any. And thoſe are counted the beſt and pureſt Times of the Church. If we may not make the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and their immediate Succeſſors, the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Churches for the firſt three-hundred Years, our Pattern, What ſhall we make our Pattern, and by what Law and Rule ſhall we determine what is, and what is not expedient? Can we better govern ourſelves and the Churches than they? Have we more Wiſdom to invent and find out Ways of good Governing the Church than they had? Have we more Holineſs, and Goodneſs, and Faithfulneſs to God, ourſelves, our Calling, and the Church, than they had? The Church did well, and beſt ſubſiſted when [illegible] Magiſtrates but what were Pagan, [illegible] *Jewiſh*, many of whom were great [illegible] all of them Deniers of the Chriſtian Name: Will it not well and better ſubſiſt [illegible] be, where Magiſtrates are Chriſtian, and Defenders of the Faith, if Biſhops [illegible] contenting themſelves with no more but the Epiſcopal and Paſtoral Office, and refuſing all worldly Juriſdiction, ſhall wiſely and faithfully behave themſelves in their Office, as [illegible] and moſt ancient Biſhops and Paſtors of the Churches did?

6. Unto this, the worthy *Davenant* makes Anſwer, That thoſe Times and ours are not alike. Thoſe Times were exceeding holy and good, ours are exceeding bad. There needed no Secular Authority in Paſtors then; there was ſo much Holineſs and Piety, the Word and Diſcipline were abundantly enough; but now the Chriſtian World is ſo exceeding corrupt and degenerate, that, unleſs Miniſters be armed with Secular Juriſdiction, their Authority will be deſpiſed, and the Diſcipline, which God hath appointed to be in his Church, will be ſcorned as baſe and contemptible, rather than be reverenced for any Good it will do: *Non tam uſui eſſe, quam ludibrio*, thoſe are his very Words. *Davenant* is the Man whom I do highly eſteem, and ſo do all that are wiſe and knowing in the Things of God; but, in this, *Davenant* hath fallen much below himſelf; and the Feebleneſs of his Reaſoning doth much confirm me, in my Judgment and Perſuaſion, that the Cauſe which he oppugneth, and which I do here defend, is too ſtrong to be overthrown.

7. His Anſwer is partly not true, not to ſay it is directly and flatly falſe: For, let any impartial Man make a due Eſtimate of Things, and compare the Paſtors and Churches under the Apoſtles (I except the Perſons of the Apoſtles themſelves) and, during their Abode upon Earth, and their Succeſſors the Paſtors and Churches immediately following to the Time of *Conſtantine*; I ſay, compare theſe with the Paſtors and Churches of our Times, and it will be found that there is no ſuch Inequality as he ſuggeſts. *Bradford* and *Philpot*, and *Rogers*, and *Cranmer*, and *Latimer*, and *Ridley*, and *Hooper*, and *Bilney*, and *Sanders*, and other of the *Engliſh* Martyrs were worthy and famous Martyrs

Martyrs of Chriſt, as well as were thoſe firſt and moſt ancient Martyrs. And *Grindal*, and *Jewel*, and *Uſher*, and *Davenant*, and *Gataker*, and *Vines*, and *Hildeſham*, and *Preſton*, and *Sibbs*, and *Dod*, and *Joſeph Allen*, and many more of our own and foreign Divines were able to vie with the ancient Biſhops and Paſtors of the Churches, ſuch as died not Martyrs. And the private Chriſtians, and Families, and Congregations of our Times, are not much inferior to thoſe ancient ones both *Greek* and *Latin*, and even to thoſe we have Mention of in the New Teſtament, namely, the ſeven Churches of *Aſia*, thoſe of *Galatia*, and *Judea*, that at *Corinth*, and others.

8. Admit it were true, which, queſtionleſs, is not: I ſhould rather think, that the Way to reduce an unreformed Church and People from Hereſy and *Unholineſs*, to *Soundneſs* in the Faith and Holineſs, is for Paſtors to content themſelves with the Work of Paſtors, and give themſelves wholly to it, and ſuffer no Lets. Will the Sword convert Souls, or awe Men's Conſciences? Would it likely do more Good, if a Miniſter ſhould come into the Pulpit with a Sword in one Hand, and a Bible in the other? The Sword is not appointed of God for the Converſion of Souls; the Office of the Magiſtrate is to make Way for the Work and Office of the Miniſter. It is the Sword of the Spirit which is the Word of God, which muſt cut in Pieces Men's Luſts, and breed in them ſound Faith, Holineſs, and Reformation, and not the Sword of the Magiſtrate. Let the Magiſtrate do or not do his Duty, let him be Pagan or Perſecutor, and let the People be more looſe and unreformed than they are, let but Paſtors and Miniſters do their Duty well, and we ſhall ſoon ſee that God's Word and Diſcipline is of the ſame Force now that ever it hath been, otherwiſe there is a Change in God, and his Promiſe fails, and Satan is ſtronger now than he hath been, and Chriſt and the Holy Ghoſt are much weaker. Read and conſider well theſe Scriptures, (*Mat.* xxviii, 18, 19, 20. 1 *Pet.* iii. 13. *Mich.* ii. 7. *Iſa.* xlv. 19. *Iſa.* xlix. 4, 5. 1 *Cor.* xv. 58. *Pſal.* lxxxiv. 11. 2 *Cor.* ii. 15, 16. 2 *Cor.* iv. 1, 2. 2 *Cor.* x. 4, 5, 6) to name no more, and let but Miniſters be wiſe and faithful, and try if it be not the beſt and ſpeedieſt Way to reform what is amiſs in the Church, contenting themſelves with no more but their own Office, and leaving all Force and Secular Authority to the Magiſtrate.

9. If we be the ſame that the ancient Paſtors were, be ſure God and God's Word will be the ſame; we cannot do God's Part, nor the Magiſtrate's Part, nor the People's Part, we can only do our own Part, which we may do, if we will; do our own Part, and be ſure God will be with us and do his. What hinders but Paſtors may be as wiſe and holy as they have been of old? If we be not, it is our own Fault. The more corrupt the Times are, the more Need Paſtors have to beſtir themſelves, and to double their Diligence, and lay out themſelves more vigorouſly, to be more exemplary, to abound in the Work of God, to be mortified, to loſe no Time, to ſuffer no Let. To make them Magiſtrates were to let them, and take away much of their Time, and rather hinder and diſtract, than further them. If the Paſtor's Office be as much as they can wiſely and faithfully do, Would it further them in their Work to have another Office and Work added to them? Miniſters of the Goſpel are not ſo fit as others to be worldly coercive Judges and Secular Magiſtrates. For their Office is purely Paſtoral, and is to have no Terror in it, but the Terror of God's Word, and ſpiritual Denunciations, that the People may have no Temptations to withdraw their Love and Eſteem from their Paſtors. A Thief at the Bar had rather have a Miniſter, than the Judge, to reprove him, though both ſhould pronounce the ſame Truth, and hit upon the ſame Words, and have equal Wiſdom and Integrity. For properly Magiſtrates are for outward Terror to evil Doers, and for outward Defence and Protection to them that do well, *Rom.* xiii. 13. 1 *Pet.* ii. 14. But Miniſters are to be gentle to Souls, even as a Nurſe cheriſheth her Children, and to exhort and comfort, and charge every one as a Father doth his Children, 1 *Theſ.* ii. 7, 11. But, if Parents and Nurſes, and tender Mothers ſhould rule their Children by the Sword too, that would not add to their Office, nor further their Work.

10. *Arg.* III. If it be ſo, as *Davenant* ſays, That, unleſs Miniſters be armed with Secular Juriſdiction, their Office and Authority in the Church, and the Lord's Word and Diſcipline, as adminiſtered by them, will be deſpiſed and trod upon; then neceſſarily all Miniſters ſhould be made Magiſtrates, and Princes are to blame, if they do not put the Sword into all their Hands, and make every Miniſter, throughout

the Nation, a Juſtice of Peace, or a Sheriff, or a Judge, by giving him Power to impriſon, and lay Fines and Penalties upon Offenders, and to uſe coercive Means. And then the Scriptures themſelves, even the Wiſdom of God will be found faulty, if he have ordained and appointed no ſuch Thing in all the Bible, as I no where find that he hath done. And, by the ſame Reaſon, Magiſtrates may ſay, they alſo muſt be Miniſters, and there will be a Confuſion of Offices, and the Bounds and Banks of Order in Church and Commonwealth will be thrown down; and, if Order be not obſerved, good Government cannot be. For good Government is nothing but the Obſervance of right Order; when Magiſtrates do the Duty of Magiſtrates, and meddle with no more but what comes within the Compaſs of their Office, that is right Order, and it breeds Peace, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 33, 40. And, when Miniſters and Paſtors do their Duty, and what properly pertains to their Office, meddling with no more, this alſo is right Order, and the Way of true and good Government of the Church, and produceth Peace. But, if you leave this Way and Order, you err; and where your Error may ſtop, and what Miſchiefs and Inconveniencies it may produce, Who is able to declare? For there is no Safety, but by Keeping in God's Ways, and cloſe Walking by his Rules: *Uno abſurdo dato ſequuntur mille*, is as true in Practicals, as in Doctrinals.

11. *Arg.* IV. Either Chriſtian faithful Magiſtrates are a Help and Defence to God's Church, and to Miniſters, in their Calling and Office, or they are not. If they are, then methinks, if the Church and Miniſters did well, when they wanted ſuch Helps, they ſhould rather do better, at leaſt, they ſhould do as well, or not be much worſe, when they have ſuch Helps. But to ſay, they cannot do at all, or that Miniſters and their Diſcipline, and Miniſtration barely without Secular Juriſdiction added to them, will be of no Uſe, but rather a Scorn and Mockery under Chriſtian Magiſtrates, is ſtark Shame and Reproach to all ſuch Miniſters, and they ſhould rather be caſt out of the Church as intolerable, and as Dung and dead unſavoury Salt, than be made Magiſtrates. What ſhould they do Magiſtrates, that are not able, by all they can do, to preſerve themſelves from ſordid Ignominy and Contempt? Or, if not this, it is an intolerable Shame to all, excepting Miniſters, both Magiſtrates and People, that they ſhould be ſo extreme[illegible] graceleſs, neither fearing God, [illegible] Men, as to deſpiſe and ſcorn all [illegible] holy, and faithful Paſtors in the [illegible] are but mere Paſtors. According [illegible] on, one of theſe two Wickedneſſ[illegible] ities will follow; either, that [illegible] in the Church, that are but mere [illegible] ſhamefully wicked and intolerable [illegible] unworthy to be Paſtors; or, that [illegible] the Church, that are no Paſtors, [illegible] lers, and People, are extremely wicked, [illegible] Scorners and Contemners of God's [illegible] Worſhip, Word, Diſcipline, and [illegible] tutions.

If Chriſtian Magiſtrates, and ſuch as be faithful, be not a *Help and Defence* to God's Church and Miniſters, in their Office, then it is a Contradiction to deſire their Office, as an Help and Expedient to the Church, and that Miniſters might be armed with the Authority of a Magiſtrate too. And then it is no Bleſſing, but rather a Curſe, to have faithful Kings, Princes, and Magiſtrates, and then we ſhould not pray for them; and then it were all one to have Perſecutors as Protectors, *Julian* as *Conſtantine*, *Nero*, *Diocleſian*, Queen *Mary*, and bloody Popes and Tyrants, as *Theodoſius*, *Joſias*, Queen *Eliſabeth*, and wiſe, and juſt, and faithful Governors.

12. *Arg.* V. Either you would have Paſtors and their Authority in the Church reverenced, or you would not. If you would have them reverenced; What muſt it be for? You would have the ſame Man to be a Paſtor and a Magiſtrate, and ſo to be reverenced: Very good; if, then, the ſame Man as Paſtor be baſe and vile, and worthy of no Reverence, How ſhall we do to reverence the ſame Man as a Magiſtrate? Shall we ſay, that the ſame Man is worthy and unworthy, vile and honourable, faithful and unfaithful? Will you ſay, that he hath two Souls, or two Conſciences, one as a Paſtor, and ſo he is a worthleſs Wretch, to be contemned of all; and the other as a Magiſtrate, and ſo he is honourable, and to be had in Eſteem by all? If the ſame Man as Paſtor be damned, What ſhall become of the ſame Man as a Magiſtrate? If Paſtors be worthy Men, all Men will reverence and eſteem them; at leaſt, God will, and all that are taught and inſtructed of God. Even an *Herod* will reverence a *John Baptiſt*. Wiſdom and Holineſs will be reverenced in all; and

Folly,

Folly and Vice, and Wickedneſs will be reverenced in none. But, eſpecially, Wiſdom and Holineſs will be reverenced in Paſtors; and Vice, and Folly, and Hypocriſy, and Unfaithfulneſs will be thought not ſo odious and unſavoury in any, as in Paſtors and Biſhops. For it is of them eſpecially, that God ſaith, Them, that honour me, I will honour; and they, that deſpiſe me, ſhall be lightly eſteemed, 1 *Sam.* ii. 30: If a Miniſter be truly worthy and honourable, he ſhall be honoured. All right eſteeming Men, if there be any that fear God, and make Conſcience of his Commands, will reverence and eſteem him very highly in Love for his Work's Sake, 1 *Theſſ.* v. 12, 13. But, if he be but the mere Name and Outſide of a Biſhop, if he be a *Bonner*, a Hater and Perſecutor of good *Men*, *fooliſh*, wicked, ambitious, ſlothful, worldly, ſelf-ſeeking, contentious, heretical, ignorant, ſcandalous, and unfaithful, nothing, that you can do, will uphold his Reputation; make him a Lord or Prince in Parliament, heap all the Dignities and Honours that are among Men upon him, make him the greateſt Man for Office in the Kingdom, next to the King himſelf, his Vices and Corruptions will ſhame him before the World; no Covers, Formalities, and worldly Eminencies and Additaments, will be able to hide the Spots and Deformities of his Soul, and win him Reputation with any but Fools, Flatterers and Knaves. For it is Righteouſneſs, and it only, which exalteth a Nation or Perſon; but Sin is a Reproach to any Perſon or People, *Prov.* xiv. 34.

If you would not have Miniſters, and their Authority in the Church, reverenced and eſteemed, then you contradict yourſelves, who would have Miniſters to have worldly Juriſdiction, as a Means to procure them Reverence and Eſteem in the Church; and then it is no Sin not to eſteem thoſe that be worthy of Eſteem; and then *Judas* and *Peter* are alike worthy, and we are to be as thankful for, and rejoice in, an *Arius* as an *Athanaſius*, a *Bonner* as a *Bradford*, an Antichriſtian murdering wicked Pope, as a *Peter* and *Paul*, and the moſt holy Paſtor and Biſhop upon Earth.

13. *Arg.* VI. In Defence of Miniſters being made Magiſtrates, ſundry Inſtances out of the Old Teſtament are urged, which are of God's Ordaining: As we read of *Melchiſedeck*, King of *Salem*, and Prieſt of the moſt high God; and of *Eli* and *Samuel*, who were both Prieſts and Judges in *Iſrael*. The Anſwering and Clearing of this will make for the Advantage of the Truth, and, therefore, I put it in the Number of my Arguments. Theſe Inſtances may be of ſome Weight to make one think, that the Thing in itſelf is not ſimply, univerſally, and abſolutely unlawful. But what if I ſhould ſay, that theſe are Caſes extraordinary, and will not warrant an ordinary and general Practice: That *Melchiſedeck* was a Perſon extraordinary, a ſpecial and ſingular Type of Chriſt, is clear from *Pſal.* cx. 4. *Heb.* v. 10. vii. 17. *Cuneus de Republicâ Judæorum*, to my Remembrance, holds him to be Chriſt himſelf; but that is thought to be an Error by moſt. Certain it is, he was a great Man, great, I mean, in the Sight of God, as well as great before Men: For he bleſſed *Abraham*, the Father of the Faithful; and without Contradiction, ſays the Apoſtle, the leſs is bleſſed of the better, *Heb.* vii. 6, 7. Moreover, in thoſe Times, the Church was much confined to Families; and the Head of the Family was both Prieſt and Governor of the Family. *Job* ſanctified his Sons, and offered Burnt-offerings for them, *Job.* i. 5. *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob* were Prieſts, and Parents, and Magiſtrates in their Families, and over their Houſholds: For, if a Murder had been done in any of their Families, they were bound by God's Law, *Gen.* ix. 6, to execute Vengeance upon the Murderer.

And, as for *Eli* and *Samuel*, they were both Prieſts and Judges: Now Judges, in thoſe Times, were a peculiar and extraordinary Sort of Magiſtrates and Commonwealth Governors, raiſed up by God himſelf, and ſometimes there were none. His Office was neither elective, nor ſucceſſive; when he died, his Office died with him. When the Order of Kings was inſtituted and took Place in *Saul* and *David*, the Government by Judges ceaſed. Now to argue from theſe extraordinary and rare Caſes, to an ordinary Practice, I ſuppoſe will not hold.

Beſides, thoſe Times and ours do very much differ, as to many Things pertaining to Church Matters. Every Parent among the *Jews*, by the Law, I ſuppoſe, was to circumciſe his Male-children, *Exod.* iv. 24, 25, 26, *Gen.* xvii. 10. But, under the Goſpel, it is made a Part of the Office of Paſtors to baptize Children; and for Parents to do it is a ſacrilegious

Invaſion,

Invaſion. Under the Law, all their Miniſters were choſen out of one Tribe, the Tribe of *Levi*; it is not ſo under the Goſpel. The *Jews* Commonwealth was a Theocracy, it was divine and from God: Not only their Church-laws and Inſtitutions, but even their Political, Judicial, and Civil Statutes and Sanctions were from God. And it was the ſame Thing or Office among them, to be a Divine and a Lawyer; to declare what was Religion and Divinity, and what was Law and Right between Party and Party. And thence it was, that the High-Prieſt and other inferior Prieſts and Levites were made not coercive and revenging Judges and Magiſtrates, *Deut.* xvi. 18. *Ezra* vii. 25. but a Sort of Spiritual Lawyers and Caſuiſts, to teach the People what was Law, Right and Wrong, and to decide in Caſes and Queſtions, concerning Matters Eccleſiaſtical, and Civil Right, as ſeems evident from *Deut.* xvii. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. 2 *Chron.* xix. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. In thoſe Times, it was counted for a heinous Crime for any Man to invade the Prieſts Office. *Uzzah*, for Putting his Hand to uphold the Ark when the Oxen ſhook it, was ſmitten dead. And King *Uzziah*, for Attempting to burn Incenſe in the Temple, which was not lawful for any but the Prieſts to do, was withſtood by fourſcore valiant Men who were Prieſts; and the Lord ſmote him with Leproſy for his Inſolency, and he continued a Leper to the Day of his Death, living in a ſeveral Houſe. And I think, it cannot be proved, that it was ordinary with God's People then to make Magiſtrates Miniſters, and Miniſters Magiſtrates; but theſe Offices were kept diſtinct and intire, and no Man ordinarily was entruſted with both.

I do further add, That thoſe Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Jews* do no further oblige Chriſtian People, than they are ſignificative of the Law of Nature, and ſo are Laws univerſal, founded in natural Equity, and are Laws and Rules of perpetual Order and Obſervance. *Jew* and *Gentile*, by the Coming of Chriſt, are made one. The *Jews* Temple, Commonwealth, Church-rites, and Inſtitutions are ceaſed and expired, and an End is put to them. There is a new Miniſtration come in and ſubſtituted in their Room, more glorious and excellent, more proper for and ſuited to the Church Univerſal, conſiſting of *Jew* and *Gentile*, of Nations, and People, and Languages throughout the World. There is now but one Law, and that is the Law of Nature and Chriſtianity; which is not two, but one intire Law, [illegible] Way of governing Mankind under *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſupreme under God in Heaven and in Earth; by Kings and Princes as ſupreme, and ſubordinate Rulers and Magiſtrates under them; and by Chriſtian Paſtors, Guides and Biſhops of Souls, Magiſtrates to do what is pertaining to their Office, and no more; Paſtors alſo to do what pertaineth to their Office, and no more.

Beſides, the *Jews* having their Judicial and Political Laws ſhortly and confuſedly framed into one Body by God himſelf, it was no Diſtraction to the Prieſts and Clergy then to ſtudy thoſe Laws as a Part of their Divinity, and become able to decide in Cauſes and Queſtions of Civil Right and Judicature; but, with us of this Nation, the Study of the Law is become very laborious; ſome are wont to ſay, *Prius vitiis laboravimus, nunc legibus*. A Man cannot be a good Judge, Chancellor, nor Juſtice of Peace, nor bear any conſiderable Office in the Commonwealth, without Inſight into the Law, the Statute-law (which is a vaſt Body of Laws; and every Parliament is adding new ones) and the Common Law and Cuſtoms of the Realm, and of particular Courts and Places, the Knowledge whereof cannot be attained with little Pains, and Time, and Study, and without ſome Experience. We have Inns of Court among us. It is made a diſtinct Profeſſion and Order of Men among us to be Men ſkilled in the Law. The Laws and Cuſtoms of *England* are ſo intricate and hard to be well known, that it would be a great Diſtraction to a Divine to give himſelf to thoſe Studies; and, when he has done, he might, perhaps, attain to ſome Scraps and Pieces to make him a *Sciolus*, a Novice therein, ſo much as might ſerve him for his own private Uſe; but hardly could he attain to ſo much as to make him ripe, and judicious, and knowing enough to be a Judge or Magiſtrate; and *Ignorantia Judicis eſt calamitas innocentis*: An ignorant Judge, or Magiſtrate, cannot but do much Wrong, and pervert Judgment, for Want of Knowledge. A Lawyer may far better be a Divine, than a Divine can be a Lawyer. Indeed, no Man can be a good Divine, or Lawyer, that is not a good Chriſtian, and learned in the Laws of God, the Law of Nature, and Chriſtianity; what it is to be under Law to God, and live under his Government. To be a right Divine is to be a heavenly Lawyer; but this a Man may be, and

be

be ignorant of a thouſand Quirks, and Points, and Matters in the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*: They are ſo many, and ſo intricate, and ſo uncertain, and ſo out of the Road of Divinity, and the Knowledge and Study of univerſal Right, that it would be againſt Conſcience and Faithfulneſs, in a Miniſter, to give himſelf to the Study of them; and, without Giving himſelf to the Study of them, he cannot attain to the Knowledge of them, competent for an *Engliſh* Judge, and Political Magiſtrate.

14. *Arg.* VII. There are able Men enough to be Judges and Magiſtrates; but there is a great Defect of Miniſters, and therefore it cannot conſiſt with Wiſdom and Expediency (that I ſay *not with* Conſcience and Honeſty) to rob the Church to make the State and Commonwealth luxuriate. That there are able Men enough to be Judges and Magiſtrates, and to ſerve in all Offices of the Commonwealth, is either true, or it is ſome Reproach to the Nobles, Gentry, and Commons of *England*. Cannot you do all the Offices of the Commonwealth; ſerve as Magiſtrates, Judges, and Rulers; and bear the Sword, and ſee to the common Peace and Quiet of the Nation, having the Direction, Advice, and Endeavours of Paſtors, both in publick and private, as Paſtors and no more, unleſs, withal, Paſtors be made Judges and Magiſtrates too, and come in to your Aid? Surely, then, you are a degenerate Seed, you are not Chriſtian Nobles, Gentry, and Commons. Let us pray for you, and pity you. If there be able Men enough to bear the Sword, and ſerve in all Offices of the Commonwealth, Why ſhould Miniſters, Biſhops, and Clergymen be called from their Employments and ſpiritual Functions, when there is an unobſerved Want of Miniſters throughout all the Nation? The Work of a Biſhop, Miniſter, and Paſtor of Souls, is to do all the ordinary Lord's-day Work in publick; which to do well and ſubſtantially will take up no ſmall Part of his chiefeſt Time, Thoughts, and Pains. But this is not all, nor near all of his Work, for he is to watch over every Soul; he is perſonally to inſtruct, and catechiſe, and confer with all of his Charge; he is to viſit the Sick; he is to admoniſh, reprove, comfort, counſel, warn, and charge every one Night and Day, with Tears, as a Father his Children; he is to aſſiſt in Neighbour-meetings, and Church-aſſociations of Paſtors and Brethren, for Concord and Communion; he is to hear all ſuch Cauſes as need due and regular Diſcipline. And is any one Man able to do all this, as it ſhould be done, to any of thoſe Pariſhes, in City or Country, which abound with Multitudes of Souls, that would find Work for many Miniſters, to do it faithfully? Whereas, if there be one in a Pariſh, and, in ſome, one with a Reader or Curate, that its thought enough. I confeſs, at that Rate that many do the Work of the Miniſtry, it is an eaſy Matter for one Man to be a Paſtor to a Pariſh of a Dozen Miles Compaſs in the Country, and St. *Giles's in the Fields*, St. *Martin's*, *Stepney*, and *Cripplegate* in the City of *London*; but to do the Work of a Paſtor faithfully and intirely, to all the Souls within any one of theſe, and ſuch-like Pariſhes, would require a whole College and Combination of Miniſters. We ſee in a Troop of Horſe, of but about forty or fifty Men, there is a Captain, and a Lieutenant, beſides other Officers. In a Regiment of Fifteen-hundred, much more of fifteen Thouſand, What a vaſt Number of Officers is there! Captains over Thouſands, Captains over Hundreds, Captains over Fifties, and Captains over Tens, *Deut.* i. 15. Every tenth Man was to have a Captain or Officer; but there is many a Pariſh in *England*, that may have ten-thouſand Souls in it, and but one or two Paſtors appointed to look to all theſe Souls. When King *Solomon* built his Temple, he ſet threeſcore and ten Thouſand to be Bearers of Burdens, and Fourſcore-thouſand to be Hewers in the Mountains, and Three-thouſand and Six-hundred to be Overſeers, to ſet the People at Work, 2 *Chron.* ii. 18. but, in the Building of the Lord's ſpiritual Temple, there is not one Paſtor to a thouſand Souls, in many Pariſhes of *England*. I know, many will think there are too many Miniſters: I think there are too many bad ones; but I never read, or heard, of any Kingdom, or Place, or People, to this Day, that had too many faithful Miniſters; and I ſhall think it a holy and happy Time, when ſuch a Thing is, but I deſpair to ſee it in this World. Were it not, that there are not Miniſters enough to do all the Paſtoral Work of each Congregation, I ſhould think moſt of the godly Miniſters in *England* notoriouſly guilty before God, of groſs Neglect and Unfaithfulneſs, for Want of perſonal and private Overſight

Overſight of all their People; though, I think, a great Deal more might be done by many, than ordinarily is.

Well then, there being ſo great a Want of Miniſters, and no Want of Magiſtrates, Would you have Miniſters to turn Magiſtrates too? *Muſt* thoſe few that are be hindered and diſtracted, by calling them off to worldly and ſecular Buſineſſes? Is it not enough, that Miniſters have more Work upon their Hands, than they can do? And would you make them more? And that, too, diverting and alien Work, extra-epiſcopal, and almoſt, if not altogether, pragmatical Work? What is this, but to ſerve Satan in the Name of Chriſt, and, under Pretence of Order, to pull down Order, and make the Church more low and weak by much, than it is? The holy Apoſtles of our Lord were of another Mind: When they ſaw they could not both look to the corporal Neceſſities of the Poor, and the ſpiritual Neceſſities of Souls too, they contrived an Expedient for both; they appointed a new Office of Deacons in the Church, to ſee to the bodily Neceſſities of the Poor; but, ſay they, We will give ourſelves continually to Prayer, and to the Miniſtry of God's Word, *Acts* vi. 2, 4. Far unlike to thoſe that leave the Word of God and Prayer, and give themſelves to the Doing of worldly Matters and ſecular Buſineſſes, and teach Men ſo, and plead for it as their Privilege, and a Means of advantaging the Church, and of promoting Holineſs and Peace:

Non tali auxilio, nec defenſoribus iſtis
Tempus eget.——

15. *Arg.* VIII. Thoſe, who maintain it to be good to have Clergymen armed with ſecular Juriſdiction, do urge, for Reaſon, the Practice of the ancient Biſhops Churches for the firſt three-hundred Years, while the Church was without Chriſtian Princes and Magiſtrates. It was uſual, in thoſe Times, for the People to refer their Diſſenſions about worldly Things to the Deciſion and Arbitration of their Biſhops, who, to prevent Going to Law before Heathen Magiſtrates, and to prevent and compoſe Differences and Strifes, and keep Peace among their People, would give themſelves the Trouble to hear and arbitrate Cauſes, and Pleas, and worldly Differences, referred to them. And hence it is argued, that, if it was lawful for Clergymen to be Arbitrators and Judges, to decide between Brethren, it is lawful for Clergymen to be Judges, [illegible] conſtituted by Authority, and [illegible] from the higher Powers.

16. As to this, I take it to be true, as to Matter of Fact, that it was uſual for the Biſhops of thoſe Times to hear and [illegible] in Civil Cauſes and Rights: And it grew by Occaſion, I was ſaying by a Miſconſtruction of the Apoſtle's Words, 1 *Cor.* vi. 5. I ſpeak to your Shame, Is it ſo, that there is not a wiſe Man amongſt you? No, not one that ſhall be able to judge between his Brethren? Thinking none more wiſe, and conſequently more fit to arbitrate and decide their Cauſes, than the Biſhops. And, this continuing to the Time of *Conſtantine*, he, finding them in Poſſeſſion thereof, continued it to them, and confirmed it in their Hands by Law; which was the Beginning of Clergymen's Lordlineſs Domination, the Fruits and Conſequences whereof have been very calamitous to the Church ever ſince.

17. I have many Things to ſay as to this: As, 1. That it is very likely the ancient Biſhops, who took upon them this Trouble of Hearing and Arbitrating the Civil Rights and Cauſes of their People, did it with no Joy; they were not fond of it, they thought it a Burden, and, if they might have had their Choice, would rather have been free from all ſuch Trouble. So much is intimated in a Paſſage which *Davenant* in his *Determ. quæſt.* 11. aforenamed, quoted out of *Auguſtine*. They did not eſteem them Privileges or Eaſements, but *Moleſtias*; for ſo are *Auguſtine*'s Words, as cited, Moleſtations and Troubles. But the Biſhops and Clergy of our Times ſeek them, contend for them, and are tenacious of ſuch Things as Privileges.

2. Either the Biſhops, employed in the Hearing and Arbitrating thoſe Cauſes, were the ſame with our Dioceſan Biſhops, or they were not. If they were, then what Diſcretion could there be in the People, to refer all the Cauſes, within the Biſhop's Dioceſs, ſuppoſing it to be of the ſame Extent and Bigneſs with the Dioceſſes of Biſhops in *England*, to one Man their Biſhop? And what Diſcretion could it be in ſuch a Biſhop, as among us, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, the Biſhop of *London*, the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *&c.* to take upon him the Trouble of Hearing and Arbitrating all Civil Cauſes, Controverſies,

troverſies, and Differences of the People inhabiting ſo vaſt a Compaſs as his Dioceſs? He muſt do nothing elſe but merely hear Civil Cauſes. He muſt be but a Biſhop in Name. How expenſive, and very inconvenient would it be, for all the Chriſtians in any the leaſt Dioceſs in *England*, much more in the greateſt, to travel with their Law-Suits to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs? His Houſe then muſt be a mere *Weſtminſter-hall*, and all the Days in the Year, ſcarce the Lord's-Day excepted, muſt be Term-time with him. To think that the Apoſtle ever meaned any ſuch Thing, when he counſels them to refer their Matters to a wiſe Arbitrator, is a groſs Wreſting of his Words: For he *wrote to the Church of Corinth*, which was but one particular Church, Is there not a wiſe Man among you? He muſt be a wiſe Man among them, one near at Hand, eaſy to be reſorted to, to whom they might refer their Cauſes. And therefore it could not be, that the Chriſtians then referred their Cauſes to a Dioceſan Biſhop, ſuch as ours.

And, if not, then the Cauſe of our Dioceſan Biſhops will receive a deep Wound, and it will make Way for an unwelcome Truth, That the Biſhops, to whom the People referred their Cauſes, were the Paſtors of every Pariſh, the very ſame with our Pariſh-Miniſters, and the Rectors of Parſonages. Theſe, of the Clergy, were the fitteſt to arbitrate the Cauſes of all the People within their Pariſh. A Pariſh-Biſhop, or Miniſter, may, with far more Eaſe, arbitrate and compoſe the Diſſenſions and Suits of all in his Pariſh, than the Dioceſan Biſhop can do of all the Paſtors and People in his Dioceſs.

3. It is not the Intent and Meaning of the foreſaid Words of the Apoſtle, that Paſtors ſhould be employed in Hearing and Arbitrating the Secular Cauſes of their own People, or of the People of other Pariſhes. I will not ſay, it is abſolutely and univerſally unlawful; nor will I ſay it is expedient in no Caſe at all. There may be Caſes rarely here and there in Pariſhes, ſo circumſtanced, both under Chriſtian and Pagan Magiſtrates, in which it may be both lawful and expedient for the Paſtors, to arbitrate and compoſe Suits and Differences among the People. But, generally and for the moſt Part, it is inexpedient. For either he will do right, or do wrong. If he do right, it is well if one Side be not diſpleaſed, and fall out with him, and take a Grudge againſt him, and either turn from him, and not hear him or hear him with Prejudice; and ſo by this Means the Paſtor may be an Occaſion of much Sin and Damage, and Damnation to his Soul, which Prudence, and Piety, and Compaſſion in a Miniſter, doth forbid, and will make him watch againſt. If he do wrong, then it is hurtful to his own Soul, it is a Wronging of the Innocent, and a Perverting of Juſtice, and a Scandal to his Miniſtry.

Beſides, he can ſcarce do it but with Diſtraction: If he do it but a little, it will be a Hinderance to his other Work, and diſtract him; much more will it hinder and diſtract him, if he ſhould uſe it, and do it frequently. And the Words of Chriſt are conſiderable, and worthy to be thought on, *Luke* xii. 14. Man, who made me a Judge, or a Divider, an Arbitrator, between you?

4. The Words of the Apoſtle may be well underſtood in this Senſe; either there is, beſides your Paſtor, a wiſe Man among you, and one that is able to judge between Brethren, or there is not. If there be, refer your Contentions and Civil Cauſes to him. Neither go to Law before the Unbelievers, nor do you trouble your Paſtors and Biſhops; but ſingle out a wiſe Man among you, one that is able to hear, and decide your Cauſes, and make him Judge and Arbitrator between you. If there be not one ſuch wiſe and able Man among you, then it is a Shame and Reproach to you all. What? Do you call yourſelves Saints? Do you not know, that the Saints ſhall judge the World, even Angels themſelves? Are they not then fit to judge on Earth ſmall Matters, and to decide a petty Controverſy, about Mine and Thine, between Brethren, but Brother goeth to Law with Brother, and that before the Unbelievers? This is to your Shame.

5. When *Conſtantine* came to the Crown, and Magiſtrates became Chriſtians, the moſt expedient Way had been to have eaſed Paſtors of all thoſe Moleſtations and Avocations, and left the Paſtor nothing to do but his own Part, and the Magiſtrate his Part. To make the Clergy worldly Judges and Magiſtrates is no Benefit, but a Burden; it is nothing that a wiſe Man ſhould rejoice in, but rather groan under, as a Preſſure and Hinderance, and pray to God to be eaſed of it, and rejoice in being free from it, and at Liberty to employ all the

Time which was wont to be ſpent in ſuch ſecular Affairs, in religious and ſacred Exerciſes, which have a more ſpecial Tendency to Souls Good, and are moſt becoming a Paſtor.

18. *Laſtly*, I will ſet the worthy *Davenant* againſt himſelf, who, going about to prove, that the Biſhop of *Rome* hath no temporal Power over Kings, lays down this Poſition, *Bonum ſpirituale non poſtulat, ut ulla temporalis poteſtas a Romano pontifice exerceatur.* And, if not by him, then by no other Biſhop or Paſtor whatſoever: *Non eſt enim in ordine ad hunc finem, aut neceſſarium medium, aut accommodatum, aut licitum, aut denique cum ſpirituali cenſura excommunicationis ullo jure connexum.* 'Spiritual Good doth not require that any 'temporal Power be exerciſed by the Biſhop 'of *Rome*; for it is not in Order to this End, 'either a neceſſary Mean, or fit, or lawful, 'or laſtly, by any Right, knit with the ſpiri-'tual Cenſure of Excommunication. *Determ. 'quæſt.* 4.' And he gives very ſubſtantial Proofs. I am at a Loſs, how to reconcile him to himſelf. But, whether he be conſiſtent with himſelf or not, I lay not my Cauſe upon that, the other Proofs and Evidences do overpower my Underſtanding.

19. Now, if it be manifeſtly inexpedient to make Clergymen Magiſtrates, and grant them Civil Juriſdiction, then it muſt needs be manifeſtly inexpedient to make them ſupreme Magiſtrates, and to confer upon them the higheſt Juriſdiction which Subjects are capable of, as to be Lords in Parliament, and to have equal Votes with the Peers and Nobility of the Realm, and ſit as Princes there, to be many Days, and Weeks, and Months from their Flock, and to be, all that While, taken up in State-matters, Civil and Secular Affairs. If the other Arguments be good againſt granting any temporal Authority and Juriſdiction at all to Paſtors and Clergymen, and the Reaſons for it be exceeding weak, and but Shews and Shadows of Reaſon; then it muſt needs be much more inconvenient to heap ſecular Honours, Dignities, Greatneſs, Pre-eminence, and Authority upon Clergymen, and truſt them with the higheſt Juriſdiction, by making them Lords in Parliament.

20. They that will be rich fall into Temptation, and a Snare, and into many fooliſh and hurtful Luſts, which drown Men in Deſtruction and Perdition, 1 *Tim.* [illegible] good moſt ſtrongly of thoſe [illegible] worldly Wealth, and outward [illegible] deur and State; that would b[illegible] in the higheſt Seat, and be [illegible] and Princes, and have Dom[illegible] Liberties, the Eſtates, yea, and [illegible] and would have Wealth and R[illegible] their Grandeur and Preferment [illegible] hath let many Evils into the [illegible] ven Occaſion to the *Roman* B[illegible] himſelf above all other Biſh[illegible] Kings and Emperors themſel[illegible] ſume the Title of univerſal Biſhop, and Chriſt Vicar-general upon Earth, and to uſurp Authority, Dominion, and Supremacy, above all that is called God, 2 *Theſ.* ii. 4. *Conſtantine*, the Chriſtian Emperor, thought he did the Church a Kindneſs, in heaping Civil Honours upon Clergymen, and putting them into Places of State and Preferment; but, in Truth, he did them, and the Church, no Kindneſs. It had been well for the Church of God, that Biſhops and Clergymen had continued mere Biſhops and Clergymen, without any worldly Honours, Preferments in Parliament, outward Greatneſs and Juriſdiction.

21. Nor is there any Hope that the Church of God ſhould enjoy true Reſt, and be ſettled in happy and laſting Concord, and flouriſh as it ſhould in Holineſs and Peace, till its Biſhops and Paſtors be reduced to the primitive and apoſtolick Pattern. One would think the Words of our Saviour were plain enough in this Caſe; when there was a Strife among the twelve Apoſtles, which ſhould be greateſt, our Saviour quickly ends the Controverſy, by telling them, The Princes of the Gentiles exerciſe Dominion over them, and they, that are great, exerciſe Authority upon them. But it ſhall not be ſo among you; but whoſoever will be great, and chief among you, let him be loweſt, and Servant of all, *Matt.* xx. 25, 26, 27. *Luk.* xxii. 25, 26. It ſhall not be ſo among you, and conſequently it ſhall not be ſo among your Succeſſors. But ſo it hath been, and ſo it is to this Day: God grant it may be ſo no longer. There is a Striving, which ſhall be high and great, Striving for worldly Honours, Preferment, and Votes and Authority in Parliament: There is not a Striving, who ſhall be moſt humble, and ſelf-denying, and do the Work of God faithfully.

There

There is a Striving, who ſhall be like the Pope, rather than *Jeſus Chriſt*; who ſhall have worldly Lordſhip, Wealth, and Preferment, and exerciſe Domination; not who ſhall be moſt good and holy, moſt faithful and diligent in the Work of the Miniſtry.

22. Ambition and Domination is not good in any; but it is worſt, and moſt odious in Biſhops and Clergymen. By ſeeking themſelves, and their own Honour, rather than the Honour of God, they loſe themſelves, and do but prepare themſelves for a Fall. Is it not a moſt ſad Thing to read, in Church Hiſtory, the Contentions and Strivings of Biſhops, and Patriarchs, and Clergymen, about Names, and Places, and Dignities, and worldly Greatneſs, and Authority; and all the doleful Evils, which Clergy Domination, and worldly Prelacy, hath produced? And to ſee Chriſtian Emperors, Kings, Princes, States, and Parliaments, to inſlave themſelves to a dominating Clergy? This it is, which makes wiſe and good Men to think, it were much better to let Biſhops and Clergymen be mere and ſimple Biſhops and Clergymen, and no more; and for the Magiſtrate, to keep the Sword in his own Hands. For, if once you take up this for a Principle, that the Example of Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles, and of the Paſtors and Biſhops of the Churches, for the firſt three-hundred Years, is not a ſufficient Pattern, yea, and the very beſt Pattern for all Chriſtian Paſtors and Churches to conform to; if once you leave this, you depart from the Simplicity that is in Chriſt, 2 *Cor.* xi. 3. It is not poſſible to keep out Pride, Contention, and Domination; theſe will be, and they will prove a Scab, yea, the Plague of the Church, and Danger to eat out its Vitals, or ſo weaken and conſume it, that it will want much of its Strength and Beauty.

23. Sound Prudence is always to go by a ſure and ſtedfaſt Rule. Chriſt's Pattern, the Way and Practice of the Apoſtles, and firſt and moſt pure Churches, is a ſure Rule to go by: Keep to this, and we are ſafe. God will not find Fault with us for holding us to his Rules, and ſeeking to be no more wiſe, no more holy, no more great, and honourable, and good than his Rule and Standard requires. But, if you alter your Rule, and once think, and ſay, the Clergy muſt have ſome more Honour and Juriſdiction than ſo, you let in Confuſion, Contention, Domination, and a Troop of Evils, and Miſchiefs, not to be told. As in the Caſe of Ceremonies, and namely, that of the Croſs in Baptiſm, if it be prudent and adviſable to add, unto God's Inſtitution of Baptiſm, a dedicating ſymbolical Sign, and ſay, that Baptiſm, without it, is not beſt as Chriſt ordained it, you may, by the ſame Reaſon, add Cream, and Salt, and Spittle, and a Multitude of vain and fooliſh Things; no juſt Bounds can be ſet.

24. And, therefore, Biſhops, Paſtors, and Clergymen in Parliament, ſhould make their humble Addreſs to the King, the Nobility, and Commons in Parliament, to this Effect:— Our Office is to be Biſhops, and Shepherds of Souls, to give ourſelves continually to Prayer, and to the Miniſtry of the Word, and to take Heed to ourſelves, and to all the Flock, over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made us Overſeers. Had we more Time than we have, had we more Wiſdom and Goodneſs in our Souls, could every one of us do the Work of ten of the beſt, and ableſt, and moſt godly Biſhops and Paſtors that ever the Church of God had, the Souls in *England* and *Wales* would find us all Work enough. We may not leave our Work and Calling, unto which we are ſeparated, without injuring you, and us, and the Souls of our People, and procuring far more Damage to all Sides than the Benefit can countervail. Theſe Honours that you put upon us, theſe Places of Dignity and Juriſdiction that you put us in, are a Snare and a Burden to us; they are no Privilege, but a Let. To ſtrive for them were to ſtrive to bring Fire and Gunpowder together. All the While we are here, we tread as upon Coals of Fire. We are as if we were upon a high towering Steeple, or the Top of a Pinacle, we cannot look upwards, nor downwards, behind us, nor before us, nor on either Hand, but we are in extreme Fear of Falling. For God's Sake, for your own Sake, for the Church's Sake, eaſe us of theſe Burdens, deliver us from theſe Snares, let us not be pragmatical and buſy Bodies; you do not love to hear Divines pragmatical in the Pulpit, And why ſhould it pleaſe you, or us, to be pragmatical out of the Pulpit? We thank you for your Love and well-meaning Zeal; but you would not have us undone by you, and Church and State ſuffer by us, and by our Standing for worldly Honours and Preferment. We had rather be pure and ſimple Biſhops and Clergymen, than neither pure Clergymen, nor pure Laymen, but Mongrels between both; ſimple Bodies are the moſt

ſolid and compact. Gold and Silver mixed is not ſo pure and firm as pure Gold. We had rather be ſimple Followers of Chriſt, and *Peter*, and *Paul*, and the firſt and moſt ancient Biſhops, than any Thing that Man can make us. Never fear that we ſhall want Honour, Countenance, Reverence, and due Maintenance, while we ourſelves fulfil our Name and Place, and there are Men and Chriſtians amongſt us; if we want any outward deſirable Reputation, Eſteem, or Conveniency, God will be to us an all-ſufficient Good, and our very Wants will be ſanctified to our Good. Let us go to our Flocks and ſeveral Charges whence we came, hinder us not. Let us not be advanced in Wealth, in Honour, in Preferment above the reſt of our Brethren, who are equal with us in Wiſdom, Holineſs, and Induſtrioufneſs; and many of them do exceed us. We had rather die preaching, and praying, and viſiting, and inſtructing the Souls of our People, than die voting in Parliament, and agitating State-matters there. If you need our Advice at any Time in Things pertaining to the Church, and which come within the Sphere and Compaſs of our Calling, we are ready, Night and Day, to do the beſt Service we can. And we deſire you will not look upon us as a divided Party from the reſt of our Brethren, and Proteſtant Divines in the Nation, but that you will, in all your Conſultations about Church-affairs, uſe the Advice of the moſt ſound, and holy, and impartial, and prudent, and experienced Divines in all the Nation, and, by all Means poſſible, keep the Sword and coercive Power out of the Hands of ſuch as are proud and lordly, and uſurp over their Brethren, and would ſet us all on a Flame, and are plain worldly, hypocritical, ſelf-ſeeking Men, and rather Papiſts and Infidels in Heart, than ſincere Chriſtians and Proteſtants. You need Conſultation with Divines for your Souls, as you do with Lawyers for your Eſtates, and Phyſicians for your Bodies: But, as you can make due Uſe of Lawyers and Phyſicians, by adviſing and conſulting with them in all neceſſary Caſes, without making them Stateſmen, and Peers, and Lords in Parliament, and loading them with Secular Greatneſs, Honour, and Juriſdiction; ſo you may make all due and faithful Uſe of us, as Biſhops, ſpiritual Paſtors, and Caſuiſts in God's Church, by uſing our Advice and Conſultation when there is Need, without loading us with worldly Honours, and making us Stateſmen, and Peers, and [illegible] Realm, and Lords and Law-m[illegible] ment; ſuch Things be *extra-*[illegible] will be ſmall Honour and Com[illegible] we come to die, and give up our Accounts to God. Bend your Endeavours [illegible] teſtants, and to ſtrengthen the [illegible] of Chriſtianity, Faith and Ho[illegible] the reigning Errors and Vices [illegible] and the moſt malignant Diſtem[illegible] kind, now degenerate, and far [illegible] God. If you find us ſuch as we [illegible] do Right and Juſtice, and let no Man's Crimes go unpuniſhed, nor any Scandal lie upon the Churches by any Perſon or Party whomſoever. Fidelity to God, to you, to our own Souls, and to the Church, compels us to make this Addreſs, and to quit our Hands of all ſuch Matters as will not ſtand with ſound Prudence and Integrity. The firſt and beſt Part of Wiſdom is not to err and do amiſs; for then there will need no Repentance: But, having erred, the next and only Wiſdom is to repent and reform, that God may forgive us, and Men may have forgiving Goodneſs and Charity in their Breaſts towards us.

25. In Caſe Biſhops and Clergymen ſhall ſtand for their worldly Dignities and Places in Parliament, and plead Preſcription, and the Example of their Anceſtors, and the Right of their Succeſſors, and think it hard Meaſure to be reformed, the Sovereign, with the Nobles and Commons in Parliament, ſhould ſay to them, We are God's Miniſters, bearing the Sword, and are to be a Terror to evil Doers, and a Defence to them that do well. We are to correct all Diſorders and Abuſes. Let every Soul be ſubject to the higher Powers. If we find you to be out of your Place and Calling, we are to take Cognizance thereof; and, See that *Archippus* take Heed to the Miniſtry which he hath received in the Lord, that he fulfil it, *Col.* iv. 17. As we may not forbear to uſe your Advice and Conſultation, both publick and private, when there is Cauſe; ſo neither may we call you to Counſel and Conſultation needleſly, and avocate you from your Studies, and Epiſcopal and Paſtoral Work, in Prayer, and Preaching, and Overſeeing your ſeveral Flocks, without Cauſe; unto you belongeth the Power of the Word and Keys, unto us belongeth the Power of the Sword. If you ſee any Miſdemeanors in us, do your Duty faithfully, kill us not by Kindneſs, flatter us not to

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our Ruin, make the *utmoſt Uſe* of that Authority God hath given you in his Church to Edification, conceal Nothing from us and the People which is godly and profitable for us to know; ſpare to reprove no Sin which is a Sin, and which needs Reproving; do your Duty faithfully, be prudent, be pious, be peaceable, be diligent and blameleſs *in* your Place, and we ſhall defend you, and be a Terror to all that would harm and oppoſe you. But if it will not content you to be as *Peter* and *Paul*, and the holy Biſhops and Paſtors of old, but you will needs be uſurping the Magiſtracy, and ſeeking Domination, and make your Brethren of the Clergy your Underlings; if you will needs be pragmatical and *buſy Bodies*, and neglect the Work of Prayer and Preaching, and ſuffer the Souls of your People to want due Overſight and Paſtoral Care; if you will beat your Fellow-ſervants, and cauſeleſly fall out with your Brethren and the univerſal Church, we muſt not wink at ſuch Offences, but declare them to be Crimes puniſhable by a lawful Magiſtracy, which we are, under God. We will hear of no Plea or Preſcription againſt Piety, Prudence, and Peace. Uſurpation, Domination, Paſtoral Negligence, and Unfaithfulneſs, and groſs Imprudencies, are not Privileges, but Sins and Crimes; to ſay, they are ancient, is to ſay, they are more odious, and call for the more deep Repentance, and ſpeedy, and ſound, and thorough Reformation.

26. There are, in this, as in moſt other Caſes, two Extremes, which are alike equi-diſtant from the true and right Mean. The one is to make no Uſe at all of Divines, nor to conſult *with* them in any Caſe. This I take to be a dangerous Extreme, contrary to the Light of Nature, the true Office and Inſtitution of the Miniſtry, and that Duty which all Chriſtian Princes, and Parliaments, and People do owe to the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, unto whom they are vowed and ſworn to obſerve his Laws, and to be ſincerely ſubject to his Government in all Things. And he doth govern his Church by Paſtors, Teachers, and ſpiritual Overſeers, with whom all Perſons, of what Degree and Rank ſoever they be, are to adviſe and conſult, not in every ſmall and *little* Matter, but in Caſes of Weight and Concernment, if they cannot otherwiſe ſatisfy themſelves; as they will do with Lawyers about their Eſtates, and *Phyſicians* about their Bodies. The Papiſts do groſly tyranniſe over all, both Kings and Subjects, by binding them to make a particular Recitation, or Confeſſion of their Sins, to their Prieſts, at certain Times frequently; thereby making them Maſters, in ſome Sort, of Men's Conſciences, and unjuſtly privy to their Secrets, and abuſing the Name, Authority, and Ordinance of Chriſt to Rigour and Tyranny, and thereby deceiving and deluding Souls into much Superſtition, Vaſſalage, and Hypocriſy. To avoid which, Anti-papiſts have run into a quite contrary Extreme, forgetting of what daily and ſtanding Uſe and Concernment God's Miniſters are, both to Perſons and Societies. The Prieſts Lips are to keep Knowledge, and the People are to ſeek the Law at their Mouth, *Mal.* ii. 7.

When the *Philiſtines* were to ſend back the Ark, they conſulted with their Prieſts and Diviners, 1 *Sam.* vi. 2.

Miniſters are not only to be heard in publick, but to be conſulted with in private, and to be made Uſe of in all Caſes and Queſtions Eccleſiaſtical, which concern the general Intereſt of the Church, its Holineſs, and its Unity, and which cannot well and ſoundly be determined without the Aſſiſtance, Advice, and Direction of impartial, wiſe, and holy Divines. I am ſo far from being againſt this, that rather I judge it a common Error and Miſpractice in Chriſtian States, as well as particular Perſons, that they do not make that due and godly Uſe of Miniſters and Divines, which they ought to do; whence it is, that they do ſo often miſcarry in their Ways and Counſels, becauſe they do too much lean to their own Underſtandings, and either conſult not at all with God's Miniſters, or, if they do, they conſult with thoſe only who are partial and unfaithful, or they do treacherouſly and hypocritically conceal ſomething of the Caſe from them, or do, like the Papiſts, make Confeſſion a mere Ceremony, reſting in the Work done, imitating her in *Proverbs* vii. 14.

People can ſend for Miniſters to adviſe with upon their Sick-beds; they ſhould do it when they are in Health. There is Parliament-humility and Self-denial, which *Jeſus Chriſt* doth bind all Chriſtian States and Rulers to, *Luke* ix. 23. The Long Parliament had their Aſſembly of Divines.

27. The other Extreme is of making more and further Uſe of Miniſters, than Need requires, and than will ſtand with the Prudence, Conveniency, and Quality of their Work and Calling; and in making an undue Diſparity and Inequa-

Inequality among Miniſters and Divines, appointing ſome to be Lords and Dominators over the reſt, advancing them too high in worldly Dignities, Authority, and Preferment, and thereby eſtabliſhing Pride and Partiality: It is grounded upon a Miſtake, which is, that, by God's Law, Biſhops and Archbiſhops have a Majority of Power and Juriſdiction above the reſt of the Paſtors, though they excel, or be equal to the Biſhops and Archbiſhops in true Wiſdom and Holineſs, and Miniſterial Graces and Diligence; whereas it is evident, from the very Nature of the Thing itſelf, that a Biſhop and Overſeer of Souls are but two Names for the ſame Thing; and that to be an Archbiſhop is to be *Epiſcoporum primus*, an eminent Preſbyter, the Chief of all the Biſhops, Preſbyters, and Paſtors, not that he hath a greater Commiſſion than they. The Authority and Commiſſion of Biſhops, Paſtors, and Miniſters is but one, *Matth.* xxviii. 19, 20. and it conſiſteth in theſe three: 1. An Authority to Chriſtianiſe Souls, and admit Diſciples into the Family of Chriſt, which is his Church, by Baptiſm. 2. An Authority to uſe them as Diſciples and Members of the Family, when admitted, by feeding them with Knowledge and Underſtanding, watching over them, and doing all neceſſary and convenient Epiſcopal and Paſtoral Acts and Offices to them. 3. An Authority to diſcommon and caſt out of the Family, by penal and judicial Church-cenſures, contumacious and groſly diſorderly Livers, whom no other Remedies will amend.

28. This threefold Authority every right ordained Preſbyter or Pariſh-miniſter hath, and no Archbiſhop or Biſhop hath more; for more is not neceſſary, nor is there any Place for more; and leſs will not ſuffice to make a Man a complete Paſtor, and Chriſt makes no incomplete Paſtors: *Qui aliquid alicui concedit, concedit & id, ſine quo res ipſa nequit conceſſi.* He, that gives the End, doth incluſively give the due, and regular, and ſubſervient Means; and, *Qui admit medium, deſtruit finem.* We muſt not, for Fear of making every Paſtor a Pope, deny him to be a Paſtor. Grant him to be a Paſtor, and thereby you grant unto him Paſtoral Power; and then you grant him Authority to caſt out, as well as to take in; to have an Expulſive, as well as a Receptive Faculty. Miniſters may abuſe their Authority; ſo alſo may Magiſtrates, Parents, *&c.* But is that any Ground to deny them the Authority of Magiſtrates and Pare[illegible] not fit to be truſted with the [illegible] let them not be Paſtors at all. [illegible] be Paſtors, let them be comple[illegible] incomplete Paſtor is *terminus [illegible]* Scripture, nor ſound Reaſon, [illegible] Warrant for Making Men b[illegible] Half-paſtors and Preſbyters. I [illegible] an Archbiſhop is but an emine[illegible] *Peter* among the Apoſtles, or [illegible] of a Jury. The reſt of the A[illegible] plete Apoſtles, as well as *Peter*, [illegible] Commiſſion and Authority. [illegible] Jury are Jurors, as well as the Foreman, and are equal Judges of the Fact. True it is that, among Apoſtles and Paſtors, who are equal as to Office and Commiſſion, there may be much Inequality as to Gifts and Graces, and the faithful and wiſe Execution of their Office; as all Parents have alike Authority over their Children; but all Parents are not alike wiſe and good, and officious in their Places; unto ſome God giveth ten Talents, unto ſome five, unto ſome two, unto all at leaſt one; and it is God's Will, that he who is beſt be beſt eſteemed, and that the leſs Wiſe do learn of the more Wiſe; that the Younger ſubmit themſelves unto the Elder; yea, all of you be ſubject one to another, and be clothed with Humility, 1 *Pet.* v. 5. Miniſters cannot always be executing their Office, as, Praying, Preaching, Baptiſing, *&c.* and there may be ſome Parts and Branches of the Office, which they may never be called to exerciſe, as, Ordination, authoritative Excommunication, and Abſolution. And no Authority is given, but for Uſe and Edification; and, where there is no Uſe of it, or where it cannot be uſed without making Things worſe, and doing more Hurt than Good, it is to be forborne. But it is fit that Miniſters be Miniſters, and Paſtors and Biſhops be Paſtors and Biſhops, and be inveſted and intruſted with complete Paſtoral and Epiſcopal Power; and that they do uſe and exerciſe every Branch and Part of their Office and Authority, when, and ſo often as ſanctified Conſcience and ſound Prudence and Diſcretion ſhall ſay it is convenient, and they cannot forbear to do it without manifeſt Damage and Inconvenience; as it is convenient a Captain have his Sword, though he may not be put to uſe it in Fight againſt any; and it is fit, that a Schoolmaſter have Power to uſe his *Ferula*, and moderately to correct untoward and unruly

unruly Scholars, though, poſſibly, he may have none ſuch, and ſo never be put to uſe the Rod.

29. This being ſo, I muſt needs grant, That, if it be convenient and adviſeable, that the whole Tribe of Miniſters, who are of the Order of Preſbyters, be accounted Lord-Biſhops, Lord-Preſbyters, Lord-Paſtors, and Lord-Preachers, and have equal Right to be Lords and Stateſmen in Parliament, and ſupreme Judges in all Cauſes and Queſtions, both Political and Eccleſiaſtical, which ſhall come before that honourable Aſſembly, then I yield the Cauſe, my Poſition is erroneous, and I do ill to ſay, It is inconvenient, that Clergymen be Lords and Stateſmen in Parliament. But, if it be inconvenient, and againſt ſound Prudence, to honour, or rather burden, the whole Tribe of Miniſters, and right ordained Paſtors and Preſbyters, with theſe Honours, Preferments, Greatneſs, and Authority, then I ſee not but my Poſition will hold ſound and good; for, if all Appearance of Evil is to be avoided, then all Appearance of Partiality is to be avoided, and of that Partiality which hath conjoined with it many Snares, and which a wiſe Man is bound to avoid, as Diſtractions, Precipices, and Burdens. I have no envious Partiality againſt Archbiſhops and Biſhops; I am neither againſt the Name, nor the Office and Thing imported by the Name. Every Paſtor, unto whom God doth give more than ordinary Gifts and Graces, is, in my Judgment, a real Archbiſhop in God's Church, *jure Divino*, a chief Paſtor and eminent Prelate in God's Church above his Fellows; of which Rank I do eſtimate the famous *Uſher*, *Auguſtine*, *Athanaſius*, *Calvin*, *Zanchy*, *Bradford*, *Davenant*, *Cranmer*, *Dod*, *Baynes*, *Hilderſham*, *Preſton*, *Sibbs*, *Gataker*, *Joſeph Hall*, *Babington*, *Joſeph Alleine*, and many more, both ancient and modern Divines, all burning and ſhining Lights in God's Church, more eminent than vulgar Divines. I think myſelf not worthy to carry their Books after them. I think they better deſerve the Title of *Lord*, than many a Temporal carnal Lord that is honoured with that Name. The Fifth Commandment bindeth me to honour my Father and my Mother; and my Catechiſm teacheth me, that by *Father* and *Mother* are to be underſtood all Superiors in Office, Age, and Gifts. Good *Obadiah* ſays to *Elijah*, Art thou that my Lord *Elijah?* 1 *Kings* xviii. 8. The Truth is, our ordinary Word *Maſter*, or *Sir*, which we give to almoſt all, importeth the ſame with the Title *Lord*, it being, in *Greek*, *Kurios* and *Kurie*, and, in *Latin*, *Dominus* and *Domine*, ſave that Cuſtom, which is the great Arbiter of Speech, doth appropriate this Title *Lord* to the Temporal Nobility. If we muſt give Honour to whom Honour is due, and honour all whom God doth honour, or elſe we are diſobedient to God's Word, and unholy, then both Clergymen and Laymen, Magiſtrates, Paſtors, Parents, and private Chriſtians are te be honoured with decent and ſeemly Honour, without Denying them what all wiſe and peaceable Chriſtians account to be their Due, and to be ſafe and decent to be given to them; or Giving them more, out of Flattery and Baſeneſs, having Men's Perſons in Admiration, becauſe of Advantage. See *Job* xxxii. 22. *Jude* 16.

30. But now it is not the Cuſtom with us, nor with the Churches of Chriſt and Chriſtian People, and Cuſtom, in this Caſe, creates a Law, 1 *Cor.* xi. 16, to give the Title *Lord* to the Pariſh-biſhops and Preſbyters, though never ſo eminent; and it is but meet, that according to the Uſe of all Nations, and the Scripture itſelf, a Difference be made between the Temporal Nobility, and the Clergy. And why it ſhould be given to a Popiſh Biſhop, merely becauſe a Biſhop, ſuch as *Bonner*, *Gardiner*, and many of the Popes, and Cardinals, who had been wretched Men, or to a *Ridley*, a *Hooper*, a *Davenant*, rather than to a *Bradford*, a *Philpot*, a *Dod*, a *Joſeph Allein*, I know not. If the Honour be due to the Office, then all Miniſters muſt be counted Lord-biſhops and Lord-paſtors, I am clear in that, *Act.* xx. 28. *Phil.* i. 1. This I know will not pleaſe our Lord Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and thoſe whoſe Zeal upholds them. All that I contend for is, that all, that be equal in Office, be equal in Honour, and no one partially preferred; no one aſſume to himſelf carnal State, and Superiority over his Brethren. *Jam.* iii. 5. Behold, how great a Matter a little Fire kindleth! This Advancing of Equals above their Equals, and Brethren above their Brethren, and Paſtors above Paſtors, in God's Church, is not good.

31. I do not impugn bare Names and Titles, but my Aim is to impugn factious Partiality, and Pride in Clergymen, occaſioned by the Over-indulgence of Princes, and ſupreme Ma-

Magiſtrates. It is Simplicity, Humility, and Sincerity in Biſhops, which I contend for. Either the Archbiſhops and Biſhops muſt come down, and abate of their Honour, their Lordlineſs, their Principalities, and worldly State, and be upon even Ground with the reſt of their Brethren, who have as good Inſides as they, and are as real Biſhops and Overſeers of Souls as they, and have equal Office, Authority, and Commiſſion with them, *Matt.* xxviii. 19, 20. *Joh.* xx. 23. and will paſs for as much at Death and Judgment as they; or elſe the reſt of their Brethren, who are equal in Office and Merits to them, muſt be heightened and advanced, and made to be upon even Ground with them. This latter is not adviſable, nor will be granted; it is not fit it ſhould: The other is both feiſible and convenient. It will make our Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, to be no worſe Men, nor worſe Archbiſhops and Biſhops, if they be but mere and ſimple Biſhops of Souls, and meddle no more in State-matters, and ſecular Affairs, than needs they muſt, and will ſtand with the Order, and Quality, and Greatneſs of their Work.

32. Do you think in good Earneſt, that Church and State will all go to Rack and Ruin, if our two Archbiſhops, and the Dioceſan Biſhops, be not preſent in Parliament, and ſit as Lords and Princes there? Muſt they have the Hearing of every Cauſe, and be ſupreme Judges and Magiſtrates, and political Officers under the King? Were it not more becoming you to be among your People, preaching and praying, and viſiting the Souls and Families under your Charge, in Imitation of the Apoſtles, *Act.* xx. *Act.* vi. 2, 3, 4, 21, 28, 31. than ſtriving for worldly Greatneſs, and ſecular Precedency? Is not the Way to Heaven ſtreight enough to you, but you will make it more ſtreight? Cannot Traytors and Murderers be tried without you? Would it be any Diſparagement to the beſt of you all, to be as *Peter* and *Paul*, yea, as *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf, rather than like the Pope? Do you ſtand for theſe worldly Honours, and Pre-eminencies, out of pure Zeal for God's Glory, and the Churches Good? Why then do you beat your Fellow-ſervants, and uſe them more Unchriſtianly than *Pagans* have uſed Chriſtians? *Act.* xxxviii. 20, 21. and give your Votes, that all the Paſtors in the Land be ſilenced, and put down, for not Aſſenting and Conſenting to many Things, which you yourſelves [illegible] to be in their own Nature indifferent, [illegible] and ſound conforming Miniſters [illegible] to be burdenſome and inconvenient, and Multitudes of conſcientious, and learned, and [illegible] diſſenting Divines and Proteſtants do [illegible] flatly unlawful?

33. It is an Error to think that Epiſcopacy and Arch-epiſcopacy, cannot ſtand, unleſs Biſhops and Archbiſhops be [illegible] Legiſlators, and Princes in Parliament, and have worldly Grandeur, Authority, and Greatneſs, to ſupport the ſimple Office of Prelacy and Epiſcopacy in God's Church. Theſe worldly Additions, and Cumulations of ſecular Office and Honour, are Things extrinſical to right and ſimple Prelacy and Epiſcopacy. Right and ſimple Prelacy and Epiſcopacy do not ſtand by the Will and Donation of Men, but by a ſuperior Law, even by Divine and unchangeable Right, by the Word of God, and by the Law and Light of Nature, and the intrinſick Goodneſs, and Expediency of the Thing. For, if there were no Chriſtian Magiſtracy or Parliament, yet would there be Prelacy and Epiſcopacy in God's Church. It is of the Law of Nature, that the beſt be beſt eſteemed, and that vulgar Paſtors and Divines, that have but one or two Talents of Miniſterial and Epiſcopal Learning, Holineſs, Wiſdom and Uſefulneſs, give Place to thoſe who are more eminent, and whoſe Graces and Virtues do render them ſingularly excellent, above their Brethren, though they have but one and the ſame Commiſſion and Authority. Authority is one Thing, ſpiritual and mental Qualifications and Endowments are another Thing. Now, we ſee how that God himſelf doth difference among the Paſtors, by conferring on ſome extraordinary Abilities and Qualifications, and thereby notifying to all the Churches the ſingular Reverence and Eſteem, which he would have ſuch eximious Perſons to have from all the Churches; as *Daniel* was preferred above the Preſidents, *Dan.* vi. 3. and *Eſther*, and her Maids, above the Women, *Eſther* ii. 9.

34. Every Man naturally hath a Pope in his Belly, is the common Saying: Pride is an inborn Sin. It is exceſſive Pride in the Pope, to think himſelf more than a Man; and it is exceſſive Pride in an Infant, to think himſelf a grown Man; and in Paſtors, that are but

of

of Infant Underſtandings, to think themſelves equal with ſuch as be of grown, and large, and ſingular eminent Underſtandings.

Simple Prelacy among Divines is a divine Thing. Every eminent, holy, and wiſe Preſbyter is a real Archbiſhop in God's Church: This he would be, were there no Chriſtian Magiſtracy to uphold him. There is a Subjection due from one Paſtor to another, as from one Man to another, 1 *Pet.* v. 5. As it will not ſtand with true Chriſtian Humility, Self-denial, and Subjection to Chriſt in all Things, that Paſtors do dominate over Paſtors, and lord it over their Brethren, 1 *Pet.* v. 3. So it will not ſtand with the ſame Chriſtian Graces and Duties, for one Miniſter of inferior and ſmaller Parts, Gifts and Graces, not to acknowledge the greater Gifts and Graces of others, whom God hath made more eminent.

There is as great Variety of Paſtors, as there is of Men and of Saints; ſome are as Eyes, ſome as Hands, ſome as Feet, in God's Church. The weakeſt ſincere Chriſtian Paſtor is a Paſtor, as truly as the higheſt and moſt excellent Paſtor, and is of Uſe in his Place: In this there is no Difference between the moſt eminent Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and the meaneſt honeſt Pariſh-Miniſter. But then, as to Wiſdom, and Holineſs, and Uſefulneſs, there is great Difference and Inequality; and out of this ariſeth natural, ſimple, divine, and unchangeable Prelacy, Epiſcopacy, and Archiepiſcopacy; which is not a Thing pleaſing to Fleſh and Blood, and it doth neither favour, nor make againſt any of the three Forms of Church-Government, called Prelacy, Presbytery, and Independency; further than they do favour, or be againſt true impartial Godlineſs: Of which this divine and ſimple Prelacy among Divines is one eſſential Branch. I do not ſay, it is an Appendant or Appurtenant of Godlineſs and Religion; but is an eſſential Branch. It is of the Eſſence of my Religion, that I put a Difference, as between a godly and ungodly Paſtor; ſo alſo between a godly Paſtor, that is almoſt ungodly, and hath but one Talent of Godlineſs; and a godly Paſtor, who is of the higheſt Rank of godly Paſtors, and is full of the Wiſdom, and Grace, and Joy of the Holy Ghoſt, and is of extraordinary Uſefulneſs and Eminency in God's Church.

We muſt not, for Fear of inclining to the Pope's Lordlineſs and Supremacy, run into another dangerous Extreme, and tempt Infants to think they are Men, and Scholars to think that they are fit to be Teachers; and learning Diſciples, Novices, and Children, that they are equal in Wiſdom and Knowlege to their Parents, Maſters, and Tutors, between whom there is no Compare.

35. I make no Doubt but there have been holy and eminent Men Lord-Biſhops and Archbiſhops, Peers in Parliament: God forbid that I ſhould think or ſay otherwiſe. But either they were no more but mere and ſimple Biſhops and Archbiſhops, choſen and ſingled forth from among their Brethren, to be conſulted with in Matters and Caſes Eccleſiaſtical, and proper for Divines and Biſhops; or they were more.

If the former, and they kept in the Rank and Station of Biſhops and Divines, for my Part, I am not he that ſhall oppoſe it. And, if there be any Word, in all this Diſputation, againſt ſuch Uſe of Biſhops and Divines, *in-dictum volo*, I wiſh it unſaid.

But, if they were more, and took themſelves to be more than ſimple Biſhops and Paſtors in God's Church, and to be ſuperior to their Brethren in Power and Authority; if they took themſelves to be ſupreme Magiſtrates and Judges, under, and with the King, in the Houſe of Lords, and to have Juriſdiction and Lordſhip, proper to Magiſtrates and ſupreme coercive Judges, and to the Nobility, Peers, and Princes, in Parliament; this I hold to be *extra* Epiſcopal, to be a Swerving from the Simplicity that is in Chriſt, and an undue Prelation of Paſtors above Paſtors, and a Deformity added to the Beauty and Luſtre of ſimple Epiſcopacy; and it is a Cauſe of more Evil than Good, and, upon a juſt Computation of all, both Conveniencies and Inconveniencies, it will be found a Truth, that Church and State have been both Loſers; that Biſhops and Archbiſhops themſelves, who have had ſuch external Honours, Pre-eminences, and Authorities, have been Loſers in their Souls by them, and that it had been better for all Sides, that they had kept in the Station and Quality of ſimple Biſhops and Divines.

36. The Archbiſhops and Biſhops with us have three Ordinations; firſt, they are ordained Presbyters, then they are ordained Biſhops, then they are ordained Archbiſhops. Now theſe two laſt Ordinations are rather Nullities and Corruptions, and do ſuppoſe that

there is a Majority and Superiority of Power in Biſhops over Preſbyters, and in Archbiſhops over Biſhops; and the next Step muſt be in the Pope over all. For to be a Biſhop and Shepherd over all the Souls and Shepherds which are in *England*, is a Vice of the very ſame Kind with that of the Pope's, who ſays he is Chriſt's Vicar upon Earth, and Biſhop over all the Biſhops and Souls which are in the World; which is to claim and uſurp the Office of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and to attempt the Doing of that which is abſolutely impoſſible. It is indeed more impoſſible for one Man to be Biſhop and Paſtor over all the Souls and Biſhops which are in the World, than it is for one Man to be Biſhop and Paſtor over all the Souls and Paſtors which are in *England*. Both are alike ſimply impoſſible, though the one is more impoſſible than the other. And they do both favour of proud Self-ignorance, and groſs Affectation, and Self-ſeeking, as though one Man could be in a thouſand Places at once, baptizing, preaching, giving the Lord's-Supper, viſiting the Sick, inſtructing Souls, and doing all other the Acts and Offices of a Scripture-Biſhop, and Spiritual Overſeer of Souls, *Acts* xx. 28. To the Creating of a Biſhop or Archbiſhop, there needs no more but an Election and Nomination of him to the Place, as is done by the Houſe of Commons, when they chuſe a Speaker. His Office is no more but to be as the Foreman of the Queſt. If he have not Wiſdom, Holineſs, and miniſterial Worth and Uſefulneſs, anſwerable to his Name, he is but an Archbiſhop in Name, he is rather a Poſt or Cypher, than a Man.

27. Alſo our Prelates do take upon them to be Eccleſiaſtical Legiſlators and Canon-makers to all the Churches, and to all other Paſtors; and they conſtitute them a Lay-Chancellor, and require of all the Clergy an Oath or ſolemn Promiſe of Canonical Obedience to them, and their Chancellors. They call their Chancellor their Vicar in Spirituals, and unto him is committed the Power of Diſcipline and Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical over all, both Clergy and Laity; and the Church-Canons are his Law and Rule, which being too crooked for honeſt Men to conform to, he ſpares not to excommunicate them; and, upon a *Significavit*, made by him into the *Chancery*, out comes an *Excommunicato capiendo*, and the Party muſt either go to Priſon all his Days without Bail, or make his Compoſition much to [illegible] or Damage, or both. And Excomm[illegible] and Abſolutions in the Biſhops Court [illegible] and ſold for Money; and the wor[illegible] ſpared and countenanced, whilſt the [illegible] are harraſſed and anathematiſed, an[illegible] from Chriſt and his Kingdom.

38. Now the Biſhops, being co[illegible] themſelves, that this Kind of Prelacy [illegible] mination, and Juriſdiction, is not g[illegible] qual, but rather like the Pope's Supremacy over all, and thoſe, whom the Holy Ghoſt brands *Nehem.* v. 15, who ruled over God's People, by their Servants, as now the Biſhops do by their Vicars, Subſtitutes, and Chancellors; but ſo did not good *Nehemiah*, becauſe of the Fear of God: They, I ſay, being ſenſible hereof, do get to be Princes, and Lords, and Stateſmen in Parliament, and thereby inſinuate themſelves with the Sovereign, and with ſuch of the Nobles and Gentry, as love to be flattered and ſmoothly dealt with; and, by this Means, eſtabliſh to themſelves, and to their Chancellors, worldly and carnal Juriſdiction, and dominate over their Brethren, and become the Authors of Sects and Factions, and hinder the Holineſs, the Unity and Concord of the Churches; and, rather than they ſhall not be Lord Biſhops, and Partial, and Factious, and Buſy-bodies in Parliament, Church and State muſt ſuffer, and the common Quiet be endangered. They will not endure to be upon equal Ground with their Brethren, as wiſe and good as themſelves; as the Pope will not abide to be touched in his Supremacy.

39. I ſhall add this one Word of Caution, Though it be not expedient, that Biſhops be made Magiſtrates, and Paſtors truſted with the Sword; yet it is fit that Magiſtrates be Magiſtrates, and not Cyphers, and that they do not bear the Sword in vain; and that they do back the Power and Authority of the Miniſtry, and countenance and uphold the ſacred Office, by being a Terror to evil Doers, and a Praiſe and Defence to them that do well. There ought to be a due Temperament of Magiſtracy and Miniſtry, that we might lead a peaceable and quiet Life, in all Godlineſs and Honeſty. Though the Sword is not God's Ordinance, for the Converſion of Souls, yet, it is God's Ordinance for the Puniſhing of Vice, and Protection of Virtue outwardly; and for the juſt Encouragement of worthy Paſtors, and the Diſcouragement

Diſcouragement of the unworthy. Anciently God did lead his People, by the Hand of *Moſes* and *Aaron*; they both made but one Hand.

And it is a Law of univerſal Equity, binding all Chriſtian Commonwealths: Judges and Magiſtrates ſhalt thou make thee in all thy Gates, which the Lord thy God giveth thee throughout thy Tribes; and they ſhall judge thy People with juſt Judgment, *Deut.* xvi. 18. And as there ought to be a ſufficient Miniſtry in every Pariſh; ſo, alſo, there ought to be a due Proportion and Contemperament of coercive Judges, and revenging Magiſtrates, in Cities, Towns, and Pariſhes, that the People might have both Law and Goſpel; Means for their Souls, and Means for their outward Peace and Safety, nigh at Hand.

It was the Cuſtom in *England* anciently, for the Biſhop and the Sheriff, who was then called Earl of the County, and was ſupreme Magiſtrate under the King in the County, to go in Circuit all over the County, the one to teach the People Religion, and the Way of good Living, and to viſit all the Churches; and the other to decide Civil Cauſes, and to chaſtiſe and correct Offenders and Offences, and execute revenging Wrath upon evil Doers: And, by this Means, there was much Quiet, and good Living, and Order in the Realm. This Courſe is now antiquated and degenerated into another Courſe, not ſo profitable and convenient for good Order and publick Quiet; and that is the Circuit of Judges itinerant, twice each Year, through the Realm, keeping their Aſſizes at one Place only, and making all the County to come thither; and having a Judge's Sermon, preached at the Entrance of the Aſſizes.

Though the Church and Miniſtry will ſtand, if the Paſtors do their Duty; yet, if Chriſtian Magiſtrates do not their Duty in their Place and Calling, they do ſo far unchriſtianiſe themſelves; and, if they protect the Evil, and puniſh the Good, or think that, under Pretence of Liberty of Conſcience, Men may be allowed to blaſpheme God, to teach Atheiſm, Infidelity, and Soul-deſtroying Doctrines, and act the Part of *Corah*, and his Accomplices, againſt the faithful Miniſters of Chriſt, God will make them know one Day, that that was not the End, for which he appointed them Magiſtrates, and that they are his Miniſters, and are, therefore, called *Gods*, and ought not to bear the Sword in vain, and to ſtand by, and ſee the Church waſted, perſecuted, and torn in Pieces by Violence, Hereſies, Schiſms, Profaneneſs, and Wickedneſſes, and they be like *Gallio*, unconcerned, and care for no ſuch Things.

And the Truth is, it is no little that the due Execution of the Magiſtrates Office doth conduce to the Succeſs of the Goſpel, and the Promoting of the Miniſtry, and of the Word and Work of God upon Men's Souls. And therefore, though I diſſent from the worthy *Davenant* in this, That he would have Paſtors to be Magiſtrates, and I would have Paſtors to be but mere Paſtors, and the Office of the Magiſtrates to be an Office by itſelf, and truſted with fit Perſons who are no Paſtors, and who may intend it, and make it their Work: Yet, thus far I agree, that it is moſt convenient and godly, that, throughout all the Churches, there be in every Place an Heir of Reſtraint, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon them that do Evil, and to protect the Good; that theſe two ſtanding Ordinances of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and of God the Father by him, may ſtand and conſiſt together, and walk Hand in Hand, and mutually ſupport and conſerve each other for the Glory of God, and the Good of Church and Commonwealth. And this is no *Utopia*, or *Platonick* Idea, or Form of a Commonwealth, which is but a Fiction or Imagination, no where to be found in this World: But it is obvious and plain to all, and needs not ſo much any new Inſtitution, as a Reſtoration of ancient Practice, and a faithful Execution of what all Sides agree in, conſiſtent with the Municipal Laws and Sanctions of this Kingdom.

40. If any ſhall think I have committed Inexpediency, in Writing againſt Inexpediency, and have meddled with a Point, that will not abide to be meddled with; when I am convinced of it, I will acknowledge my Error: Till then, I will ſtand upon mine own Defence, and plead Not Guilty. Almoſt imprudent is prudent: If any tax me of Pragmaticalneſs: I anſwer, It is Pragmaticalneſs, that I write againſt, and I cannot cure the Wound, unleſs I ſearch it to the Bottom, and apply to it ſuitable Plaiſters. Pragmatical Divines cannot content themſelves to be Divines in common with their Brethren; but they will play the Biſhops in another's Dioceſe, and think, it well becomes them to immerſe themſelves in State-affairs. If it ſhall be ſaid, that hereby I caſt Aſperſion upon the Government of the Nation, and cenſure the Judgment and Eſteem of many Generations of Princes, Parliaments,

wiſe Men, Divines and Counſellors: I anſwer, That, if it be lawful for a *Davenant* to aſſert in Schools, and publiſh to the World an erroneous Poſition, *Civilis juriſdictio jure conceditur ecclefiaſtici*; it cannot be thought unlawful by equal Judges, for another, though not to be named with *Davenant*, to aſſert the contrary, and ſhew the Unſoundneſs of his Opinion, though with all juſt Reverence to ſo worthy a Man. And, in doing this, I do but [illegible] the true Meaning and Extent of the f[illegible] mandment, and aſſert the Rights of t[illegible] univerſal, and the conſentient Judgm[illegible] beſt and ſoundeſt Divines, and the d[illegible] of Magiſtracy and Miniſtry, and redu[illegible] to primitive Order and Simplicity, ac[illegible] the Pattern of Chriſt and his Apoſtle[illegible] firſt and pureſt Times of the Church.

The grand Concern of *England* explained *, in ſeveral Propoſals offered to the Conſideration of the Parliament.

1. For Payment of publick Debts.
2. For Advancement and Encouragement of Trade.
3. For Raiſing the Rents of Lands.

In Order whereunto, it is proved neceſſary,

I. That a Stop be put to further Buildings in and about *London*.
II. That the Gentry be obliged to live, ſome Part of the Year, in the Country.
III. That Regiſters be ſettled in every County.
IV. That an Act for Naturaliſing all foreign Proteſtants, and Indulging them, and his Majeſty's Subjects at Home, in Matters of Conſcience, may be paſſed.
V. That the Act, prohibiting the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattle, may be repealed,
VI. That Brandy, Coffee, Mum, Tea, and Chocolate may be prohibited.
VII. That the Multitude of Stage-Coaches and Caravans may be ſuppreſſed.
VIII. That no Leather may be exported unmanufactured.
IX. That a *Court of Conſcience* be ſettled for *Weſtminſter*, and all the Suburbs of *London*, and in every City and Corporation of *England*.

X. That

* *Vide* the 300th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets.

X. That the extravagant Habits and Expence of all Perſons may be curbed, the exceſſive Wages of Servants and Handicrafts-men may be reduced, and all foreign Manufactures may be prohibited.

XI. That it may be made lawful to aſſign Bills, Bonds, and other Securities; and that a Courſe be taken, to prevent the Knavery of Bankrupts.

XII. That the *Newcaſtle* Trade for Coals may be managed by Commiſſioners, to the Eaſe of the Subjects, and great Advantage of the Publick.

XIII. That the Fiſhing-trade may be vigorouſly proſecuted, all poor People ſet at Work to make Fiſhing-tackle, and be paid out of the Money collected every Year, for the Poor, in the ſeveral Pariſhes in *England.*

By a Lover of his Country, and Well-wiſher to the Proſperity both of the King and Kingdoms. *London*, printed in the Year, 1673. *Quarto*, containing ſixty-four Pages.

Propoſals humbly offered to the Conſideration of the Parliament, &c.

1. *For Diſcharging the publick Debts of the Kingdom.*
2. *For Encouraging and Advancement of Trade.*
3. *The Increaſe of the Rents of Lands.*

THE Honour, Intereſt, and Safety of a Kingdom lies in Maintaining the Grandeur and Dignity of their King, and the Prerogative of his Crown; the which can no Way be better ſecured, than by Providing him a plentiful Revenue wherewith to defray the publick Expences of the Kingdom, encourage and help all his Friends and Allies, maintain Forces for his own, his Subjects, and the Kingdom's Safeguard at Home, and a ſufficient Fleet at Sea for the Security of Trade Abroad, and Defence of his Kingdom againſt all foreign Princes and Potentates; and, wherewith alſo, to diſcharge ſuch publick Debts as are juſtly owing to any Perſon upon valuable Conſideration.

If the Payment of publick Debts were provided for, the reſt would be eaſily ſecured, without any great Charge to the People, and the King be freed from the Neceſſity of Calling for freſh Supply every Year from his Subjects, which now comes very hard, and makes Parliaments uneaſy to themſelves, as well as to thoſe whoſe Repreſentatives they are.

The vaſt Debt contracted by his Majeſty, when beyond the Seas; the great Sums he hath, ſince his happy Reſtoration, given to relieve ſome of the many poor, yet loyal Subjects, that ſerved him and his Royal Father faithfully, and loſt their Limbs and Eſtates in their Service; the great Debts he found the Kingdom in to the Army and Navy, when he came firſt Home, which are all paid off, excepting about one-hundred and fifty-thouſand Pounds, that hath been under Conſideration of the Parliament, which, if not paid, will be the Ruin of many

Thouſands

Thouſands of poor Families, who advanced the ſame for his Majeſty's Service, and it was all employed for bringing him Home.

The great Charge of the laſt and this preſent *Dutch* War, both which his Majeſty hath been neceſſitated unto, for the Preſervation of the Dignity of his Perſon, which they ſo baſely ſcorned and contemned, the Honour of his Kingdom, and the Intereſt and Security of Trade; theſe, together with the Monies expended in the Reparations of his ruined Houſes, Repurchaſing his own Goods, and others for Furniſhing his Royal Palaces, and many other publick Affairs, have called for frequent and great Supplies.

Which, howbeit, the Parliament have thought fit freely to grant, when the King hath deſired the ſame, and paſſed ſeveral Acts for Poll-money, Benevolence-money, Subſidies, Hearth-money, additional Exciſe, Taxes upon the Law, Poundage upon Rents, and Land-taxes, yet the publick Debts are very great, and the Reaſon of it is plainly, becauſe whatever hath been given, except Land-taxes, was ſo over-valued in the Granting thereof, the Grants ſo uncertain, the Collecting ſo troubleſome and chargeable, and the Payment ſo vexatious to the People, that the End of the Parliament hath not been anſwered, the King hath not had the Supply intended, nor the Subjects the Benefit or Eaſe deſigned; but the quite contrary Events have happened.

So that it is humbly conceived, there is Nothing can be more for the Intereſt and Advantage of the King and Kingdom, than for the Parliament to examine what the publick Debts really are, how contracted, and when; and to ſee where the King has been well or ill uſed, where Perſons have made uſurious or advantageous Contracts, and taken Advantage of the King's Neceſſities, to impoſe ill Commodities, and at unreaſonable Rates, upon him, and there to reduce the Debt to ſuch a Proportion, as the Commodity ſold was, at the Time of ſuch Sale, really worth; and to ſee where the King has been juſtly dealed with; which done, and the Accounts being brought to Balance, and the Debt ſtated and known, then at once to raiſe ſo much Money as may diſcharge the Whole, and appoint Perſons to ſee the Money, ſo to be raiſed, diſpoſed to that and no other Uſe, allowing them indifferent Salaries for their Pains, that ſo they may mind the Work, and receive no Manner of Fees or Advantage from the Creditor, whereby the publick Debt may be leſſened; for whoever hath truſted the King had a Reſpect, in ſetting his Price on the Commodities ſold, to the Time, he thought he ſhould ſtay for his Money, the Uncertainty of ever Receiving it, the vaſt Charge he muſt be at in *Exchequer*-Fees, Gratuities, &c. whenever he ſhould have obtained the ſame, and much that publick Debts were at firſt and frequently ſold at ſixty or ſeventy Pounds per Cent. And ſo, What hinders but that, if this Method be prudently managed by Perſons to be intruſted for that Purpoſe, the publick Debts may be leſſened, and the more eaſily paid? Which done, the Subjects may reaſonably expect, and hope, for the Future, to be at Quiet, and freed from the Fears they are now under of a Parliament's Meeting, leſt ſtill there ſhould be freſh Supplies for the Purpoſes aforeſaid demanded, and given, and no End be known of ſuch Gifts; and yet, to his Majeſty's and the Kingdom's great Diſhonour, both at Home and Abroad, the publick Debts ſtill remain undiſcharged. And, if Money for this Purpoſe ſhall be, by the Parliament, thought fit to be given, it is humbly offered and ſubmitted to their Conſiderations, Whether there can be any Way in the World found more certain, equal, and eaſy to raiſe the ſame, than by a Land-tax? For then they will know what it is they give, when, and how certainly it will come in, and the Time when the ſame will end, and may proportion their Contracts and Payments accordingly. Beſides, a Land-tax will be a certain Fund for to advance Money upon in a ſhort Time, at eaſy Intereſt, wherewith ſpeedily to diſcharge and pay off thoſe Debts, for which now great Intereſt is to be paid.

I know it will be objected, That Land is a Drug, bears little or no Price to be let, or be ſold; what Rent it is let for Tenants are not able to pay; for to lay Taxes upon that would utterly undo the Gentry, who have Nothing to live upon but their Rents.

To this I anſwer, That it is very true, Lands let poorly, Rents are ill paid, and yield very little, if ſold. But let us examine the Reaſons hereof, and ſee if ſome Things may not be propoſed to remedy thoſe Miſchiefs, and bring Land to its former Value; which, if we do, then every Man will certainly be of Opinion, that a Land-tax is the beſt Way to raiſe Money, and be glad, on that Condition, to have it impoſed.

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I am of Opinion,, that Gentlemen's being wanting to themſelves is the greateſt Occaſion of the Decay of their Eſtates, and lowering of their Rents. Now, in Order to their bringing them to the ſame Rate and Value, if not to a better, than they formerly bore, I humbly propoſe that theſe ſeveral Particulars following, which can only be done by Act of Parliament, may be enacted as Laws. And I ſhall endeavour to demonſtrate the Miſchiefs we ſuffer for Want of them, and the great Advantages we may rationally expect to receive by their being enacted:

1. I propoſe, That a Stop be put to any farther Buildings in, or about, the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, Borough of *Southwark*, or in any Place within the Weekly Bills of Mortality, the Head being already too big for the Body: And that a Year's Value of all Houſes built upon new Foundations may, by the Owners of ſuch Houſes, be paid to the King towards Payment of publick Debts, which would advance above three-hundred-thouſand Pounds.

2. That all the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, who have Eſtates in the Country, and are not obliged to attend on his Majeſty by Reaſon of their Offices, be enjoined, with their Families, to live where their Eſtates do lie, ſo many Months in each Year, as to the Wiſdom of Parliament ſhall ſeem meet.

3. That a Bill be paſſed for ſetting up of Regiſters in every County for regiſtering Sales, Mortgages, Leaſes for Term of Years or Lives, and all other real Securities, and, if poſſible, all Bonds, *&c.* which Work may be done with little Charge to the Subject, and yet a Profit of above fifty-thouſand Pounds *per Annum* ariſe to the Publick.

4. That an Act for a general Naturaliſing of all foreign Proteſtants be paſſed, and an Aſſurance of Liberty of Conſcience given to all that ſhall come over into *England*, and place themſelves and Families amongſt us: And that the ſame Privilege be given to his Majeſty's Subjects at Home.

5. That the Act for Prohibition of the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattle be repealed, and a Trade between the two Kingdoms eſtabliſhed, whereby his Majeſty's Revenue of Cuſtoms would be advanced above eighty-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

6. That Brandy and Mum, Coffee and Tea, be prohibited, and Coffee-houſes ſuppreſſed, which may be done without any Diminution of his Majeſty's Revenue of Exciſe.

7. That the Multitude of Stage-coaches and Caravans now travelling upon the Roads be all or moſt of them ſuppreſſed, eſpecially thoſe within forty or fifty Miles of *London*, where they are no Way neceſſary, and yet moſt numerous and miſchievous; and that a due Regulation be made of ſuch as ſhall be thought fit to be continued. Which done, his Majeſty's Exciſe would be worth above thirty-thouſand Pounds *per Annum* more than it now is, and the Poſt-Office by ſix-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

8. That the Act for Tranſportation of Leather unmanufactured be repealed, or ſo far diſcountenanced at leaſt, that it be not renewed when the ſeven Years are expired.

9. That a Court, in the Nature of the *Court of Requeſt* in *London*, be eſtabliſhed for *Weſtminſter*, *Southwark*, and all Parts within the Weekly Bills of Mortality, if poſſible, and in every City and Town Corporate in *England*, to determine Differences between poor People, for ſmall Debts, Words, or Treſpaſſes, that ſo they may not be undone by Law-ſuits.

10. That a Bound be put to the extravagant Habits and Expences of all Sorts of Perſons, that Servants and Handicraft-tradeſmen's exceſſive Wages may be reduced, and that no foreign Manufactures, except from *Ireland*, be ſuffered to be worn in *England*, but that the Importation and Expoſing of them knowingly to Sale be both made Felony.

11. That it be made lawful to aſſign Bills, Bonds, and other Securities, and the Frauds of Men breaking, with Deſign to inrich themſelves out of their Creditors Eſtates, may be prevented.

12. That the *Newcaſtle* Trade for Coals may be managed by Commiſſioners for his Majeſty, which would be a great Advantage to the Subjects, and raiſe his Majeſty above three-hundred-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

13. That the Fiſhing Trade be encouraged, all Poor ſet at Work to provide Tackle for that Uſe, and be paid out of the Money collected yearly in every Pariſh throughout *England* for Relief of the Poor, which would be of vaſt Advantage to the Publick.

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In Order to the evincing of the Neceſſity of prohibiting any further Buildings, in and about *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and of the Gentry's being confined to live, ſome Part of the Year, upon their Eſtates in the Country; I deſire every ſerious conſiderate Perſon, that knew *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the Suburbs thereof, forty or fifty Years ago, when *England* was far richer, and more populous, than now it is, to tell me, whether, by additional Buildings upon new Foundations, the ſaid Cities, and Suburbs, ſince that Time, are not become at leaſt a third Part bigger than they were; and whether, in thoſe Days, they were not thought, and found large enough, to give a due Reception to all Perſons that were fit, or had Occaſion to reſort thither, whereupon all further Buildings, on new Foundations, even in thoſe Days, were prohibited? Nevertheleſs, above thirty-thouſand Houſes, great and ſmall, have been ſince built, the Conſequences whereof may be worthy of our Conſideration. Theſe Houſes are all inhabited; conſidering then what Multitudes of whole Families, formerly dwelling in, and about the ſaid Cities, were cut off by the two laſt dreadful Plagues, as alſo by the War Abroad and at Home, by Land and by Sea, and how many have tranſported themſelves, or been tranſported, into our foreign Plantations; and it muſt naturally follow, that thoſe who inhabit theſe new Houſes, and many of the old ones, muſt be Perſons coming out of the Country; which makes ſo many Inhabitants the leſs there, where they are moſt needful and wanting. For the Occaſion of the Rents of Lands Falling, every Year, ariſes not ſo much from Lands growing worſe, as becauſe of the Want of Tenants, with good Stocks, to manage the Farms they take. And this Miſchief hath been, and is in great Meaſure occaſioned, by theſe additional Buildings; for, had they not been erected, thoſe, who inhabit them, would have been in the Country, living an induſtrious and laborious Life, improving their Stocks, and thereby advantaging Gentlemen's Lands, and the Trade of the Nation. But now, if a Man get two or three-hundred Pounds in his Pocket, up he comes to *London*, takes a Houſe, pays a Fine, lays out the reſt of his Money in furniſhing it for Lodgers, thereby promiſing himſelf a lazy Life, free from Care; or elſe he ſets up an Ale-houſe, or Brandy-houſe, both tending to the Debauching and Deſtroying of Youth, which had there not been theſe Buildings to entice them hither, and give Shelter, then thoſe Men, with three or four-hundred Pounds Stocks, employed in the Country, might have made each of them a good Tenant for a Farm of one or two-hundred Pounds, per Annum, which Farms, by their Removing to *London*, are thrown into the Landlords Hands, ſo that, by a moderate Calculation, it is judged, that there are ſixty-thouſand Families, at leaſt, now in, and about *London*, more than would, or could conveniently have been, if theſe Houſes had not been built; which Families, if they had continued in the Country, would have kept up the Value of Lands, which fall only for Want of Tenants: If therefore, more Buildings ſhould be hereafter erected, more Miſchiefs, in all Probability will be done of this Kind to the Country; and really, Gentlemen may thank themſelves for the Prejudice they receive by theſe Means, they having given the Example, and been the Occaſion thereof. For they, never thinking their Eſtates would have an End, weary of an honeſt and commendable Country Life, come up to *London* to ſee Faſhions, fall into ill Company, learn how to run out of all their Eſtates in a ſhort Time, by extravagant Habits, Gaming, Drinking, and other Debaucheries, deſtructive to their Healths, as much as Eſtates; as if to have lived in the Country, upon their own Eſtates, and to have taken Care of, and managed them, and kept a handſome Retinue of Servants, and a good Houſe of Hoſpitality, and to have taken off their Tenants Proviſions, for their Family Expences, in Part of their Rents, Relieving and Setting the Poor at Work, and Encouragement of Art, Induſtry, and Labour, were not ſo commendable in them, or ſo much for their Advantage, and Honour, as to live idly in *London*, purſuing their luſtful Pleaſures, paying, whilſt their own Houſes ſtand empty, and go to Ruin for Want of being inhabited, more for their Lodgings, than would maintain their Families handſomely in the Country, and increaſe the Conſumption of the Proviſions, and Manufactures of the Kingdom, than which nothing can conduce more to the Improvement of Land. I would deſire to know of any ſober Perſon, how far the many Gentlemen, who have thus fooliſhly and idly run themſelves out of their Eſtates,

Eſtates, have done Good with the ſame; Who is the better for it? Is the Country, where their Eſtates lie, or their Tenants that rent them? Or the poor Inhabitants about them? No, not at all, but all the worſe, and undone thereby; for when theſe Perſons come firſt to *London*, they bring up all the Money they can get in Specie, and no ſooner do their Rents grow due in the Country, but they, or their Bailiffs or Stewards, rack the poor Tenants for the ſame, gather in all that they can get, and ſue, or diſtrain, where Money is not preſently to be had, taking away Tenants Cattle, ſelling them for Half their Worth, and thereby ruin, not only idle Perſons, or ill Huſbands, that have run out of their Stocks, but alſo many induſtrious Men, and great Huſbands, who have Stock and Goods enough, if ſold, wherewith to anſwer the Rent; and the Want of a Vent, for the Product of their Farms, is the only Reaſon, why they could not raiſe preſent Money for their Landlords. How many Perſons, by theſe Means, have been undone, forced to leave their Farms, which thereby have been thrown into their Owners Hands; who have been forced both to abate Rents, and keep their Farms a Year or two, without making any Thing of them, before they could diſpoſe of them again? And I know none the better for theſe Things, but the Gentry's and Nobility's Bailiffs and Stewards, who being intruſted to let and ſet, receive Rents, and manage their Maſters Eſtates, do by their neglecting to call them to Account, or looking after, and diſpoſing their own Affairs, grow vaſtly rich, and frequently, in Truſtees Names, become Purchaſers of their Maſters Eſtates; whilſt they in the mean Time, by Means as aforeſaid, become greatly impoveriſhed. The rather, for that frequently, when they receive their Maſters Rents, they pretend the Tenants have them in their Hands, and put their Maſters, thereby, under Neceſſity of borrowing Money for their preſent Supplies; which when they have done, they, being employed to procure the ſame, do frequently furniſh them with their own Money, making them pay Brokerage, Procuration, and Continuation-Money, and Intereſt for the ſame, which helps forward their Ruin.

In ſhort, theſe new Buildings are advantageous to none but to the Owners of the Ground, on which they are built, who have raiſed their wonted Rents, from a hundred Pound, to five or ſix-hundred Pounds, *per Annum*, beſides the Improvements in Reverſion; or to the Builders, who by ſlight Buildings on long Leaſes, make ten or twelve Pounds, *per Cent.* of their Monies. But, the Advantage of theſe Perſons being the Country's great Prejudice, therefore, in my poor Opinion, it ſeems agreeable to Reaſon, that they ought to help to pay the publick Debts of the Kingdom; and the Country, who are hurt by them, ſhould be eaſed: And for them to pay one Year, or a Year and Half's improved Rent to the King, would not be much, conſidering the Greatneſs of the Improvement they have, and are like to make. So that admitting that there are thirty-thouſand Houſes, built upon new Foundations as aforeſaid, and that each of thoſe Houſes, one with another, ſhould pay but ten Pounds, *per Ann.* Rent, and the King ſhould have but one Year's Rent, from each Houſe, the ſame would amount unto above three-hundred-thouſand Pounds, which would go a great Way in the diſcharging the publick Debts; but one Year's Rent, from each of theſe Houſes, it is conceived, would come to above five-hundred-thouſand Pounds; and the Forcing them, that have built contrary to the Statute, to pay ſuch a Fine, would deter others from Building for the Future, of which there can be no Need; conſidering that there are above Three-thouſand brave Houſes, which, for the Honour of the Nation, are at great Charge, to the Ruin of the Builders, rebuilt, ſtand empty within *London* Walls, and are like ſo to do, by Reaſon that the Trade is drawn out of the City, to the new erected Buildings in the Suburbs, where the Inhabitants have theſe Advantages following:

1. They have Houſes at eaſier Rates, becauſe built at leſſer Charge, than thoſe in the City, which were built when all Materials were very ſcarce and dear, and Workmen's Wages extreme high.

2. They are certain, in moſt Places, to raiſe their Rents, by letting Lodgings, eſpecially, near the Inns of Court, *Whitehall*, and *Weſtminſter*, the Gentry coveting to lodge thereabouts; and they have not only Lodgings, but the Advantage of their Cuſtomer alſo, for ſuch Commodities as they ſell, and their Lodgers want. Which hinders the Trade of the Ci-

ty, where little or no Benefit at all is made by Lodgings.

3. They are not liable to a third Penny of Charges for Taxes, and publick Duties, that they are, who live within the City; whereby they can afford to ſell at a lower Rate, than in *London* they can do. All which inevitably tends to Deſtruction of the Trade, within the Walls.

III.

THE third Thing propoſed is *A Bill of Regiſters*; that in every County a Regiſter may be ſettled, to regiſter all Bills of Sale, Judgments, Statutes, Recogniſances, Bonds, Mortgages, Leaſes, and Conveyances of Land; than which nothing can be of greater Advantage to Gentlemen, Security to Purchaſers, or Benefit to the Publick, without Hurt to any, unleſs the Profeſſors of the Law, or ſuch who intend and deſign to defraud Purchaſers.

Thoſe, therefore, that ſhall oppoſe ſo excellent and beneficial an Act as this, muſt be either, firſt, ſuch who live by the Practice of the Law; or, ſecondly, ſuch as underſtand not their own Intereſt; or, thirdly, ſuch as deſign to live by defrauding others. The Oppoſition, ariſing from the Practiſers of the Law, is not ſo much from their Conviction, that the Thing in itſelf is not good and beneficial to the Publick, as from Self-intereſt, which too much governs all Sorts of Men in this Age, Men being apt to prefer private Advantage before a general Good. I confeſs, a Regiſter may prove a great Hinderance to thoſe of that Profeſſion; for, in a ſhort Time, it would prevent the Multitude of Suits, that yearly ariſe between his Majeſty's Subjects, occaſioned by the Cheats that are committed for Want of ſuch a Regiſtry as is propoſed, and, perhaps, would ſave the Subjects, at leaſt, two or three hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, which now are ſpent in thoſe Suits; which, if prevented, and the Money ſaved to the People, would be employed in Trade, or ſpent upon the Manufactures and Proviſions of the Kingdom; and ſo the Number of Attornies would not increaſe, as of late they have done, there being about Six-thouſand of them, beſides Sollicitors, who live ſcattered about the Country; moſt of whom could not ſubſiſt, but by making it their whole Study and Buſineſs to promote Suits and Controverſies, and encourage quarrelſome Perſons to bring Actions againſt their Neighbours for ſmall Matters, or paſſes, or a frivolous, haſty, paſſionate Word or two; thoſe Perſons of that Employment taking Advantage thereby of inriching themſelves by impoveriſhing the Subject; whereas were it not for them, ſuch Differences might happily be compoſed in a friendly and amicable Way.

The ſecond Sort, that I preſume may oppoſe this Act, are Men not ſenſible of their own Intereſt and Advantage, nor of that of the Publick; for, if a Regiſter were kept of all Sales, Leaſes for Years or Lives, Mortgages, Judgments, Statutes, Recogniſances, and of all other real Securities, that will or can lay hold on Lands, ſo that in every County, where any Gentleman's Eſtate lieth, a Man may know, by the Regiſter, what Eſtate he hath in that County, and what Incumbrances are upon it. Therefore, if it were declared by Law, that no Incumbrance ſhall be good, but ſuch as, if made or entered into before the Act for Settling Regiſters be paſſed, ſhall be regiſtered within one Year after the Paſſing thereof; or, if made or entered into after the Paſſing the ſaid Act, ſhall be regiſtered within one Month, or two, after ſuch Conveyances or Securities are entered into or made, or otherwiſe be void, it would highly be for the Advantage of all Gentlemen, that either have or may have Land to ſell, or would borrow Money upon Mortgages: For then they ſhall not need to be beholden unto thoſe Men, that make it their Trades to diſpoſe of Gentlemen's Money, to help Gentlemen to Purchaſers for their Lands, or to take up Money upon Securities, whom now they are forced to make Uſe of, and pay great Sums for Brokerage, Procuration, and Continuation-money. Whereupon I deſire every Gentleman to conſider, when he comes to *London*, and wants Money, how difficult a Thing he finds it to ſupply himſelf therewith, tho' he offer good Land-ſecurity. What Begging, Intreating, Running from Place to Place? What Expences is he put to? And, when all is done, let him conſider, whether he can be accommodated without City-ſecurity, which runs him into further Obligations and Expences to procure; and, if he does get ſuch, whether he be ever the leſs conſtrained to pay Three, Four, or Five *per Cent.* for Procuring, and ſometimes, *viis & modis*, Ten *per Cent.*

Cent. for what he borrows: And then, it being lent but for a Year, the Procurers thereof, and their Emiſſaries, being wont to contrive which Way to make their further Advantage of the Borrowers, do commonly, at the nine Months End, ſend them Word, that the Perſons, whoſe Money they borrowed, have great Occaſions for the ſame, and are forced to call it in, and muſt have it when due; but, withal, they uſually adviſe them not to be troubled, or take any Care; for, if they cannot raiſe the Money themſelves, they will furniſh them elſewhere, having the like Conſideration for their Pains as before; the which theſe Gentlemen are forced to agree unto, becauſe, perhaps, they know not elſewhere to have it: And, when they have thus done, then they go to the Perſons, whoſe Money they had lent to theſe Gentlemen the Year before, and tell them, that the Gentlemen that borrowed the ſame deſire to pay it in, when it ſhall be due; who, finding and believing their Security good, are loth to receive it, never having given any Direction to call it in, nor knowing how better to diſpoſe thereof, when they receive the ſame; whereupon, to pleaſe them alſo, they inform them, that other good Security is ready for them, ſo that the Money ſhall not lie dead; and ſo they get the Advantage of the Gentleman that had the Money, by procuring other Sums for them in Lieu thereof, and of the Perſons to whom they lend the Money ſo called in: Inſomuch that, by frequent Shifting the Loan-money from one Hand to another, they ſometimes receive to themſelves, from the Perſons borrowing, as much as the principal Sum lent amounted to, for Procuration, Brokerage, and Continuation; whereby the Borrowers at laſt are brought to ſell their Eſtates, and, being reduced to ſuch Neceſſities by the Subtleties of theſe Perſons, are forced to be beholden to them to procure Purchaſers; which when they perceive, they uſually play their Game as followeth: — The Seller is by them perſuaded that they can get no Purchaſer, but ſuch as doth object againſt their Title, or their Perſons, uſing many frivolous Delays, till they drive them to ſuch Diſtreſs, that they muſt ſell at any Rate: And then their Living remote in the Country, or being under Protections, as Parliament-men or Courtiers; or their Eſtates lying far from *London*, or the Uncertainty of what Incumbrances may be thereupon, are Objections which they raiſe, pretending, that all Men they propoſe their Eſtates unto (upon theſe, or ſuch-like Accounts) are afraid to deal with them, unleſs ſuch as wait for good Bargains, and will not purchaſe, except they can buy below the Market-price. By which Means they ſo contrive the Matter with the Venders, that they force them to ſell that for thirteen, fourteen, or fifteen Years Purchaſe, which really is worth twenty; and, out of that Contract, their Manner is to bargain for a good Gratuity for themſelves, although they at the ſame Time have agreed with the Purchaſer, that is to have the Land, for one or two Years Purchaſe more than they are to pay to the Sellers. And, the better to manage their Deſigns, the Buyers are concealed, and the Land-brokers and Jobbers of Land find other Perſons to perſonate the Purchaſer, ſo that the Vender is never ſuffered to know or ſee them, till the Writings be drawn; wherein the Conſiderations are frequently expreſſed to be a Year or two's Purchaſe more, than the Vender is to receive for the ſame; which when they queſtion the Reaſon of, they are informed, That it is done only to enable the Purchaſers to demand better Prices, when they ſell the ſame, and to keep up the reputed Value thereof.—Thus do they inrich themſelves, by impoſing upon Gentlemen in Extremity, through an artificial Debaſing the Value of their Eſtates, exacting great Gratuities from the Purchaſers alſo. This is the common Practice of your Land-brokers and Jobbers, and their Confederates: But, if Regiſters were ſettled, and all Incumbrances regiſtered, ſo that Men might be ſecure, no dormant Securities, after they have lent their Money upon Mortgages, or purchaſed for valuable Conſiderations, could be ſtarted up to defeat them of their Intereſts; and then Gentlemen, that have Money lying dead by them, would be as glad to lend it, at eaſy Rates, to honeſt Gentlemen upon good Security, as thoſe that want it would be glad to be ſupplied therewith; and Lands, undoubtedly, would come to be worth, as formerly, twenty Years Purchaſe, if Men could but be ſecured in their Titles. So that all Perſons, that either have, or ſuppoſe they ever may have, any Eſtates to ſell, or Money to borrow, underſtand not their own Intereſt, if they oppoſe the Settling of the Regiſters propoſed.

The laſt Sort of People, that I preſume may be aggrieved at this Regiſtry, are ſuch who

have lived high, and ſpent their Eſtates extravagantly, and, perhaps, entered into Judgments, Statutes, and Recogniſances to double the Value thereof, and have mortgaged their Lands over and over, and then get Protections, whereby they keep off Suits, or abſcond themſelves, ſo that they cannot be found by their Creditors, and are wont thereby to keep their Eſtates in Poſſeſſion, and can no Way for the Future live, but by doing further Acts of Diſhoneſty; which, whilſt their Eſtates remain in their Poſſeſſion, they have Opportunity to do: Such unrighteous Actions will for the Future be prevented, and the preſent Deſigns of this Nature be defeated, if Regiſters be ſettled; ſo that ſuch Perſons are concerned to oppoſe the ſame. But, I hope, ſuch Creatures as theſe are, and their Deſigns, will be eaſily ſeen through, and have little Reſpect given them by Parliament.

In ſhort, were the Regiſtry, as deſired, ſettled, and the Profit ariſing thereby brought into the *Exchequer*, the Work may be done, good Allowances appointed for thoſe that ſhall be employed therein, and but a ſmall Sum would be impoſed upon the Subjects for Regiſtering their Claim, and yet, by Computation, at leaſt fifty-thouſand Pounds *per Annum* be brought into the Treaſury; which would be an additional Help towards Payment of the publick Debts.

IV.

THE Fourth Thing propoſed is, That an Act be paſſed for a general Naturaliſation of all foreign Proteſtants, and for granting Liberty of Conſcience to ſuch of them as ſhall come over and inhabit amongſt us, and that the like Liberty be given to his Majeſty's Subjects at Home. There is nothing ſo much wanting in *England* as People; and, of all Sorts of People, the induſtrious and laborious Sort, and Handicraft-men, are wanted to till and improve our Land, and help to manufacture the ſtaple Commodities of the Kingdom; which would add greatly to the Riches thereof.

The two laſt great Plagues, the Civil Wars at Home, and the ſeveral Wars with *Holland*, *Spain*, and *France*, have deſtroyed ſeveral Hundred-thouſands of Men, which lived amongſt us; beſides, vaſt Numbers have tranſported themſelves, or been tranſported into *Ireland*, and other our foreign Plantations; who, when they were living amongſt us, did eat our Proviſions, wore our Manufactures; employed themſelves [illegible] other, beneficial to the Nation; the Want of which calls for a Supply of People from ſome Place or other; and it is, in my Judgment, worthy our Obſervation, That thoſe Men, thoſe loſt from amongſt us, are of great Conſideration, and the Loſs more miſchievous to the Kingdom, than merely the Death or Removal of ſo many Perſons, conſidering that they were Men in the Prime of their Years, in perfect Strength; ſuch, who had they not dyed, or been killed, or removed, might every Year have begotten Children, and thereby increaſed the World; ſo that three Times the Number of Children might have been better ſpared than they. For Inſtance: Say there be but one-hundred thouſand Men, by theſe Means, gone from amongſt us; and, inſtead of them three-hundred thouſand Children had been taken away, and the Men left, it would have been much better; for they in two Years and a half, or three Years Time, might have gotten ſo many Children again; but the Men dying, or being gone, and the Children living, it may be ten or twenty Years before they come to marry and beget Children: And, notwithſtanding the great Miſchief this Nation hath ſuſtained by the Loſs of theſe Men, yet ſo inconſiderate are the Inhabitants thereof, concerning their own Intereſt (which, if poſſible, is to have the Kingdom full of People) that they are taking up another Way to prevent the Peopling thereof for the Future, there being, almoſt all over *England*, a Spirit of Madneſs running Abroad, and poſſeſſing Men againſt Marrying, rather chuſing to have Miſtreſſes, by whom very few ever have any Children: And many married Women, by their lewd Converſations, prevent the Bringing forth many Children, which otherwiſe they might have had. Theſe Humours and Practices, if continued, will prove ſo miſchievous, that, unleſs Foreigners come in amongſt us, in few Years there will not be People to manure our Lands, eat our Proviſions, wear our Manufactures, or manufacture the ſtaple Commodities that are of the Growth of the Kingdom; without which, it is no Wonder if Lands yield little Rent, or ſell not for above fourteen or fifteen Years Purchaſe.

And if Foreigners muſt come over, or our Eſtates here grow worſe, there muſt then Encouragement be given them ſo to do; elſe they will

will think themſelves well ſeated where they are, following their Trades, increaſing their Eſtates, enjoying all the Liberties and Privileges of Free-born Subjects, know how, and have Liberty and Encouragement, to improve their Eſtates; and, when they have got them, can keep them; therefore will never come themſelves, nor bring over their Families or Eſtates amongſt us here, to be accounted of as Aliens or Strangers, ſuch as may not purchaſe Eſtates amongſt us; and, if they do, ſhall not enjoy the ſame, nor their Children after them. That Sort of People which we moſt want are ſuch, who, though they would come over, and dwell amongſt us, yet cannot ſpare fifty or ſixty Pounds out of their Stock to procure themſelves naturaliſed by Act of Parliament; eſpecially if they bring over Wife and Children with them, which would be more advantageous for us, than for them to come over alone: Or, if they ſhould ſpare Money to naturaliſe themſelves, yet, perhaps, they may not have ſo much as to pay for the Naturaliſing of their Wives and Children; who, as our Laws are, cannot be permitted to inherit what their Fathers purchaſe, unleſs they be naturaliſed alſo. So that an Act for a general Naturaliſation is abſolutely neceſſary, if we will be ſupplied with People from foreign Parts: But the Paſſing ſuch an Act alone will not be ſufficient to encourage Foreigners to come and dwell amongſt us; there muſt be Liberty of Conſcience alſo granted unto them; and they muſt be aſſured that they ſhall not be impriſoned, baniſhed, or have their Eſtates ſeized, and taken from them, and ſold, only for Differing from the Church of *England*, in the Way of their Diſcipline, whilſt they agree in the Fundamentals of Religion, live peaceably under the Civil Government, and diſturb not the Government of the Church eſtabliſhed: For they, having ſuch Liberty Abroad where they are, will not, without Aſſurance of the ſame here, be induced to come amongſt us: How many Thouſands have left *England*, and gone to ſeek Shelter in foreign Parts, for the Perſecution they were under, for their Conſciences, who otherwiſe, with their Families, would have continued amongſt us? How many have been forced to leave their Trades, by being kept in Priſon, and having their Goods and Eſtates taken from them? How many, for Fear of being undone, not knowing, but that, as ſoon as their Goods come into their Shops, they may be ſeized, for their having been at Conventicles, have left their Trades, drawn off their Stocks, and keep up their Money, not knowing how ſoon they may have Occaſion to make Uſe of it, in the Time of their Diſtreſſes, which, otherwiſe, would have been employed in Trade, to the Benefit of the Kingdom? How many Thouſands of Farmers have been neceſſitated to leave their Farms, and come to dwell in *London*, or to live obſcurely in the Country, for Fear, leſt, when they ſhould have employed their Stocks, plowed and ſowed their Land, reaped their Corn, and ſtocked their Paſture-land, all ſhould be taken from them, and they impriſoned, and forced from their Families, for their Religion? Are not theſe great Miſchiefs to the Kingdom, and great Reaſons of the Decay of Trade, and of Gentlemen their wanting Tenants for their Land? A Thing ſo generally complained of, all over *England*, that Men are not ſuffered to live as they would do quietly, and employ and improve their Stocks, as they might do, to the Advantage of Trade, and the Kingdom in General; which, if they were permitted, would occaſion the Conſumption of more of the Proviſions and Manufactures of the Kingdom, employ more poor People at Work, and thereby improve the Rent of Lands, and would ſend many of the Gentry, and Farmers, who left the Country for the Reaſons aforeſaid, and now live obſcure in *London*, and ſome other Places, back to their Country-houſes, or to their Farms again; it would remove their Fears, quiet their Minds, and cauſe their Purſes again to be opened, and every one would be putting himſelf upon ſome Way of improving his Eſtate, and not live upon the main Stock, as now they are forced to do. It were greatly to be wiſhed, that there were more Love and Charity amongſt us; and that all Men would conſider ſeriouſly what they do, when they take upon themſelves thus to impoſe their own Principles upon all others, as ſuch that are only right, and condemn all others, as erroneous; this is to magnify themſelves as infallible, and deſpiſe all others.

Upon all theſe Reaſons, I humbly ſubmit to Judgment, Whether an Act for a general Naturaliſation, and Liberty of Conſcience, be not abſolutely neceſſary at this Time; and whether the Paſſing thereof may not be of great

great Advantage to the Kingdom, ſince it would increaſe Trade, promote a vaſt Conſumption of the Manufactures and Proviſions of the Kingdom; make us more induſtrious, employ more of our Poor, increaſe his Majeſty's Revenue of Cuſtoms, and bring our Lands to let for greater Rents, and to ſell more Years Purchaſe than ever heretofore they would have done.

V.

THE fifth Thing propoſed is, That the Act for Prohibition of the Importation of foreign Cattle, ſo far as it relates to *Ireland*, and *Weſtphalia* Hams, may be repealed.

This Act hath no Way anſwered the End, deſigned by the Paſſing thereof, but on the Contrary proved,

Firſt, Very prejudicial to his Majeſty in his Revenue of Cuſtoms.

Secondly, To all, or moſt of the Land-Owners in *England*.

Thirdly, To the Navigation and Trade of the Kingdoms.

Firſt, To his Majeſty; for, before this Act paſſed, there were ſo many great Cattle, and Sheep, imported from *Ireland*, as, computing the Cuſtom paid for them, and for the other Commodities, exported out of *England*, into *Ireland*, in Lieu of them, amounted yearly to eighty-thouſand Pounds, beſides the Cuſtoms of all *Norway*, *Spaniſh*, and *Weſtphalia* Hams; which Sum the King loſeth every Year, and the Kingdom, to their vaſt Prejudice, have loſt that Trade.

Secondly, To Land-Owners, this Prohibition muſt neceſſarily be a great Prejudice, if it be conſidered,

1. That the Breeding-lands of *England* are not able to raiſe a ſufficient Stock for the Feeding, ſix Months Feeding being as much as four Years Breeding.

2. That, by Reaſon of the Scarcity of ſuch Stock, the Breeders impoſe a greater Price on lean Cattle, than they will yield, when fatted, whereby Feeding-land becomes worth little or nothing.

3. That, for Want of *Iriſh* Cattle, the Victualling, both for Home-Conſumption, and foreign Trade, and Naval Proviſions, moſt of it is transferred from *England*, into *Ireland*, which is a great Prejudice to the Conſumption in *England*; ſo that lean Cattle, though they be dearer, becauſe of the Scarcity of them, yet fatted Cattle are cheaper, for Want of the Conſumption we formerly had. The Conſequence whereof is, That the Ends of the Prohibition are not anſwered, Rents of Lands are not raiſed; but on the Contrary, Feeding-lands muſt, and do fall, for Want of a cheap Stock; and our former Conſumption, and Breeding-lands, through the Decay of Trade, which this Prohibition hath occaſioned.

Thirdly, This Prohibition is prejudicial to Trade and Navigation.

1. Becauſe thoſe Foreigners, who formerly victualled here, do victual themſelves in *Ireland*.

2. And they have their Proviſions for the fourth Part of what we pay for ours; whereby they have a great Advantage in Point of Trade, and can ſail cheaper than we; which forceth the *Engliſh* to victual there alſo.

3. All *Iriſh* Cattle, which formerly came unto *England*, and for which they carried out no Money, but took of our Manufactures in Return, are carried to other Places beyond Sea, and from thence fetch the Commodities, wherewith we, before the Prohibition, ſupplied them. So that the Traders in *Lancaſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and other Northern Parts, where the Breeding-lands lie, their Loſs is greater for Want of a Conſumption of the Manufactures of thoſe Countries, which formerly were ſent into *Ireland*, than the Advantage, they receive by advancing the Price of lean Cattle, doth amount unto.

4. It hath forced the *Iriſh* for to leſſen their Herds of Cattle, and increaſe their Breed of Sheep, having gotten of our largeſt and beſt Breeders. So that now they have vaſt Flocks, and prodigious Quantities of Wool, beſides Hides and Tallow; which proves miſchievous to *England*, three Ways:

1. By their Sending Wool beyond Sea, unmanufactured; which, notwithſtanding the Prohibition, every Day they do, which being manufactured by Foreigners, they grow rich thereby; whilſt our Poor, in *England*, ſtarve for Want of the Work they had, when they were employed in manufacturing for a foreign Conſumption.

By

2. By Sending their Hides, Tallow, and Wool, in great Quantities into *England*; which, for Want of a Conſumption here, bring down the Price of our own Growth.

3. By Setting up the Woollen Manufactures in *Ireland*; where having the Wool, Land, and all Proviſions, cheaper than in *England*, they muſt neceſſarily have their Workmen cheaper; and, if ſo, they will be able to make enough, not only for their own Uſe, but to ſupply Foreigners alſo, with that which *England* uſed to ſupply them with heretofore; which, in a ſhort Time, if not prevented, will undermine the Staple, and moſt advantageous Trade of this Kingdom. It is the Intereſt of *England*, being the Seat of Government, to maintain a Pre-eminence in the Trade, and to ſee that the Manufactures thereof be preſerved intire within itſelf: Otherwiſe, by how much the more, *Ireland* is improved, by ſo much the more, *England* will be impaired therein. For they, working cheaper, lying nearer foreign Markets, and their Freight being leſs, do what we can, will underſel us, where-ever they come; whereby our Manufactures will be deſtroyed, and Manufacturers, with their Families, be ruined.

It is obſervable, 1. That the Trade with *Ireland* kept three or four-hundred Ships, in full Employ; which were paid by the *Iriſh* Freighters there, and occaſioned the Breeding many Seamen yearly; but now all thoſe Ships are laid aſide, the Breed of Seamen neglected, and that Trade managed in foreign Bottoms.

2. That the Cattle and Sheep formerly imported, by Computation, amounted unto a Million of Money, *per Annum*.

3. That they carried no Money out of *England*; but the Effect of their Cattle was all laid out in our Manufactures, or other Commodities, imported into *England*, and from thence ſent to *Ireland*; and the King had a Cuſtom paid both upon the Importation and Exportation, and alſo for every Head of Cattle brought over.

The *Iriſh*, being now prohibited this Trade, are neceſſitated to ſend all their Victuals to foreign Parts, where they ſell them for more than we paid for them, and buy whatever they want cheaper than they had them from us; by which Means they will be concerned to take no Commodities from *England*.

Nor can they trade with us, if they would, becauſe they have no Way to pay for what they buy, unleſs they bring over Money in Specie, to the Miſchief of that Kingdom, or by Bills of Exchange, which cannot be had under Fifteen, or Sixteen, *per Cent.* which is double the Profit gotten by thoſe that trade with them. That Exchange of Monies thence is very high, Gentlemen, whoſe Eſtates are returned over, do find, and by Reaſon thereof are forced to retrench a ſixth Part of their Expences here; which is a further Leſſening to the Conſumption of the Manufactures and Proviſions of this Kingdom, and of Trade with them, which is further dangerous; for, if we ſend Goods, they having a new Trade to foreign Parts, we muſt ſend our Stocks thither; ſo that, if any Loſs happen, it is the *Engliſh* that undergo it.

Ireland's being peopled from *England* was at firſt a Hurt to us, becauſe it leſſened the Conſumption of our Proviſions here. But to prohibit them Trade with us is ten Times worſe; for that not only takes off the Conſumption they uſed to make of our Manufactures, but deſtroys all thoſe Families in *England*, that uſed to be employed for their Supply: So that they can neither ſpend of the Proviſions, nor Manufactures of this Kingdom, as formerly they did.

And, beſides theſe Handicraftſmen, there are many eminent Trades in *London*, as Mercers, Milliners, Haberdaſhers, *&c.* ſuffer greatly; for, when Faſhions were out here, they uſed to ſend them into *Ireland*, in Return for their Cattle, and they went off as new there: For Want of which Utterance, many of thoſe Tradeſmen, by Reaſon of the often Changing of Faſhions amongſt us, have been, and are daily undone.

There is one other high Inconveniency like to fall upon *England*, by this Prohibition, which hath put *Ireland* upon Induſtry: For ſome Part of *Ireland*, lying nearer to *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, than *England* doth; and ſo the *Iriſh*, having Salt from *France*, and Caſk, and Men's Labour, and all Tackle for Fiſhing being cheaper there, than we have here, do ſet up the Fiſhing-trade there, from whence they need but one Wind, to carry them to their Markets; and they catch the Fiſh ſix Weeks before they come into *England*. If ſo, then what hinders but that they may cure them, and ſupply foreign Markets, ſooner and cheaper than we can?

Which,

Which, in Time, will deſtroy the Fiſheries of this Kingdom.

Not, but that *Ireland* ſhould have its proper Advantages, and may, if they pleaſe; there being many additional Manufactures that both they and we want, to which the Nature of that Soil, and the Inclination of the People, gives Encouragement; particularly, that of Linnen, the greateſt Part of the Country being Turf-Land, and naturally proper for Hemp and Flax; and being employed to that Uſe, with due Regulations, thoſe Commodities may be had cheaper there, and from thence, than from any other Part of the World; which would be a great Encouragement to the Setting up of the Manufactures thereof. It muſt neceſſarily be cheaper, becauſe Land is far cheaper there, than in thoſe Parts, from whence we have our Hemp and Flax; and what we fetch, comes charged with great Freight and Cuſtoms, which might be ſaved, if the Commodity were fetched from *Ireland*. What then would there be wanting, but a Method to manufacture this Commodity cheaper? Which done, that Place may ſupply, not only *England*, but all *Europe* with Linnen-cloth, at eaſier Rates, than now they pay for the ſame. And, if ſo, what hinders, but that they may ingroſs the whole Linnen-trade, and quickly grow rich? And, that they may manufacture cheaper there, conſider, that, in this Part of the World, there cannot be found a Place, where People may live cheaper, have Lands at eaſier Rates, than in *Ireland*; ſo then, conſequently, no Place in the World where People work for leſs than there. If, then, the Commodity to be wrought, and the Working of that Commodity be cheaper in *Ireland*, than in any other Part, the Manufactures, when wrought, may be ſold from thence cheaper than from any other Part; and this would bring Trade thither, take away no more of the Stock of this Nation, than is abſolutely neceſſary for the Supply of our Neceſſities. And it would be a great Advantage to the Kingdom, to be furniſhed with that within ourſelves, which we neceſſarily want, and are forced to depend upon Foreigners for.

In ſhort, the Prohibition of *Iriſh* Cattle puts them on a Neceſſity (for ſomething they muſt do with their Cattle, and the Product of their Lands, or be utterly deſtroyed) that Neceſſity forceth them to Induſtry; which Induſtry, if not determined with us, but continued or encouraged with Foreigners, the more induſtrious they are, the more pernicious it will be to *England*, in all its Concerns. For, if the *Iriſh*, by Reaſon of their Religion, and the Senſe of our conquering them, have (as ſome affirm, and I, and all *Engliſhmen*, have good Reaſon to believe) a natural Antipathy againſt us *Engliſhmen*, and as natural an Affection and Sympathy to and with Foreigners, who are of their own Perſuaſion and Religion: And, if Nations grow intimate, eſpouſe Intereſt, and mix by Trade and Commerce, it is humbly ſubmitted, Whether, for the Security of *England*, both in its Government and Trade, it be not adviſeable to annex *Ireland*, as a Province to *England*, as our Iſlands Abroad are annexed, whereby his Majeſty's Revenue of Cuſtoms would be advanced, at leaſt, eighty-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, which would help to pay the publick Debts, and do a publick Good to the Nation?

Concerning the Importation of *Weſtphalia* Hams, I have only this to ſay, That, though prohibited, yet they are imported, the King loſeth the Cuſtom of them which formerly he had, the Merchants buy them far cheaper beyond Sea than ever they did; in *England*, the Subjects pay twice as much as they might have bought them for, before the Prohibition, and not any Good is done to the Kingdom thereby.

VI.

THE ſixth Thing propoſed, is, the Prohibition of Brandy, Mum, Coffee, Chocolate, and Tea, and the Suppreſſing Coffee-houſes.

Theſe greatly hinder the Conſumption of Barley, Malt, and Wheat, the Product of our Land, and, thereby, bring down the Prices of theſe Grains, conſequently the Rents of Land; to the Ruin of Tenants, who cannot ſell their Corn, when they have it; and of Landlords, whoſe Rents Tenants are not able to pay, becauſe they have no Vent for the Product of their Farms.

There is (as I am, upon ſtrict Enquiry of the moſt knowing Perſons, informed) ſo vaſt a Quantity of Brandy, Mum, Coffee, Tea, and *Spaniſh* Chocolate, every Year imported into *England*, and conſumed here, that, reckoning the Brandy to be ſold at Two-pence the Quartern, and no more (whereas moſt of it, by Retail,

tail, is ſold for Three-pence) the Mum at Six-pence a Quart, and the Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, at the Rates they are uſually ſold for, yet, is there expended by the Subjects yearly, in theſe Drinks, above four-hundred-thouſand Pounds.

If theſe Liquors were prohibited, then would there be made in *England*, with our Wheat, or Malt, ſuch Quantities of Brandy, or a Spirit equal to it, and of Mum alſo, as would, in all Probability, occaſion the Conſumption of, at leaſt, two or three-hundred-thouſand Quarters of Wheat and Malt every Year more than now is conſumed; and that would raiſe the Price of the Commodity, and thereby keep up the Rent of Lands, which every Year falls for Want of a Conſumption of the Product thereof; and the Prohibition of Brandy would be otherwiſe advantageous to the Kingdom, and prevent the Deſtruction of his Majeſty's Subjects, many of whom have been killed by Drinking thereof, it not agreeing with their Conſtitutions. How many Inſtances have we had yearly of Men's Dying ſuddenly, after Drinking of Brandy? How many, after Over-drinking themſelves with this Liquor, have lain languiſhing till they have died thereof? Before Brandy (which is now become common, and ſold in every little Alehouſe) came over into *England* in ſuch Quantities as it now doth, we drank good ſtrong Beer and Ale; and all laborious People, which are the far greateſt Part of the Kingdom, their Bodies requiring, after hard Labour, ſome ſtrong Drink to refreſh them, did therefore, every Morning and Evening, uſe to drink a Pot of Ale, or a Flagon of ſtrong Beer; which greatly promoted the Conſumption of our own Grain, and did them no great Prejudice; it hindered not their Work, neither did it take away their Senſes, nor coſt them much Money. But now this Sort of People, ſince Brandy is become ſo common, and ſold in every little Houſe, a ſmall Quantity coſting them Three-pence, do ſometimes ſpend their Day's Wages in this Sort of Liquor, before they get Home in an Evening, and thereby impoveriſh their Families; and not only ſo, but frequently, by their Drinking to Exceſs, they are bereaved of their Senſes for two or three Days together, ſo that they cannot work.

In ſhort, Brandy burns the Hearts of his Majeſty's Subjects out; in few Years it hath been the Deſtruction and Death of ſome Thouſands, who, if they had kept to Beer and Ale, might have received better Refreſhment therefrom, and now been living to have ſerved the King and their Country, and might have helped to conſume the Manufactures and Proviſions of the Kingdom. And, if ſo, then what Reaſon can any Man give for the Importation thereof? For my own Part I declare, I know of none, unleſs it be, becauſe it pays a great Cuſtom or Exciſe to the King. And, as to that, I anſwer and affirm, That, if Brandy be prohibited, the Exciſe of the Beer and Ale that would be then conſumed, more than is now, will more than anſwer the Duty of Brandy that the King ſhall loſe by ſuch Prohibition as is deſired (admitting that all the Brandy imported paid the Duty impoſed, whereas not one Half thereof is paid for, the ſame being ſtolen; inſomuch, that, when the Duty to the King was four Shillings *per* Gallon, Brandy was ſold for three Shillings, which was Twelve-pence leſs than the King's Duty.) But admitting, that, if Brandy ſhould be prohibited, the additional Exciſe of Ale and Beer would not anſwer the King's Loſs he ſhall ſuſtain thereby; and, taking it for granted, that our *Engliſh* Conſtitutions are now ſo accuſtomed to Brandy, that it is become abſolutely neceſſary to them to uſe the ſame, or ſome Liquor like it: If it be ſo, then from our Malt and Wheat may be extracted a Spirit equally as good, if not for our Conſtitutions much better than Brandy; and then Laying a ſmall Duty, as a Penny a Gallon, upon low Wines, will more than anſwer what the additional Exciſe ſhall fall ſhort of to the King, yea, and very much exceed what he ſhall loſe by the Prohibition deſired. And inaſmuch as Nothing is ſo much wanting in *England* as People; therefore all Means poſſible, in Point of Prudence and Policy, ought to be uſed to preſerve the Lives and Healths of thoſe we have: But the Importing of Brandy hath deſtroyed many, is like to deſtroy more; *ergo*, it ought to be prohibited. And the rather, in Regard that Brandy comes from *France*; and, whatever we import from *France*, ready Money is paid for the ſame, or for the greateſt Part thereof: For although we impoſe but between four and ten Pounds *per Cent.* upon any of the Manufactures or Commodities of the Growth of *France*, except the Duty upon Wine and Brandy; yet the *French* King either prohibits the Importation of the Manufactures of *England* into his Dominions, or the Selling them there, unleſs they be ſealed, for which Seal a great

great Duty is paid, or elſe he burns them if they are imported, and ſold without ſuch Seal, as he did the Silk Stockings, or impoſeth upon the Importation thereof a Duty of thirty, forty, or fifty Pounds *per Cent.* which is double as much as was impoſed, till within theſe few Years laſt paſt, and is, in Effect, a Prohibition: For, when we do tranſport any Thing thither of our Growth or Manufactures, the *French*, by Reaſon of the high Duty impoſed upon them, underſel us; whereby we are neceſſitated to keep our Goods till ſpoiled, or bring them back. And, if ſo, then plain it is, that, whatſoever we have from *France*, ready Money goes for the ſame; ſo that, by a moderate Computation, they have, at leaſt, four-hundred-thouſand Pounds *per Annum* in Money from us; which is a vaſt Prejudice to *England*, and a great Inriching to *France*, who impoſe upon us not only vaſt Proportions of their Brandy and Wines, but alſo of their Silks, Stuffs, Ribbons, Laces, Points, and divers other Things, whereby our Manufacturers in *England* are ruined, and the Treaſure of the Nation exhauſted. I know it will be ſaid, that we lay far greater Impoſitions upon their Wines and Brandy, than they do upon any of our Manufactures, and it is true that we do ſo: But conſider, that whatever Duty we lay upon Wines is laid upon the King of *England*'s own Subjects, they pay it, and ſuch Duty doth not hinder the Importation thereof; for more comes in now than ever there did, when the Duty was not half ſo high, and the *French* force the *Engliſh* to pay more for their Wines than ever they paid before. But the Impoſitions, laid by the King of *France* upon our Manufactures, have ſtopped us from ſending any Thing conſiderable thither, whereas, before ſuch Duties impoſed, we ſent great Quantities: So that in a few Years, if not prevented, the very Commerce with *France* is like to deſtroy *England*. As for *Brunſwick* Mum, I am ſure we brew as ſtrong in *England* as they do there, and yet afford to ſell it for Half the Price they ſell theirs for; therefore there is no Neceſſity of the Importation thereof, to ſupply any Defect we have here, conſequently it is not fit to be encouraged, becauſe it hinders the Conſumption of the Grain of this Kingdom.

And, for Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, I know no Good they do; only the Places where they are ſold are convenient for Perſons to meet in, ſit Half a Day, and diſcourſe with all Companies, that come in, of State matters, talking of News, and broaching of Lyes; arraigning the Judgments and Diſcretions of their Governors, cenſuring all their Actions, and inſinuating into the People a Prejudice againſt them; extolling and magnifying their own Parts, Knowledge, and Wiſdom, and decrying that of their Rulers; which, if ſuffered too long, may prove pernicious and deſtructive. But ſay there was Nothing of this in the Caſe, yet have theſe Coffee-houſes done great Miſchiefs to the Nation, undone many of the King's Subjects; for they, being very great Enemies to Diligence and Induſtry, have been the Ruin of many ſerious and hopeful young Gentlemen and Tradeſmen, who, before they frequented theſe Places, were diligent Students or Shop-keepers, extraordinary Huſbands of their Time, as well as Money; but, ſince theſe Houſes have been ſet up, under Pretence of good Huſbandry, to avoid Spending above one Penny or Two-pence at a Time, have got to theſe Coffee-houſes; where, meeting Friends, they have ſat talking three or four Hours, after which, a freſh Acquaintance appearing, and ſo one after another all Day long, hath begotten freſh Diſcourſe, ſo that frequently they have ſtaid five or ſix Hours together in one of them; all which Time their Studies or Shops have been neglected, their Buſineſs left undone, their Servants been truſted, and an Opportunity given them thereby to be idle and deceitful; the Taking of Money in many of theſe Men's Shops hath been hindered, and their Cuſtomers gone away diſpleaſed: How many, by theſe Means, have received great Loſſes and Diſadvantages in their Trade; and, by accuſtoming themſelves to theſe Houſes, have made it ſo habitual to them, that they cannot forbear them, though, together with their Families, they are ruined thereby. Theſe Houſes being very many of them profeſſed Bawdy-houſes, more expenſive than other Houſes, are become ſcandalous for a Man to be ſeen in them; which Gentlemen not knowing, do frequently fall into them by Chance, and ſo their Reputation is drawn into Queſtion thereby.

VII.

THE ſeventh Propoſal, That the Multitude of Stage-coaches and Caravans, now travelling upon the Roads, may all, or moſt of them, be ſuppreſſed; eſpecially theſe within forty,

forty, fifty, or ſixty Miles off *London*, where they are no Way neceſſary: And, that a due Regulation be made of ſuch as ſhall be thought fit to be continued.

Theſe Coaches and Caravans are one of the greateſt Miſchiefs that hath happened of late Years to the Kingdom, miſchievous to the Publick, deſtructive to Trade, and prejudicial to Lands:

Firſt, By deſtroying the Breed of good Horſes, the Strength of the Nation, and making Men careleſs of attaining to good Horſemanſhip, a Thing ſo uſeful and commendable in a Gentleman.

Secondly, By hindering the Breed of Watermen, who are the Nurſery for Seamen, and they the Bulwark of the Kingdom.

Thirdly, By leſſening of his Majeſty's Revenues.

For the Firſt of theſe: Stage-coaches prevent the Breed of good Horſes, deſtroy thoſe that are bred, and effeminate his Majeſty's Subjects, who, having uſed themſelves to travel in them, have neither attained Skill themſelves, nor bred up their Children to good Horſemanſhip, whereby they are rendered incapable of ſerving their Country on Horſeback, if Occaſion ſhould require and call for the ſame; for, hereby, they become weary and liſtleſs when they ride a few Miles, and unwilling to get on Horſeback; not able to endure Froſt, Snow, or Rain, or to lodge in the Fields: And what Reaſon, ſave only their Uſing themſelves ſo tenderly, and their Riding in theſe Stage-coaches, can be given for this their Inability?

What Encouragement hath any Man to breed Horſes, whilſt theſe Coaches are continued? There is ſuch a lazy Habit of Body upon Men, that they, to indulge themſelves, ſave their fine Clothes, and keep themſelves clean and dry, will ride lolling in one of them, and endure all the Inconveniences of that Manner of Travelling, rather than ride on Horſeback; ſo that, if any Man ſhould continue his Breed, he muſt be one that is a great Lover of them, and reſolve to keep and pleaſe his own Fancy with them; otherwiſe, moſt certainly, he (as moſt Breeders already have done) will give over his Breeding.

There is not the fourth Part of Saddle-horſes, either bred, or kept, now in *England*, that was before theſe Coaches were ſet up, and would be again, if they were ſuppreſſed; nor is there any Occaſion for Breeding, or Keeping ſuch Horſes, whilſt the Coaches are continued.

For, Will any Man keep a Horſe for himſelf, and another for his Man, all the Year, for to ride one or two Journies, that at Pleaſure, when he hath Occaſion, can ſlip to any Place, where his Buſineſs lies, for two, three, or four Shillings, if within twenty Miles of *London*, and ſo proportionably into any Part of *England*? No, there is no Man, unleſs ſome noble Soul, that ſcorns and abhors being confined to ſo ignoble, baſe, and ſordid a Way of Travelling, as theſe Coaches oblige him unto, and who prefers a publick Good before his own Eaſe and Advantage, that will breed or keep ſuch Horſes. Neither are there near ſo many Coach-horſes either bred or kept in *England* now, as there were Saddle-horſes formerly, there being no Occaſion for them, the Kingdom being ſupplied with a far leſs Number. For, formerly, every Man that had Occaſion to travel many Journies yearly, or to ride up and down, kept Horſes for himſelf and Servants, and ſeldom rid without one or two Men; but now, ſince every Man can have a Paſſage into every Place he is to travel unto, or to ſome Place within a few Miles of that Part he deſigns to go unto, they have left Keeping of Horſes, and travel without Servants; and *York*, *Cheſter*, and *Exeter* Stage-coaches, each of them, with forty Horſes apiece, carry eighteen Paſſengers a Week from *London* to either of theſe Places, and, in like Manner, as many in Return from theſe Places to *London*; which come, in the Whole, to Eighteen-hundred ſeventy-two in the Year. Now take it for granted, That all, that are carried from *London* to thoſe Places, are the ſame that are brought back, yet are there nine-hundred thirty-ſix Paſſengers carried by forty Horſes; whereas, were it not for theſe Coaches, at leaſt five-hundred Horſes would be required to perform this Work. Take the ſhort Stages within twenty or thirty Miles of *London*, each Coach with four Horſes carries ſix Paſſengers a Day, which are thirty-ſix in a Week, eighteen-hundred ſeventy-two in a Year: If theſe Coaches were ſuppreſſed, Can any Man imagine theſe eighteen-hundred ſeventy-two Paſſengers, and their Servants, could be carried by four Horſes? Then reckon your Coaches

within ten Miles of *London*, that go backward and forward every Day, and they carry double the Number every Year; and ſo, proportionably, your ſhorter Stages within three, four, or five Miles of *London*.

There are Stage-coaches, that go to almoſt every Town within twenty or twenty-five Miles of *London*, wherein Paſſengers are carried at ſo low Rates, that moſt Perſons in and about *London*, and in *Middleſex*, *Eſſex*, *Kent*, and *Surrey*, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Traders, that have Occaſion to ride, do make Uſe of; ſome to keep Fairs and Markets; others to viſit Friends, and to go to and from their Country-houſes, or about other Buſineſs, who, before theſe Coaches did ſet up, kept a Horſe or two of their own, but now have given over Keeping the ſame; ſo that, by Computation, there are not ſo many Horſes, by ten-thouſand, kept now in theſe Parts, as there were, before Stage-coaches ſet up: By which Means Breeding of good Padnags is diſcouraged, and Coach-horſes, that are bred, by Cruelty and Ill-uſage of Stagers, are deſtroyed.

2*dly*, Thoſe Coaches hinder the Breeding of Watermen, and much diſcourage thoſe that are bred; for, there being Stage-coaches ſet up unto every little Town upon the River of *Thames*, on both Sides the Water, from *London*, as high as *Windſor* and *Maidenhead*, &c. and ſo, from *London-bridge*, to and below *Graveſend*, and alſo to every little Town within a Mile or two of the Water-ſide, theſe are they who carry all the Letters, little Bundles, and Paſſengers, which, before they ſet up, were carried by Water, and kept Watermen in a full Employment, and occaſioned their Increaſe (whereof there never was more Need than now) and yet, by theſe Coaches, they of all others are moſt diſcouraged and dejected, eſpecially our Weſtern and below-Bridge Watermen, they having little or nothing to do, ſometimes not a Fare in a Week; ſo that they dare not take Apprentices, the Work they have not anſwering the Charge they are at in keeping themſelves and Families. The Conſequence whereof is like to prove ſad in a ſhort Time, unleſs ſpeedily prevented; eſpecially if theſe Wars continue, and we happen to loſe ſo many yearly of thoſe that are bred, as of late Years we have done: But, if theſe Coaches were down, Watermen, as formerly, would have Work, and be encouraged to take Apprentices, whereby their Number would every Year greatly increaſe.

3*dly*, It prejudiceth his Majeſty in his Revenue of Exciſe; for now Four or Five travel in a Coach together, and Twenty or Thirty in a Caravan, Gentlemen and Ladies, without any Servants, conſume little Drink on the Road, yet pay as much at every Inn, as if their Servants were with them; which is the Tapſter's Gain, and his Majeſty's Loſs: But, if Travellers would, as formerly they did, travel on Horſeback, then no Perſons of Quality would ride without their Servants; and it is they that occaſion the Conſumption of Beer and Ale on the Roads, and ſo would advance his Majeſty's Revenue. I know it will be objected, There are as many People now, as will be, when Coaches are down, and they drink, where-ever they are; therefore no Matter, whether they drink at Home, or on the Road, ſince the Conſumption will be the ſame: How can the King's Revenue, then, be advanced by Servants Travelling with their Maſters or Miſtreſſes, more than it is already? The Anſwer is plain: At Home they drink ſmall or ſtrong Drink brewed by their Maſters, that pay no Exciſe, but whatever they drink at Inns pays the King's Duties; and all Inn-keepers do declare, that they ſell not Half the Drink, nor pay the King Half the Exciſe, they did, before theſe Coaches ſet up.

Secondly, Theſe Coaches and Caravans are deſtructive to the Trade and Manufactures of the Kingdom, and have impoveriſhed and ruined many Thouſands of Families, whoſe Subſiſtence depended upon the Manufacturing of Wool and Leather, two of the Staple Commodities of the Kingdom: For, before theſe Coaches were ſet up, Travellers rode on Horſeback, and Men had Boots, Spurs, Saddles, Bridles, Saddle-cloths, and good Riding-ſuits, Coats and Clokes, Stockings and Hats; whereby the Wool and Leather of the Kingdom was conſumed, and the poor People ſet at Work by Carding, Combing, Spinning, Knitting, Weaving, and Fulling: And your Cloth-workers, Drapers, Taylors, Saddlers, Tanners, Curriers, Shoemakers, Spurriers, Lorimers, and Felt-makers had a good Employ, were full of Work, got Money, lived handſomely, and helped, with their Families, to conſume the Proviſions and Manufactures of the Kingdoms; but, by Means of theſe Coaches, theſe Trades, beſides many others depending

depending upon them, are become almoſt uſeleſs, and they, with their Families, reduced to great Neceſſity, inſomuch that many Thouſands of them are caſt upon the Pariſhes, wherein they dwell, for a Maintenance. Beſides, it is a great Hurt to the Girdlers, Sword-cutlers, Gunſmiths, and Trunk-makers, moſt Gentlemen, before they travelled in their Coaches, uſing to ride with Swords, Belts, Piſtols, Holſters, Portmanteaus, and Hat-caſes, which, in theſe Coaches, they have little or no Occaſion for: For, when they rode on Horſeback, they rode in one Suit, and carried another to wear, when they came to their Journey's End, or lay by the Way; but, in Coaches, a Silk-ſuit, and an *Indian* Gown, with a Saſh, Silk-ſtockings, and Beaver-hats Men ride in, and carry no other with them, becauſe they eſcape the Wet and Dirt, which on Horſeback they cannot avoid; whereas, in two or three Journies on Horſeback, theſe Clothes and Hats were wont to be ſpoiled: Which done, they were forced to have new very often, and that increaſed the Conſumption of the Manufactures, and the Employment of the Manufacturers, which Travelling in Coaches doth no Way do. And, if they were Women that travelled, they uſed to have Safeguards and Hoods, Side-ſaddles, and Pillions, with Strappings, Saddle or Pillion-cloths, which, for the moſt Part, were either laced, or embroidered, to the Making of which there went many ſeveral Trades, ſeeing there is not one Side-Saddle with the Furniture made, but, before it is furniſhed, there are at leaſt thirty ſeveral Trades have a Share in the Making thereof; moſt of which are either deſtroyed, or greatly prejudiced, by the Abatement of their Trade: Which being bred unto, and having ſerved ſeven Years Apprenticeſhip to learn, they know not what other Courſe to take for a Livelihood. And, beſides all theſe inferior Handy-Craftſmen, there are the Mercers, Silkmen, Lacemen, Milliners, Linnen and Woollen-drapers, Haberdaſhers, and divers other eminent Trades, that receive great Prejudice by this Way of Travelling: For the Mercers ſold Silk and Stuff in great Quantities, for Safeguards, Hoods, and Riding-Clothes for Women; by which Means the Silk-Twiſters, Winders, Throwſters, Weavers, and Dyers, had a fuller Employment; the Silkmen ſold more Lace and Embroidery, which kept the Silver Wire-drawers, Lace-makers, and Embroiderers; and at leaſt ten Trades more were employed: The Linnen-draper ſold more Linnen, not only to Saddlers, to make up Saddles, but to Travellers for their own Uſe, nothing wearing out Linnen more than Riding. Woollen-drapers ſold more Cloth than now; Saddlers uſed, before theſe Coaches were ſet up, to buy three or four-hundred Pounds Worth of Cloth a-piece in a Year; nay, ſome five-hundred and a thouſand Pounds Worth, which they cut out into Saddles and Pillion-cloths; though now there is no Saddler can diſpoſe of one-hundred Pounds Worth of Cloth in a Year in his Trade. The Milliners and Haberdaſhers, they alſo ſold more Ribbons, Gloves, Hoods, Scarfs, and other Things belonging to their Trade; the Duſt, Dirt, and Rain, and Riding on Horſeback, ſpoiling and wearing them out, much more than Travelling in a Coach; and, on Horſeback, theſe Things were apter to be loſt than in a Coach.

Trade is a great Myſtery, and one Trade depends upon another. Were it not too tedious, I could ſhew you how many ſeveral Trades there are that go to the Making of every one of the Things aforementioned, and demonſtrate, that there is ſcarcely a Trade in *England*, but what is one Way or other concerned and prejudiced by theſe Stage-Coaches, eſpecially the Country-Trade all over *England*: For, Paſſage to *London* being ſo eaſy, Gentlemen come to *London* oftener than they need, and their Ladies either with them, or, having the Conveniencies of theſe Coaches, quickly follow them. And, when they are there, they muſt be in the Mode, have all the new Faſhions, buy all their Cloaths there, and go to Plays, Balls, and Treats, where they get ſuch a Habit of Jollity, and a Love to Gayety and Pleaſure, that nothing afterwards in the Country will ſerve them, if ever they ſhould fix their Minds to live there again; but they muſt have all from *London*, whatever it coſts.

And there is one grand Miſchief happens to the Country thereby; for Gentlemen drain the Country of all the Money they can get, bring it to *London*, and ſpend it there: Whereas, if they ſtayed at Home, bought their Cloaths and other Commodities of their Neighbours, Money would be kept circulating amongſt them; and Chapmen that have ſerved Apprenticeſhips, and ſet up near them, would have a good Trade, pay their Rents, and live handſomely:

The

The Trade betwixt them and the City of *London* would be renewed, Country Ladies would be as well pleaſed, provided they be kept from *London*, as if they had all the rich Clothes, Modes, and Faſhions, vainly and extravagantly invented and worn in the City, aſſoon as they have them there; and Gentlemen would not only ſave the Money they ſpend in Journies to buy Clothes, but have as good as need to be worn in the Country, at eaſier Rates than they muſt pay at *London*, if they buy when the Faſhion comes firſt up.

3dly, Theſe Coaches and Caravans hinder the Conſumption of all Sorts of Proviſions for Man and Beaſt, thereby bringing down the Rents of Lands. For Inſtance: A Coach with four Horſes carries ſix Paſſengers, a Caravan, with four or five Horſes, carries Twenty, or Five and twenty: Theſe, when they come to their Inn, club together for a Diſh or two of Meat, and, having no Servants with them, ſpend not above twelve Pence or ſixteen Pence a-piece at a Place; yet, perhaps, foul four, five, or ſix Pair of Sheets. Horſes they have none, but what draw them; and, for thoſe, the Coachmen agree with the Inn-keeper beforehand, to have their Hay and Oats at ſo low a Rate, that he loſeth by them, and is forced to beat down the Price of them in the Market, yet muſt let the Coachman have them for what he pleaſeth, otherwiſe he carries his Paſſengers to other Inns; by which Means the Inn-holders get little or nothing, cannot pay their Rent, nor hold their Inns, without great Abatements; two third Parts of what they formerly paid is, in ſome Places, abated. Upon ſuch Accounts as theſe, Inn-holders, where theſe Coaches do come, are undone: And, if ſo, ſince moſt Travellers travel in Coaches, what muſt become of all the reſt of the Inns on the Roads where theſe Coaches ſtay not? Believe it, they are a conſiderable Number, take all the grand Roads in *England*, as *York*, *Exeter*, *Cheſter*, *&c.* There are about five-hundred Inns on each Road, and theſe Coaches do not call at Fifteen or Sixteen of them; then what can follow, but that the reſt be undone, and their Landlords loſe their Rents?

But were theſe Coaches and Caravans down, and Travelling on Horſeback again come into Faſhion:

Firſt, Every Paſſenger, that now travels in a Coach, would have one Horſe at leaſt; many of them, one, two, or three Servants with them, who now ride ſneaking without any Attendants at all; whereby, in all Probability, according to moderate Computation, there would be, at leaſt, forty or fifty Horſes upon the Road, inſtead of Nine or Ten, that draw the Coach and Caravan.

Secondly, Theſe Travellers would diſperſe themſelves into the ſeveral Inns upon the Road, each Man where he could find the beſt Entertainment; whereby Trade would be diffuſed, Inn-holders be enabled to pay their Rents, and encouraged to provide Accommodations fit for the Reception of Gentlemen.

Thirdly, Moſt Horſes go to Graſs in the Summer-time, which would raiſe the Rents of Paſture-Lands, about Cities and Corporations, and other Towns upon the Roads, above what formerly they were; which of late Years, by Means of thoſe Coaches, have fallen Half in Half, even in *Middleſex*, and other Places adjoining to *London* itſelf: And no other Reaſon for it can be given, but this, That Citizens and Gentlemen, about the City, do not keep Horſes as formerly they did: Neither doth there now come a ſixth Part of the Horſes to *London*, that uſed to do; but, if Stage-coaches be ſuppreſſed, there will be a Neceſſity for Men to apply themſelves to the Breeding, Keeping, and Uſing Horſes, as formerly they did; and it will neceſſarily occaſion the Conſumption of five Times the Quantity of Hay, Straw, and Horſe-corn, that now is conſumed; whereby Farmers will have a Vent for their Commodities, and be enabled to pay their Rents; for not only will there then be four Times the Number of Horſes travelling upon the Roads, as there are now; but in the City of *London*, and all the great Towns in *England*, there would be great Numbers of good Horſes kept by Gentlemen, Merchants, and Tradeſmen, for their own Uſes; and by others alſo, to let out to Hire, to ſuch as ſhall have Occaſion to ride, and keep not Horſes of their own.

It is very obſervable, that, before theſe Coaches were ſet up, what with the Horſes kept by Merchants, and other Tradeſmen, and Gentlemen, in, or near *London*, and the Travellers

vellers Horſes that came to *London*, that City ſpent all the Hay, Straw, Beans, Peaſe, and Oats, that could be ſpared within twenty or thirty Miles thereof; and for a further Supply, had vaſt Quantities from *Henly*, and other Weſtern Parts, and from below *Graveſend* by Water; beſides many Ships Lading of Beans from *Hull*, and of Oats from *Lynn* and *Boſton*; and then Oats, and Hay, and other Horſe-meat, would bear a good Price in that Market, which was the Standard for all the Markets in *England*; but now, ſince theſe Coaches ſet up, eſpecially in ſuch Multitudes, and thoſe ſo nigh *London*, *London* cannot conſume what grows within twenty Miles of it. But, if they were down, the Conſumption in *London* would quickly be as great as ever, and that would raiſe the Price of the Commodities, advance the Price of Lands, and cauſe Rents to be well paid again; not only would every Traveller, that now rides in a Coach, travel on Horſe-back, if Coaches were down, and ſome of them with two or three Servants, and ſo occaſion a greater Conſumption of the Proviſions for Cattle: But further, every of theſe ſeveral Travellers, who before clubbed together for a Diſh or two of Meat, would have one, two, or three Diſhes of Meat, for himſelf, and his Servants; which would occaſion the Conſumption of ſix Times as much Beef, Veal, Mutton, Lamb, and all Sorts of Fiſh, Fowl, Poultry, and other Proviſions, as is now conſumed on the Roads: And ſuch Conſumption would raiſe the Price of Lands, and cauſe better Payment of Rents; eſpecially if it be conſidered, That not only will the Conſumption be increaſed by thoſe that travel the Road, but ten Times more would be ſpent by thoſe, who would be employed in the Making thoſe Things that Travellers muſt have when they ride; who, if they have Work, and can earn Money, will eat and drink of the beſt, as formerly they did, when ſeveral Handicraft Tradeſmen in *London* kept twenty, thirty, or forty Journeymen at Work, ſpent a Quarter of Beef, and a Carcaſs of Mutton in a Week, in their Houſes; who, ſince theſe Coaches ſet up, have fallen to a couple of Apprentices; and though as eminent of their Trade, as any about *London*, yet can hardly earn Bread to put into their Heads. If it be ſo then, that running Stage-coaches and Caravans are ſo injurious to the Publick, deſtructive to Trade, and the Occaſion of the Fall of Rents, it would be worth Time to conſider, what is in them worthy of their being countenanced and deſired; and whether the Inconveniencies be not much greater than the Conveniencies, Men receive by them. If this Way of Travelling were the Way, that of all Ways appeared moſt beneficial, leaſt expenſive, conducing to Health, advantageous to Men in their Buſineſs, abſolutely neceſſary to ſome, uſeful to others, and impoſed upon none; there were ſome Reaſon for Men's being in Love with it; but, if the Contrary be apparent, then what Madneſs poſſeſſeth Men to court the Inconveniencies and Miſchiefs? Let us examine theſe Things.

Men receive not the greateſt Benefit by Travelling in theſe Coaches; for can that Way be beneficial to any that hinders and deſtroys Trade, prevents the Conſumption of the Proviſions and Manufactures of the Kingdom, and thereby lowers the Rents of Landlords?

For *Firſt*, Can a Gentleman receive Benefit or Advantage, by ſaving five Pounds, *per Annum*, in a Journey, when by his Manner of Travelling he lowers his own Rents, three Times as much in a Year, as he ſaves by his Journies, by countenancing that Kind of Conveyance that hinders the Conſumption of the Products of his own Eſtate, and thereby makes his Tenants unable to pay their Rents?

Secondly, Is it to be believed, That a Tradeſman arrives at any Profit by theſe Coaches, though he ſhould ſave a little Money when he rides in them, that he muſt neceſſarily expend, if he travels on Horſeback? No, for this Manner of Travelling hinders the Sale of thoſe Commodities they deal in; of which much more would be conſumed than is, if ſuch Coaches were down, and by the Sale whereof they would get much more than they ſave, by confining themſelves to Travelling as aforeſaid; ſo that plainly it is their Intereſt to promote that Way of Travelling, that tends to the greateſt Conſumption of the Manufactures or Commodities, wherein they deal.

Thirdly, The Huſbandmen, who live by the Sweat of their Brows, in manuring the Eſtates of the Gentry, they are undone, by this eaſy Carriage; for it hinders their Selling their Corn, Hay, and Straw, and other the Products of their Farms, and brings down the Price of what they ſell, thereby rendering them

them unable to pay their Rents, or to hold their Farms without conſiderable Abatements; which if not given them, their Lands are thrown up into the Landlord's Hands, and little or no Benefit made by them.

Fourthly, The Graſiers, they complain for Want of a Vent for their Cattle, which they had before theſe Coaches were erected; not that I do imagine Coaches to be the only Reaſon of the Want of that Conſumption, though it be evident, they go far in the promoting that Miſchief; for the Want of People in *England*, the Loſs of many Thouſands from amongſt us, of late Years, and the Leaving off Eating of Suppers by thoſe that are left alive, go a great Way therein. But theſe two may be eaſily remedied; the former by the general Act of Naturaliſation, and Liberty of Conſcience, propoſed before, which would bring all Foreigners in amongſt us; the latter, by Men's Spending leſs in Taverns, Plays, and Balls, and Keeping up in Lieu thereof the ancient laudable Cuſtoms of *England*, of good Houſe-keeping, and thereby Relieving the Poor. Half the Money that Gentlemen idly ſpend in Taverns upon *French* Wines, for which the Coin of the Kingdom is exhauſted, or upon Plays, Balls, Treating Miſtreſſes, fine Clothes, Toys from *France*, or other foreign Parts, would defray the Charges of having good Suppers every Night; whereby the Product of our own Lands would be conſumed, and that would raiſe Rents: Nay, I am verily perſuaded, if it were duly conſidered, and that all Men, as formerly, would fall to Eating of Suppers, at leaſt to Dreſſing of them; and when dreſſed, if they eat not themſelves, would give them to the Poor, the Increaſe of the Conſumption would raiſe the Rents of Lands, as much above what now they do go at, at leaſt in moſt Places of *England*, as would defray the Charges of thoſe Suppers; if ſo, Would it not then be of great Advantage to Men in their Eſtates, and to the Kingdom in General?

But to proceed: If the Gentlemen, the Tradeſmen, the Huſbandmen, the Graſiers, be not benefited by this Travelling, I am ſure, the laſt Sort of Travellers, to wit,

The Poor, they cannot be profited thereby; for Waggons, or the long Coaches firſt invented, and ſtill in Uſe, would be moſt for their Intereſt to travel in, being far leſs expenſive than the other; ſo that theſe running Coaches are not moſt beneficial to every Sort of Travellers.

Secondly, Men do not travel in theſe Coaches with leſs Expence of Money, or Time, than on Horſeback: For, on Horſeback, they may travel faſter; and, if they pleaſe, all Things duly conſidered, with as little, if not leſs Charges.

For Inſtance, from *London* to *Exeter*, *Cheſter*, or *York*, you pay forty Shillings a-piece in Summer-time, forty-five Shillings in Winter, for your Paſſage; and as much from thoſe Places back to *London*: Beſides, in the Journey they change Coachmen four Times; and there are few Paſſengers but give Twelve-pence to each Coachman at the End of his Stage, which comes to eight Shillings in the Journey backward and forward, and at leaſt three Shillings comes to each Paſſenger's Share to pay for the Coachmen's Drink on the Road; ſo that in Summer-time the Paſſage backward and forward to any of theſe Places coſts four Pounds eleven Shillings, in the Winter five Pounds one Shilling, and this only for eight Days Riding in the Summer, and twelve in the Winter. Then, when the Paſſengers come to *London*, they muſt have Lodgings, which, perhaps, may coſt them five or ſix Shillings a Week, and that in fourteen Days amounts unto ten or twelve Shillings, which makes the four Pounds eleven Shillings, either five Pounds one Shilling, or five Pounds three Shillings; or the five Pounds one Shilling five Pounds eleven Shillings, or five Pounds thirteen Shillings, beſides the Inconveniency of having Meat from the Cooks, at double the Price they might have it for in Inns. But, if Stage coaches were down, and Men travelled again, as formerly, on Horſeback, then when they came into their Inns they would pay Nothing for Lodgings; and, as there would excellent Horſes be bred and kept by Gentlemen for their own Uſe, ſo would there be by others that would keep them on Purpoſe to let; which would, as formerly, be let at ten or twelve Shillings *per* Week, and in many Places for ſix, eight, or nine Shillings *per* Week: But, admitting the loweſt Price to be twelve Shillings, if a Man comes from *York*, *Exeter*, or *Cheſter*, to *London*, be five Days coming

coming, five Days going, and ſtay twelve Days in *London* to diſpatch his Buſineſs (which is the moſt that Country Chapmen uſually do ſtay) all this would be but three Weeks; ſo that his Horſe-hire would come but to one Pound ſixteen Shillings, his Horſe-meat at Fourteen pence a Day, one with another, which is the higheſt that can be reckoned upon, and will come but to one Pound five Shillings, in all three Pounds one Shilling, ſo that there would be, at leaſt, forty or fifty Shillings ſaved of what Coach-hire and Lodgings will coſt him, which would go a great Way in paying for Riding-clothes, Stockings, Hats, Boots, Spurs, and other Accoutrements for Riding; and, in my poor Opinion, would be far better ſpent in the Buying of theſe Things, by the Making whereof the Poor would be ſet at Work, and kept from being burthenſome to the Pariſh, than to give it to thoſe Stage-coachmen, to indulge that lazy, idle Habit of Body, that Men, by conſtant Riding in theſe Coaches, have brought upon themſelves: Beſides, if thus their Money were ſpent, they would ſave a great Deal, which now, if Men of any Eſtates, they pay for Relief of thoſe Poor, who, for Want of the Work they had before thoſe Coaches were ſet up, and might have again if they were put down, are fallen upon the ſeveral Pariſhes wherein they live, for Maintenance; which Charge would be quickly taken off, if they were reſtored to their Work. Thus in Proportion may a Man ſave from all longer or ſhorter Stages. For Inſtance: From *Northampton* Men pay for Paſſage in Coach to *London* ſixteen Shillings, and ſo much back; from *Briſtol* twenty-five Shillings, from *Bath* twenty Shillings, from *Saliſbury* twenty Shillings or twenty-five Shillings, from *Reading* ſeven Shillings, the like Sums back; and ſo in Proportion for longer or ſhorter Stages. Judge then, Whether Men may not hire Horſes cheaper than five Shillings a Day; I am ſure they may for Half the Money, eſpecially if Coaches were down, that Men might receive Encouragement; for, then, there would be, as formerly, in all great Cities and Towns of *England*, good and ſufficient Numbers of able Horſes kept to let, and ſuch a Correſpondency would be between all the Places, that a Man in any Town ſhall have a Horſe to ride to what Place he pleaſeth, and Liberty to leave him when he comes to his Journey's End, without farther Charge, till he have diſpatched his Buſineſs; which done, he may, at the ſame Place, hire one to carry him back and be gone, without waiting a Week or ten Days after his Affairs are ended, at vaſt Charges, merely for a Paſſage in a Coach, as many of theſe Gentlemen are forced to do, who pretend it a Point of good Huſbandry to travel in them, which Hazard nevertheleſs they run, and often find the Smart of it; they never conſider or account the Charge thereof; if they did, they would eaſily perceive, that Travelling in Coaches is not the Way of Travelling with leaſt Expence.

Thirdly, Travelling in theſe Coaches can neither prove advantageous to Men's Health or Buſineſs: For, what Advantage is it to Men's Health, to be called out of their Beds into theſe Coaches, an Hour before Day in the Morning, to be hurried in them from Place to Place, till one Hour, two, or three within Night; inſomuch that, after ſitting all Day in the Summer-time ſtifled with Heat, and choaked with Duſt; or, in the Winter-time, ſtarving and freezing with Cold, or choaked with filthy Fogs, they are often brought into their Inns by Torch-light, when it is too late to ſit up to get a Supper; and next Morning they are forced into the Coach ſo early, that they can get no Breakfaſt. What Addition is this to Men's Health or Buſineſs, to ride all Day with Strangers, oftentimes ſick, ancient, diſeaſed Perſons, or young Children crying; to whoſe Humours they are obliged to be ſubject, forced to bear with, and many Times are poiſoned with their naſty Scents, and crippled by the Crowd of the Boxes and Bundles.

Is it for a Man's Health to travel with tired Jades, to be laid faſt in the foul Ways, and forced to wade up to the Knees in Mire; afterwards ſit in the Cold, till Teams of Horſes can be ſent to pull the Coach out? Is it for their Health to travel in rotten Coaches, and to have their Tackle, or Pearch, or Axle-tree broken, and then to wait three or four Hours, ſometimes Half a Day to have them mended, and then to travel all Night to make good their Stage? Is it for a Man's Pleaſure, or advantageous to his Health and Buſineſs, to travel with a mixed Company that he knows not how to converſe with; to be affronted by the Rudeneſs of a ſurly, dogged, curſing, ill-natured Coachman, neceſſitated to lodge or bait at the worſt Inns on the Road, where there is no

Accommodation fit for Gentlemen; and this merely becauſe the Owners of the Inns, and the Coachmen, are agreed together to cheat the Gueſts?

Is it for the Advantage of Buſineſs, that a Man, when he ſets out on a Journey, muſt come juſt at their Hour, or be left behind; ſo that often he is forced, when one Hour's Staying would finiſh his Buſineſs, to go out of Town, leave it undone, and make a new Journey about it? Is it for Advantage of a Man's Buſineſs, that though he have a Concern of great Weight or Moment to tranſact upon the Road as he goes along, yet if it lie but a a Stone's-caſt out of the Coach-way, the Coachman will not drive thither, nor ſtay for him at any Place, except the Baiting or Lodging-places where he calls, where they change Horſes; and there ſtay no longer than he pleaſes neither. To be forced, whatever Accident of Sickneſs or Illneſs happens, to ride theſe Coachmen's Stages, though never ſo late in the Night, or elſe to be left in the Middle of a Journey in a ſtrange Place? Is this for the Conveniency or Advantage of a Man's Health or Buſineſs? Rather the quite contrary: Yet this hath been many Perſons of good Quality's Caſe, though they have offered to pay the whole Coach-hire, and all the Paſſengers Charges, to have put into an Inn (late at Night on this Side the ſet Stage) yet have they been denied, forced to ride, though in Peril of their Lives, till Midnight; and it is not hard to *inſtance* in many that have loſt their Lives by ſuch Uſage.

All which Inconveniences, if Stage-coaches were ſuppreſſed, would be remedied, lazy Humours be diſcountenanced; and a great Conveniency indeed it would be, both to Travellers, and the Country through which they ride, for Men and Women to travel on Horſeback again.

For then they may, when their Buſineſs is done at one Place, preſently take Horſe and go to another, without Loſs of Time, or Staying for a Paſſage in a Coach; ſet out as early in the Morning, and take up as ſoon in the Evening, and bait as long, and as often by the Way, and in what Places they pleaſe; make Choice of their Company on the Road, avoid ſuch as ſuit not with their Tempers, go out of the Roads when, and travel as long or ſhort Journies as they pleaſe; keep out of Cold, Wet, or Fogs, and take into Inns when the Weather is not fit to travel in, and ſo preſerve their Healths. And, by this Means, great Advantages would happen, for then all Towns, and every Inn, would have ſomething to do, Trade would be more diffuſed, many poor Families in the Country would be maintained, that are now in a ſtarving Condition; Travellers would come into their Inns before Candle-light, ſtay in the Morning till Shops open, underſtand the Trade of the Place they are in, lay out Monies in buying Things they find fit for their Uſe, and which are of the Manufactures of the Town where they come; in ſome Places, Silk or Worſted-Hoſe; in others, Lace, Gloves, Stuffs, Boots, or Shoes, Linnen-cloth, and other Things, which would be great Relief and Encouragement to the Manufactures of thoſe Commodities, as well as to thoſe that buy them, and bring Money to thoſe Places where they are made.

Fourthly, Theſe Coaches are not abſolutely neceſſary to any Perſons whatever; for ſick or aged People, or young Children, if they have Occaſion to travel, may ride in the long Waggon-coaches, which were thoſe that firſt were ſet up, and are not now oppoſed, becauſe they do little or no Hurt: For Gentlemen, that are able to ride on Horſeback, keep Coaches of their own, or, to hire a Coach, will not appear ſo ſordid as to travel in them. And, truly, if they be poor People that are to travel, it is not fit they ſhould be encouraged in their Pride or Extravagancy, or ſuffered to ride amongſt Gentlemen, or, like Perſons of Honour, in a Coach with four or ſix Horſes; and, for ſick and aged People, and young Children, theſe long Coaches are more convenient for them than running Coaches, if they were to be continued up; for they travel not ſuch long Journies, go not out ſo early in the Morning, neither come they in ſo late at Night; but ſtay by the Way, travel eaſily, without jolting Men's Bodies, or hurrying them along, as the running Coaches do.

Fifthly, Neither are theſe running Coaches uſeful to any; for thoſe that are fit to ride, or ought to be ſuffered to ride in them, are ſuch, that, if they have Buſineſs requiring a Coach, may either keep one themſelves, or hire one.

Sixthly, But, though theſe Coaches are neither abſolutely neceſſary to ſome, nor uſeful to others, yet they are impoſed upon many; for, ſince they ſet up in ſuch Multitudes, eſpecially about *London*, Men, careleſs of keeping Horſes, knowing the Certainty of Paſſage in them, have

ſold

ſold them, and muſt, therefore, when they travel, either ride in theſe Coaches, or not at all, there being few or no Horſes kept now to let out to hire.

If, by what hath been ſaid upon this Point, it happen Gentlemen may travel on Horſeback, more to the Advantage and Benefit of Trade, and ſo to the publick Good, with more Advantage to their Healths and Buſineſs, and leſs Expence of Money and Time than they can in Stage-coaches:

If theſe Stage-coaches be not abſolutely neceſſary to ſome, uſeful to what other Coaches may be made to others, and yet this impoſed upon many, What Reaſon can be given why they ſhould not all, or moſt of them, be ſuppreſſed?

If they were not deſtructive to Trade, Why ſhould Petitions, from almoſt all Sorts of Tradeſmen, come up from moſt Cities and Towns in *England* againſt them, as there have been lately preſented to his Majeſty and the Council? Why ſhould the Juſtices of Peace at their General Quarter Seſſions certify to his Majeſty and his honourable Privy-Council, under their Hands, as they have done, that the great Miſchiefs aforementioned, under which the Kingdom now ſuffers, have been greatly occaſioned by theſe Coaches, and that many Thouſands of Families are ruined by them, as from *London*, *Weſtminſter*, *Saliſbury*, *Middleſex*, and divers other Cities, Counties, and Towns, Certificates have come? Why ſhould the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, at their Court at *Guildhall*, upon ſerious Conſideration and Debate of the Petition of the ſeveral Companies of *London*, againſt the ſaid Coaches, wherein moſt of theſe Grievances are mentioned, allow of the ſame, and give Leave that it ſhould be preſented, if they were not convinced, that they are deſtructive to Trade? For ſurely they underſtand Trade, and were not ſo weak as to be cheated into their Conſent and Approbation, neither have they any Time ſince repented of, or diſowned the ſame, as the Stage Coachmen, in falſe and ſcandalous Pamphlets, have preſumed to print; notwithſtanding which, they are ready to own the ſaid Petition, and make good the Contents thereof: And the Drapers, Haberdaſhers, and Milliners, who, they pretend, would be prejudiced by their being ſuperſeded, are ready, with the other Tradeſmen mentioned in that Pamphlet, to evince to the World, they are injured by their being kept up; ſo that the very Coach and Harneſs-makers themſelves petition againſt them, as being miſchievous to their Trades, in Regard they prevent the Making of great Numbers of Coaches every Year; which muſt have been made, if Gentlemen had travelled in their own Coaches, and thereby they hinder the Conſumption of great Quantities of Leather.

If all theſe Things be true, What can be ſaid againſt their being ſuppreſſed?

It is objected, The Owners of theſe Coaches ſet them up for the Conveniency of the Subjects; have betaken themſelves to this painful Way of living, and laid out their whole Stocks, merely to accommodate Gentlemen, and have now no other Way to live, What ſhall become of them, if they be put down?

Anſ. It is the Caſe but of very few, that the Suppreſſing of them would hurt: For, if all Stage Coaches were to be ſuppreſſed, I dare ſay Five to One of thoſe that keep them would receive Advantage thereby, as clearly will be evinced, if it be conſidered, that, when this Buſineſs was before his Majeſty in Council, where it depends undetermined, none of the Stagers oppoſed the being put down, except *Exeter*, *Saliſbury*, *Dorcheſter*, *Briſtol*, *Southampton*, *Dover*, *Norwich*, *Lincoln*, *York*, *Weſtcheſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Shrewſbury*, who call themſelves, *Stage-Coachmen upon the grand Roads of* England; and there is not one Owner of any of theſe Coaches, but hath other Ways to live, if he were prohibited Driving them; for they are all of them either Inn-holders, or Coach or Harneſs-makers, following thoſe Trades, or Carriers, or licenſed Coachmen in *London*; and may live as well as the Hackney Coachmen in *London*. The other Stage-Coaches are all, or moſt of them, kept either by Inn-holders firſt, who (one in a Town) did ſet up a Coach, and ſo carried all the Gueſts to his own Houſe. Then a Second ſets up another, and ſo a Third and Fourth in a Town: Which done, they run one againſt another, purpoſely to get the Gueſts from each others Houſes; whereby they not only deſtroy Multitudes of Horſes, but are great Loſers themſelves; ſo that themſelves would be thankful to have them put down, and yet are forced to keep them up, till there ſhall be a general Suppreſſion, becauſe otherwiſe they ſhall loſe their whole Trades. Or elſe the ſaid Stage-

Coaches are kept by ſuch, as, before the late Act for reducing the Number of Hackney Coaches in *London* to Four-hundred, were Owners of Coaches, and drove Hackney there: But when the Number of Four-hundred was full, and they not licenſed, then, to avoid the Penalties of the Act, they removed out of the City, diſperſing themſelves into every little Town within twenty Miles of *London*, where they ſet up for Stagers, and drive every Day to *London*, and in the Night-time they drive about the City, pay no five Pounds *per Annum*, yet take away both the Town and Country-work from thoſe that do pay it, and break and annoy the Streets in the Cities and Suburbs thereof, hindering the Four-hundred from the Jobs and ſmall Journies they depended upon, when they agreed to pay five Pounds a-piece *per Annum* for their Licences; whereby they are many of them ruined. But take it for granted it were ſo, that theſe Stage-Coachmen had laid out all their Stocks for the Uſe aforeſaid, and muſt be undone, if put down, and there were at leaſt Two-thouſand of them, What is that? Of two Evils the leſſer is to be choſen. Have they not already deſtroyed very many Thouſands of Families? Will not the Continuing of them, in a very ſhort Time, be the Undoing of many Thouſands more? Is the Intereſt of theſe ſurly, rude, debauched Coachmen, to be put into the Balance with many Thouſands of Curriers, Shoe-makers, Saddlers, Girdlers, Spurriers, Cutlers, Lorimers, Clothiers, Cloth-workers, Cloth-drawers, Drapers, Taylors, and an hundred Trades more, to which Men were bound ſeven Years Apprenticeſhip, to learn their Trades, and are of great Advantage to the Publick? Surely, they ought to be encouraged, being the Manufactures of the Staple Commodities of the Kingdom; by the Manufacturing whereof, great Profit doth ariſe to the Publick: Yet of theſe, if Occaſion require, it will be made appear, above One-hundred-thouſand, with their Families, are in great Meaſure ruined by them. And I pray you, who are advantaged thereby? What Perſons are employed, or ſet at Work by them, ſave only a few Servant-Coachmen, Poſtilions, and Hoſtlers; whom they pretend they breed up, and make fit for the Service of the Nobility and Gentry of the Land; a moſt incomparable School, to train Men up in, and to fit them for the Gallows, more likely than to live in ſober Families; but in the mean Time, while theſe are breeding up, the Price and Rents of Lands are ſo brought down by the Hinderance theſe Coaches do make of the Conſumption of Proviſions and Manufactures, that in a ſhort Time few Gentlemen will be in a Capacity to keep Coaches; ſo that, if all running Stage-coaches and Caravans were ſuppreſſed, it would do well. But, if ſome few Coaches were continued, to wit, one to every Shire-Town in *England*, to go once a Week backwards and forwards, and to go through with the ſame Horſes they ſet forth with, and not travel above thirty Miles a Day in the Summer, and twenty-five Miles in the Winter, and to ſhift Inns every Journey, that ſo Trade might be diſſuſed; theſe would be ſufficient to carry the Sick, and the Lame, that they pretend cannot travel on Horſeback; and, being thus regulated, they would do little, or no Harm; eſpecially if all be ſuppreſſed, within forty or fifty Miles of *London*, where they are no Way neceſſary, and yet ſo highly deſtructive. But this, as well as the reſt, I ſubmit to Judgment.

VIII.

THE eighth Thing propoſed is, That the Act for Tranſportation of Leather unmanufactured may be repealed, or, at leaſt, not renewed after the Expiration thereof.

There would never have been any Neceſſity for this Act, had it not been that vaſt Quantities of Hides are imported from *Ireland*, which brings down the Price of our *Engliſh* Hides. And for the Stage-coaches, their hindering the Conſumption of that Leather in *England*, which, before they ſet up, was uſed for Boots, Saddles, Portmanteaus, Hat-caſes, Holſters, Belts, Girts, Reins, Stirrup-leathers, and many other Things now become almoſt uſeleſs.

The Making whereof, for Home-ſervice, and foreign Conſumption, employed about one-hundred-thouſand Families, whoſe Livelihood depended upon the Manufacturing of Leather, whereby they got Money, with which they maintained their Families, ſpent five or ſix good Joints of Meat in a Week in their Houſes, and wore good Clothes, thereby occaſioning the Conſumption of great Quantities of the Proviſions and Manufactures of the Kingdom, more than now are conſumed. Till this Act paſſed,

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it was Felony to tranſport Leather unmanufactured, and then *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and other Parts, who could not be without our Leather, had vaſt Quantities of Boots, Shoes, and Saddles, with their Appurtenances, Portmanteaus, Hat-caſes, Holſters, Trunks, *&c.* from *England*; by the Making whereof, many Thouſands of Families got a handſome Subſiſtence, and grew rich; but Stage-coaches hindering the Conſumption at Home, as aforeſaid; and *Iriſh* Hides being imported into *Enggland*, and alſo great Quantities from *Ireland*, exported to foreign Parts, our Hides fell in their Price in *England*. The Queſtion then aroſe, how to raiſe them to their ancient Value; and it was by the Parliament conceived, that Giving a Liberty to tranſport the ſame unmanufactured might anſwer the End propoſed; therefore, an Act for that Purpoſe was paſſed.

But ſad hath been, and yet is, the Conſequence thereof; for, ever ſince that Liberty given, the beſt of our Leather is conſtantly bought up, and tranſported beyond Sea unmanufactured; Foreigners, who formerly were ſupplied with Leather wrought here, will not buy, or carry over a Penny-worth, that is manufactured; ſo that all thoſe poor People, who ſerved Apprenticeſhips to learn their Trades, and whoſe Trade depended upon Manufacturing for foreign Conſumption, are undone; they, that kept twenty or thirty Journeymen at Work every Day, cannot now, though eminent Men of their Trades, keep two; by Means whereof, upon Computation, at leaſt fifty-thouſand Men and their Families Livelihoods are wholly taken away, and they ſo impoveriſhed, that they are ready to receive Alms of the ſeveral Pariſhes wherein they live; whilſt in the mean Time Foreigners grow rich, by manufacturing one of the Staple Commodities of this Kingdom; and whereas, till this Act paſſed, all our old Boots and Shoes were bought up, mended here, and then ſent beyond the Seas, and there worn.

The Caſe is now otherwiſe; for the beſt of our Leather is not only bought up, and tranſported unmanufactured, and wrought beyond Sea, but, when it is wrought, it is then imported back, and vended here, to the great Prejudice and Diſcouragement of Manufacturers in *England*, who have many of them been forced, as great a Want of People as there is in *England*, to tranſport themſelves beyond the Seas, for Want of Work at Home, and there have taught their Art to Foreigners. What then doth naturally follow all theſe Things? What Conſequence can be drawn from hence, but this, that inſtead of five-hundred Pounds Worth of Leather formerly ſent beyond Sea manufactured, we ſend now as much Leather, but it is not worth above one-hundred Pounds, becauſe the ſame is carried over unwrought; by which Means our Manufacturers loſe four-hundred Pounds, which they ſhould have gotten, if the Leather had been cut and wrought in *England*, and ſo thereby we grow poor; and Foreigners grow rich, by gaining that four-hundred Pounds, which our Manufacturers loſe.

But this is not all; for moſt of our Leather, that is exported, goes into *France*, with whom we never were able to keep up a Balance of Trade, but have traded with them for ready Money, they taking little or none of the Manufactures of *England* in Exchange for their Commodities. By a moderate Computation, from the beſt Intelligence I can get, *France* receives from *England* thirty-thouſand Pounds Worth of our Leather every Year, which they cannot be without, for our Leather-Manufacture was the only Manufacture, that they were forced to be beholden unto us for; thirty-thouſand Pounds Worth of our Leather manufactured was worth, in *France*, one-hundred and twenty-thouſand Pounds; then at leaſt ſeventy-thouſand Pounds of that went into our Manufacturers Pockets, the reſt to the Merchants, and what our Manufacturers got, was ſpent in the Proviſions and Manufactures of the Kingdom; which being conſumed bore a better Rate than now, and helped to keep up the Rents of Lands.

This Money we not only now loſe, to our Impoveriſhment, and the *French* get, to their Inriching; but conſidering that we now import as much, nay far more, of *French* Goods into *England*, than we did formerly; and taking it for granted, that when we tranſported the moſt that ever we did, yet could not a Balance of Trade be kept up between the two Kingdoms, but our ready Money went for a great Part of the Goods imported; then muſt it naturally follow, that by Sending our Leather unmanufactured, which formerly was manufactured, we muſt ſend over nigh one-hundred-

dred-thouſand Pounds more in ready Money, than formerly we did, or need to do, were it not for this Act, which furniſheth *France* with our Coin, to pay their Workmen for manufacturing of our Staple Commodities, and greatly exhauſteth the Treaſure of this Kingdom; but if this Act be repealed, and *Ireland*'s Tranſporting of raw Hides be prevented, then *France*, and other Foreigners, muſt have Leather from *England* manufactured, as formerly they had, whereby our Handicraft Tradeſmen would be ſet at Work, and, having Work, would live handſomely, as formerly they did, to conſume the Proviſions and Manufactures of the Kingdom: So that to any rational Man it muſt be apparent, that this Act hath not anſwered the End deſigned, nor raiſed the Price of Hides, as expected, nor can it; for *Ireland* tranſporting vaſt Quantities of raw Hides beyond the Seas, and importing great Quantities of their Hides into *England*, as aforeſaid, hinders the Sale of our Hides, or tanned Leather, at any conſiderable Rates, either at Home, or to Foreigners, becauſe we want a Conſumption at Home; and Foreigners chuſe to buy their raw Hides, rather than our Leather, by Reaſon they can purchaſe them at a third Part of the Price we can afford to ſell ours at, and, by tanning of them, employ their own Bark; which is a great Miſchief to the Gentry in *England*, whoſe Bark, by Reaſon thereof, ſells at very low Rates.

IX.

THE ninth Thing propoſed is, That a Court, in the Nature of a Court of *Requeſts* in *London*, be eſtabliſhed for *Weſtminſter*, *Southwark*, and all other Parts within the Weekly Bills of Mortality; and, if poſſible, in every City and Town Corporate in *England*, to determine Differences between poor People for ſmall Debts not exceeding forty Shillings, and for Words, Treſpaſſes, Aſſaults and Batteries (where the People pay neither Scot nor Lot) that ſo they may not be undone by Law-ſuits.

The Court of *Requeſts* in *London* is of excellent Uſe and long Continuance, and hath prevented the Ruin of many Thouſands of Families; and might have done far more, had it not been limited to the Liberties of the City; whereby all *Weſtminſter*, *Southwark*, *Tower-Hamlets*, *Middleſex*, and *Surrey*, within the Weekly Bills of Mortality, wherein the Generality of the Poor inhabit, are excluded their Juriſdiction.

Of theſe Poor (for Want of this Court) many are every Year undone by Law-ſuits commenced againſt each other for ſmall Debts, or trivial Actions, for Words, Aſſaults, or Treſpaſſes, the Pooreſt oftentimes proving the proudeſt, moſt quarrelſome, and vexatious.

Theſe are ſuch, who maintain themſelves and Families by turning and winding twenty or forty Shillings a Week, which they take upon their Credit, and employ in buying and ſelling Butcher's-meat, Poultry-ware, and Fiſh; Herbs, Fruit, and Roots; boiled Wheat and Oat-cakes, Butter and Eggs, and divers other Things, which they cry about the Streets, or ſell at Tavern-doors, or in little Bulks, as, Oranges, Lemons, Oiſters, Tape, Thread-laces, Silk and Ferret-ribbon, Children's Play-things, and ſuch-like ſmall Commodities; whereby they keep their Families from burdening the Pariſhes wherein they dwell, and yet are ſo poor, that they are not rated to the Church and Poor where they trade.

Theſe People are (the greateſt Part of them) moſt commonly indebted twenty, thirty, or forty Shillings a-piece for the Stock they trade with; nevertheleſs have more owing to them, by the Perſons they ſell their Wares to, than, when received, will pay ſuch their Debts; but there are cunning Fellows, belonging to the *Marſhalſea*, *St. Catharine*'s, *Whitechapel*, and *Weſtminſter* (pretending to be Bailiffs, or other Officers) placed in every Part of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the Suburbs thereof, who make it their Buſineſs to inquire out theſe Poor and their Creditors, and thereupon to contrive ſome Stories, whereby to incite their Creditors to make a Demand of their Debts, and, if not preſently paid, then to arreſt the Debtors. Theſe Knaves alſo ſpend their whole Time in promoting Differences between the poorer Sort of People, for frivolous Words, ſlight Treſpaſſes, or pitiful ſmall Debts; which done, they are employed to arreſt Men, and the Perſon arreſted muſt either preſently pay, and give Satisfaction, or put in Bail; the which if he cannot do (as frequently it happens they cannot, they laying their Actions high, though the Occaſion of Action be very ſmall) then they are hurried over to the Knight-marſhal's Priſon, or to ſome other Jail, and put to great Expence, loſe their Credit and Trade, and

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very many of them are utterly ruined by the Charge of Arreſts, Priſon-fees, and the Suits, though the Verdict upon their Trials happen to be for them, as moſt commonly it is, there being not one Action in ten brought in thoſe Courts, for Words or Treſpaſſes, that happens to be according to Law.

Nevertheleſs, if the ſaid Defendants demur, becauſe the Words are not actionable, or the Plaintiff have a Verdict, and the Defendant move in Arreſt of Judgment, and the Judgment be arreſted, yet in neither of theſe Caſes hath the Defendant any Coſts; ſo that both Plaintiffs and Defendants ſpend their Money in vain; and the Pariſhes, where the Defendants inhabit, are frequently forced to redeem them out of the *Marſhalſea*, *Whitechapel*, *St. Catharine*'s, and other Jails, or otherwiſe they ſhould lie and ſtarve in Priſon, though the Cauſe of Action were but a Trifle, the Charges and Fees oftentimes falling out to be four, five, or ſix Times as much as, originally, the Action was brought for; by Reaſon whereof, the Recovering of four, ſix, or twelve Pence ſometimes coſts three, four, five, or ſix Pounds; whereas, if the Court deſired were erected, to end theſe Differences in a ſummary, leſs expenſive, and more expeditious Way, the utter Ruin of ſome Hundreds, if not Thouſands, of Families would be every Year prevented, the Pariſh-charges greatly leſſened, and quarrelſome vexatious Suits, for ſmall Debts of forty Shillings, or under, or for Treſpaſſes, Aſſaults, or Words, would be prevented.

In *London*, no Freeman dwelling within the Liberties can be arreſted or ſued for any Debt under forty Shillings; the Court of *Conſcience*, or *Requeſts*, ſits at *Guildhall*, *Wedneſdays* and *Saturdays* in every Week, to hear Complaints, and take Courſe therein. Upon any Complaint, they firſt ſend a Summons to the Party complained againſt, and that is ſerved upon him by a ſworn Officer, and coſts ſix Pence; which done, the next Court-day the Plaintiff muſt attend, and call the Defendant, and enter his own Appearance, elſe is non-ſuited, loſeth his Summons, and muſt begin again; but the Defendant runs no Hazard in not appearing the firſt Day.

If the Defendant appear the ſecond Court-day after Summons, he prevents an Attachment, and is ordered to pay his Debt; for which the Plaintiff pays four Pence.

If the Defendant fail to appear the ſecond Court-day, before the Court riſeth, the Court grants an Attachment; which Coſts, being executed, amount to one Shilling and ten Pence.

The Officer ſerves this Attachment, as ſoon as he can find the Defendant; which done, he gives the Plaintiff Notice, that the Defendant will meet him next Court-day, and that coſts four Pence more.

If the Defendant appear, and is caſt, he pays for the Summons and Attachment; which is but two Shillings and eight Pence in the Whole.

But, if the Defendant appear not the third Court-day after attached, then the Plaintiff comes and ſwears his Debt, and the Court orders Payment thereof at the Plaintiff's own Houſe, if he pleaſeth; which ſaves eight Pence, that muſt be paid, if it be brought into Court, to take it out again; and this Order coſts four Pence more.

Of this Order the Officer gives the Defendant Notice, and that he muſt meet the Plaintiff in Court the third Court-day after the Making thereof.

If the Defendant appear not the third Court-day, then, upon the Plaintiff's Requeſt, the Court grants Judgment and Execution againſt him; which coſts two Shillings.

So that the whole Charge of Summons, Order, and Attachment, ſecond Order for Judgment, and the Judgment and Execution executed, comes but to four Shillings and eight Pence.

And all is done in three Weeks Time: But the Suit in the *Marſhalſea*, *Whitechapel*, or St. *Catherine*'s, or *Weſtminſter* Courts, and Charges incident thereunto, coſts four or five Pounds, when the Debt, or Cauſe of Action, was not worth five Shillings.

The Erecting the Court deſired would give a great Credit to the Poor.

For, were ſuch Courts erected, every Gentleman, or Perſon of any conſiderable Eſtate, would lend a poor diſtreſſed Neighbour twenty, thirty, or forty Shillings, to put him in a Way to live, or to prevent their being caſt into Priſon, if arreſted for a ſmall Sum; whereas, now, poor Men are forced to borrow of Brokers, pawn double the Value of what they borrow, and pay above *Cent. per Cent.* Intereſt; which eats out their Profit, ſo preſſeth and grinds them,

them, that they frequently are incapacitated to redeem the Pledges left for the Money taken up (which is one other great Miſchief worthy the Conſideration of the Parliament, and fit to be redreſſed) whereas, whilſt the Law is thus coſtly, Men are afraid to lend their Neighbours thirty or forty Shillings to ſet them up with, or to prevent their being impriſoned, becauſe, if they repay it not without a Suit, the ſame may coſt five or ſix Times as much as the original Debt; and, when the Creditor hath Judgment, he is not ſure of his Debt, but in Danger, through the Poverty of the Creditor, to loſe both Principal, Debt, Intereſt, and Charges, or undergo the hard Cenſures and and Clamours of the Poor by confining them to Priſon, which no ingenuous or generous Soul can endure the Thoughts of.

By the Erecting this Court, there is none can be prejudiced, excepting:

Firſt, Bailiffs, one of which Fellows, to arreſt a poor Man, though it be but for Three-pence, Four-pence, or ſome other very ſmall Sum, makes the Man pay four or five Shillings for the Arreſt, hurries him into an Alehouſe, and there runs him Twelve-pence or two Shillings on the Score; and, if not able preſently to pay the ſame, hurries him to Priſon.

Secondly, Several idle Perſons, falſly calling themſelves Attornies, who are as active as the Bailiffs, to promote and carry on Suits begun, though but for trivial Matters, ſetting People together by the Ears, and living upon the Ruin of the Poor, make them ſell their very Beds from under them, or Clothes from off their Backs, to pay their pretended Fees, and the Fees of the Courts, which is too frequently done.

Thirdly, Or the Judges of the *Marſhalſea*, *Weſtminſter*, St. *Catharine*'s, *Whitechapel*, and other inferior Courts of Record, where ſmall Debts, under forty Shillings, may be recovered; but, certainly, they having their Places given them, *gratis*, and being Perſons of generous Education, will not oppoſe ſo charitable a Work as this propoſed, though they ſhould loſe ſome Profit thereby, ſuch Profit coming from ſuch miſerable poor People, that it were Charity in them rather to give them as much as their Fees come to, than to exact any Thing from them.

And if they, by the Court deſired, ſhould loſe a little Profit, they will ſave much Time that they now ſpend in trying theſe Cauſes, and, being Lawyers, may certainly ſpend it to as great, if not better Advantage, than what they will loſe by Setting up the Judicature propoſed.

Let theſe conſider, that ſuch Gentlemen, not being Lawyers, as ſhall be appointed Judges of the Courts deſired, will be greater Loſers than they are, ſince they muſt ſit and ſpend their Time and Money without any Manner of Compenſation at all, ſave the Satisfaction they will receive in being inſtrumental in doing Good to the Poor, which certainly they will do.

For, whereas now it coſts five or ſix Pounds to recover five or ſix Shillings, by the Way propoſed, four Shillings and Eight-pence is all the Charge, though the Suits be ſpun out to the utmoſt Extremity, that any Suitor or Defendant can be put unto.

So, by the Setting up of this Court, Juſtice will be had ſpeedier and cheaper.

The Ruin of many poor People, by Multitudes of vexatious Suits for ſmall Matters, will be prevented.

Love and Amity betwixt Neighbours will be preſerved, Charges of the Pariſhes leſſened, Men's Liberties to follow their Callings, to their own and Family's Comfort, will be continued, and the Debts they owe be more eaſily and ſpeedily paid.

And a Work very pleaſing and acceptable to God will be done, who hath pronounced a Bleſſing upon all thoſe who conſider the Poor, for whoſe Relief alone this is propoſed.

X.

THE tenth Thing propoſed is, That a Bound be put to the extravagant Habits and Expences of all Sorts of Perſons; that Servants and Handicraft-tradeſmen's expenſive Ways be reduced, and no foreign Manufactures, except from *Ireland*, be ſuffered to be worn in *England*; but that the Importation, and Expoſing them to Sale, be made Felony.

There is Nothing ruins the Gentry and Tradeſmen of *England* ſo much, as Living above their Eſtates, or Profit ariſing by their Trades. How much all Sorts of Men do this,

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I leave the World to judge, their Habits and other Expences being more extravagant and vain than ever was known; and not only do Maſters and Miſtreſſes of Families run to Exceſs in their own Dreſſes, but ſuffer and encourage their Servants alſo to do the ſame, which coſts them dear at laſt; for all comes out of their Pockets, and it makes Servants ſo proud and ſcornful, as to neglect their Duties, ſlight their Superiors, and, upon every little Reproof, to go from them.

How many Gentlemen are there in *England* that ſpend their whole yearly Incomes upon Clothing themſelves, their Wives and Children? What Way then have they to anſwer their other Family Expences, but by Spending upon the main Stock?

How careleſs are Parents of their Children's Education, bringing them up idly, putting them upon no Manner of Employment, unleſs to Muſick and Dancing; uſing them to Balls and Plays, and to keep vain Company? Which they get ſuch an Habit of, that they very hardly, if ever, can be broken from it, but ſpend moſt of their Time in Gaming, Whoring, and Drinking; ſo that, by that Time they come to their Eſtates, whatever their Fathers leave them, by following their Examples, they quickly make it away, if they have not run it out before they come to it. Their Clothes muſt be of the Mode, Gentlemen of three or four-hundred Pounds, *per Annum*, will be as fine, keep their Coaches, live as high as if they were Lords, and had great Eſtates; and Nothing will ſerve them but what is Foreign made, whilſt our own Countrymen ſtarve for Want of Work; inſomuch now, that our *Engliſh* Manufacturers, of Silk eſpecially, and Point-laces, and Ribbons, which are become a general Wear, cannot ſell their Goods when they have made them; or, if they do, it is at ſuch pitiful low Rates, that they loſe by their Work, and the Shop-keepers that buy them, when they come to ſhew them to Cuſtomers, are forced to vouch them to be Foreign made, or elſe they cannot ſell them; ſo that our Manufacturers are often neceſſitated to get *Frenchmen* to go with their Wares, and ſell them to Shopkeepers as *French*. Thereupon the Gentry, though the Goods be *Engliſh* made, are ſo fond as to pay dearer for them than otherwiſe they need to do, becauſe of the Brokerage which the Manufacturer pays to thoſe that ſell them to the Shops, and ſo the Manufacturers get little or Nothing by them.

So great a Truth there is in this, that I could inſtance where Perſons of Quality have come into a Shop, ſeen a Commodity, liked it well, but, being ingenuouſly told that it was *Engliſh* made, would not buy it: The very next Day, the ſame Goods have been ſent by a *Frenchwoman* to the Perſons deſiring to buy the ſame, and they have bought them as *French* Goods, and paid double as much for them as they might have had them for the Day before in the Shop.

Is not this a Thing highly commendable in our Gentry ſo to admire Foreigners, and undervalue, diſcourage, and hurt their native Countrymen? Did they conſider, or were they but ſenſible how they hurt and ruin them, themſelves, and their own Eſtates, by ſuch their vain Fancies, hindering the Conſumption of our Manufactures, and Impoveriſhing our Manufacturers, certainly they would give it over. A further Miſchief there is alſo, that Gentlemen and Ladies do fancy greatly to have their Servants, that are about them, ſo fine and neat, that they muſt be in their Silk-gowns, and Petticoats laced, Whiſks and Cuffs, fine Shoes and Stockings, that they will not do any ordinary Work; whereby they are neceſſitated to keep more Servants than they uſed or need to do. And, what the Wages and Diet of every Servant comes to in a Year, eſpecially about *London*, where it is that moſt People are grown ſo vain, let themſelves compute.

Come to the Citizens, who complain for Want of a Trade, but without a Cauſe, though ſo many Tradeſmen fail yearly, for there never was a greater Trade than there is now. What Reaſon is there then of their Failing? It is high Living, every Tradeſman thinking now to have as great a Trade, and as quickly to grow rich, as thoſe did that were of his Trade twenty or thirty Years ago, never conſidering that there are five Times as many of moſt Trades as were then, and that, thereby, Trade is more diffuſed, Shopkeepers, of late Years, through Covetouſneſs of a little Money, taking double or treble the Number of Apprentices that formerly they kept, or indeed, if ſtrictly looked after, than they ought to keep, nothing ſpoiling any particular Trade more than to have Multiplicity of Traders in the ſame Way; with theſe Apprentices they exact as much more Money, as formerly they uſed to have; ſo that, perhaps, Half their Portion is gone to bind them Apprentices; which is a great Madneſs, and no Reaſon to be

given for it, but becauſe Apprentices muſt live high, and wear finer Clothes than formerly they did; wait on their Maſters Abroad, and do none of the ſervile Work, that formerly they uſed to do; which kept them humble: And, if they were now obliged to the ſame, it would keep them from growing ſo proud and ſcornful as they are, or taking the Liberty, they now do, of taunting at their Superiors, quarrelling with their Services, Uſage, and Diet, and going from them, when fit to do them Service: And, if it happen that they do ſerve out their Time, and have a thouſand Pounds to ſet up with, it is very well, and a fair Beginning, treble as much as many of their Maſters had, when they ſet up; who, by cloſe Living, and Diligence, and great Induſtry, after many Years Care and Pains, have arrived to an Eſtate of twenty, thirty, or forty-thouſand Pounds, and a good certain Cuſtom; ſo, conſequently, are able to buy their Commodities, with ready Money, cheaper than he that hath but a ſmall Stock, and trades upon Credit; and thereby they are able to keep the Cuſtom from their Servants, when they ſet up, becauſe they can give Cuſtomers a greater Credit, and a longer Time for Payment: Yet a young Man, as ſoon as he comes out of his Time, not knowing whether ever he ſhall attain to a full Trade, will have as good a Houſe as his Maſter's, keep as high a Table, and lay out four or five-hundred Pounds, out of his thouſand Pounds Stock, in furniſhing his Houſe, and the Fine of the ſame, his Deſign being thereby to advance himſelf in a Match. And thereupon he gets a Wife, perhaps, with a thouſand Pounds Portion, which, added to his own Stock, if the ſame had been kept together, would have made two-thouſand Pounds; but, of this, one Half of his being gone for a Fine of a Houſe and Furniture, as aforeſaid, the Wife, out of her's, will have fine Clothes, Laces, Cupboards of Plate, a Necklace of Pearls, Jewels in her Ears, Diamond-rings on her Fingers, Bulls-locks or Towers, laced or embroidered Petticoats, Shoes, and Silk-hoſe; ſo that in theſe Things go three or four-hundred Pounds more, which might, moſt of it, have been ſaved.

Add to this the vaſt Rent he ſits at, and muſt pay, whether he hath a Trade, or not: If this had been ſpared, he might have had it of his own to have traded with; but, this laid out, it lies dead, whilſt he is forced, for Want thereof, to trade upon Credit for ſo much, and pay Intereſt for the ſame. This Credit if he keeps not, he is loſt; and, being neceſſitated to truſt, and Truſting being dangerous, many Men are undone, partly by that, and partly by the Extravagancies of their good Wives; who, being through their Huſbands Vanity and Indiſcretion made ſo fine, will not ſtir out of Doors without a Coach, and yet make ſuch frequent and long Viſits, that they ſpend more in Coach-hire, ſome Weeks, than the Gains of the Shop come to; and Abroad they get new Acquaintance, at Balls, Plays, or Dancing-ſchools; and, being young, pretty, and in fine Clothes, are ſo courted and gallanted, that oftentimes they are perſuaded into ſuch Inconveniencies, as prove fatal to their Huſbands, as well as to themſelves. But the Huſbands may blame themſelves, they being originally the Occaſion thereof, and of their own Ruin thereby; for nothing will ſerve them, but to live at this Rate, keep their Wives thus fine, expoſe them to Temptations, by ſetting them in their Shops in tempting Dreſſes, thinking to invite Cuſtomers; and thereby very often they have that Effect; but ſometimes thoſe Cuſtomers make bold with that Ware that ſhould not be ſold or lent; and, once having attained that Liberty, if both Parties agree, it is Ten to One if that poor Man be not preſently blown up, either by the Charge his Wife will put him to, in maintaining that Gallant, or by the Credit that good Gentleman ſhall have in the Shop, to take up what he pleaſes; and then, when gone as far as the Owner can give Credit for, he leaves the Shop and his Miſtreſs to his Care. Nevertheleſs, ſometimes Men are undone, and yet their Wives are virtuous (as, without Doubt, many Thouſands are, and more would be, were it not the Huſbands Fault) that is, when, after their being a While ſet up, and a little Eſtate gotten, they grow high, keep their Coaches, muſt have their Country-houſes, the Candles burning at both Ends, never thinking they ſhall ſee an End of their Gains. And their Wives, forſooth, muſt not be Nurſes, but ſend their Children Abroad; ſo that, reckoning the Charge of Keeping there, and frequent Going to ſee them, and the Gifts and good Things that are unknown carried to the Nurſes, theſe high Expences, accompanied with a Decay and Declination of Trade, occaſioned by the Multiplicity of Traders, as aforeſaid,

aforesaid, go far in destroying young Beginners. Moreover, the Keeping unnecessary Maid-servants, Giving them great Wages, and Maintaining them idle in fine Habits and Dresses (who with their vain and wanton Carriages oftentimes become Snares to young Men) this finisheth the Work, and both Masters, Mistresses, and Servants come all to Ruin thereby.

One other great Mischief to the young Tradesmen, who are industrious, close Husbands, and sober in their Habits and Expences, is the great Rents they pay in the City, when the Trade is gone to the other End of the Town, where Rents are low. Were all Men of my Mind, those who lived in *London* before the Fire, and are Freemen, and now, to the Destruction of the City, live in the Suburbs, merely to inrich themselves, they should starve, before a Penny should be laid out amongst them. Why should they not come into the City again, and make that the Seat of Trade? Which is the Metropolitan of *England*, and at such vast Charge, in Compliance with the King's Pleasure, is nobly rebuilt, and so many Thousands are undone by the Building thereof, by having their Houses stand empty on their Hands. Such base, treacherous Men to the City, who no more value the Oaths they took, when bound Apprentices and made free, ought not to be countenanced, where they are, by buying any Thing of them; there is not one of these but is forsworn, if he duly weigh and consider the Purport of his Oath; and he, that will make no Conscience of forswearing himself, merely to gain a little Advantage in his Trade, I am sure, will make no Conscience of cheating of me, therefore shall never have any of my Custom.

One other great Mischief to young Tradesmen is, that they, being but Beginners, are forced to keep Shops, in Order to gain a Customs; and thereby are constrained to pay great Rents, and Taxes, which are very hard upon *London*, treble as much in Proportion, as upon any one County of *England*, and paid by these young Men, whilst your cunning rich ancient Tradesmen, having a large Acquaintance, great Stock, and a full Trade, give over their Shops, and take a Country-house, where they live for a small Rent, pay not the sixth Part of Taxes, that are paid in *London*, and so carry on their Trade in *London*, privately in Warehouses. I could name several of the Chief Magistrates that do so, but will not at present, though they deserve it. Have they, through God's Blessing, arrived, by their Trades in the City, to great Estates, and to be the Chief Magistrates thereof, only to be covetous and sordid, seeking to save a little Money, when they have so much, that they know not what to do with it, and thereby put all the Charges upon those young Shop-keepers, through their Avarice? And thus many of these young Men fall to Ruin, whilst the elder run away with all the Trade, and ingross the same into their own Hands. It is a great Shame this should be suffered, and such Men ought not to have any Manner of Government, or Power in, or over the City, who make Use of it, only to inrich themselves, by destroying those they govern.

Moreover, Handicraft Tradesmen's high Wages, which they exact for their Work, is greatly mischievous, not only to every Man, that hath Occasion to use them, whose particular Occasion cannot be served, but at far greater Rates than formerly, which, if that were all, would be little, but it is destructive to Trade, hinders the Consumption of our Manufactures by Foreigners, and the Exportation of those vast Quantities, that used to be transported, when the Manufacturing of them was so cheap as formerly; for, now Wool and Leather being cheaper manufactured, beyond the Seas than here, we are undersold in foreign Markets, to our great Prejudice; which, if not prevented, in few Years, will tend to the total Ruin and Destruction of our Woollen and Leather Manufactures. I can give no better Account for this Advancement of their Wages, than our *English* People's Foolishness, in encouraging Foreigners, beyond their own Neighbours, wearing their Manufactures, and neglecting the Use of our own; by Means whereof our Manufacturers Work is carried away from them; so that, whereas they had six Days Work formerly, they have not above three now, and having the same Families, must either have double the Wages they had, when they had full Employ, which enhanceth the Price of the Commodities, or let their Families want Bread three Days in the Week.

So the Case thus stands in short: As for the Loss of the foreign Trade we had, and the Want of the Consumption that used to be of

our Manufactures in foreign Parts, no other Reaſon can be given, but that Foreigners are able to make their Work cheaper than we do, and thereby are able to underſel us, where-ever we come; and the Reaſon of their Working cheaper is, becauſe they live not ſo high, neither are their Expences in Wages, and Working, ſo great as ours. If they were, how could Foreigners fetch our Wool and Leather, pay Freight and Cuſtom outward, manufacture it Abroad, and then import it back again, paying a ſecond Cuſtom, and yet ſell it cheaper here, than we do ours? If this be true, and thereby the foreign Conſumption of our Manufactures be loſt, the more Reaſon there is then, in my poor Judgment, to endeavour the Reducing the Wages of our Manufacturers, and themſelves to a more ſober and leſs expenſive Way of Living, that thereby, if poſſible, we may regain that Trade: Which if we do, we ſhall ſoon ſet our People at Work, who now want Bread. And nothing can be more conducing to this End, than to enjoin all *Engliſhmen*, not to wear any Thing but what is of our own Growth and Manufactures; which will increaſe a Conſumption at Home, and ſet thoſe at Work, who now live idle, and by giving them full Work, would bring down their Wages; ſo that then we having our Wool, and Leather, cheaper than Foreigners have, and being able to manufacture them at as eaſy Rates as they do, it will then neceſſarily follow, that we may underſel them in foreign Markets; which if we can do, and will be honeſt, make good ſubſtantial and true Work, that will hold out its Weight, and the full Length and Breadth they formerly did, we may regain that foreign Trade.

And, the better to effect this, all foreign Manufactures, except that of Linnen, which we cannot be without, ought to be prohibited, and the Expoſing them to Sale made Felony, ſo as the Perſon ſelling be privy to their being ſuch, except what is manufactured in *Ireland*; which of Neceſſity we muſt make ourſelves Maſters of, otherwiſe they having Wool, and Leather, and Workmen, cheaper than we can have, will by ſupplying foreign Markets, at lower Rates, than we can ſell for, gain that Trade; and thereby deſtroy ours. But if theſe be imported into *England*, and bought by us, though we buy them cheap, yet when we have them, we may hold up and advance their Price, ſo as to make them bear equal Proportion, with what we can afford our own for; which we may do alſo with their Cattle, if imported again, and being Maſters both of their and our own, force Foreigners, eſpecially if the Exportation of Wool and Leather be prevented, to be beholden to us for what they want, and can no where elſe have; whereby Trade will be increaſed, Conſumption of the Products of our Lands promoted, and thereby the Price of them will be raiſed, and conſequently Lands yield better Rents: And by this Increaſe of Trade, his Majeſty's Revenue, by a moderate Computation, would be advanced above one-hundred-thouſand Pounds, *per Ann.* which would be an additional Help, towards Payment of the publick Debts, and no Prejudice, but a great Advantage to his Majeſty's Subjects.

XI.

THE Eleventh Propoſal is, That it may be lawful for any Man to aſſign Bills, Bonds, or other Securities, to any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever; and that, by Virtue of ſuch Aſſignment, the Intereſt in the ſaid Debt, due upon ſuch Security, may immediately be veſted in the Aſſignee. And to the End, that the Frauds by falſe Entries in Shop-books may be prevented: That it be made unlawful for any Perſon, after three Years, to ſue for a Book-Debt; and that the great Deceits uſed by many Perſons, who break merely to deceive Creditors, may (if poſſible) by ſome ſevere and ſtrict Law be prevented: Than which,

Firſt, There is hardly any Thing can be of greater Advantage to Trade.

Secondly, Of greater Security to the Gentry, that they ſhall not for the future be wronged.

Thirdly, Of more Advantage to the Nation, in general.

For Want of Power to aſſign Securities, many Tradeſmen and Gentlemen are every Year undone.

It is true, that Men commonly make Letters of Attorney to their Creditors, to enable them to put Bonds, Bills, or other Securities, into Suit, that are made to them; but thoſe Letters of Attorney are revocable, ſo that the Men, to whom they are made, are not ſecure, that the Perſon, that makes them, ſhall not afterwards

terwards revoke the ſame, or diſcharge any Suit brought upon any ſuch Bill, Bond, or other Security, by Virtue of ſuch Letters of Attorney: And ſo no Man will accept of any Bond entered into to another Man, and a Letter of Attorney from the Perſon, to whom the ſame is entered into, as a Security for any Debt due to himſelf, from the Perſon to whom ſuch Bond is given. Tradeſmen live upon Credit, buy much upon Truſt, and are obliged to pay on certain Days; on which if they fail, their Credit is loſt; and, as they buy upon Credit, ſo they muſt ſell upon Truſt: And, if the Perſon truſted by them pay not at the Time limited, yet, are they, that truſt them, obliged to obſerve punctually their Days of Payment, becauſe the Credit of thoſe Merchants that truſt them depends thereupon. Nevertheleſs, many Tradeſmen, becauſe they cannot get in what is owing to them, are forced to fail in Point of their Payments, which leſſens their Credit, and begets Suits; and thoſe Suits occaſion the Ruin of many Families, although the Perſons ſued have in other Men's Hands good Debts, which, when received, would be ſufficient to anſwer all their Creditors.

But, if the Aſſignment of Debts due upon Bill, Bond, or other Securities, were, by Act of Parliament, made lawful, and it were enacted, That ſuch Aſſignments ſhould be irrevocable, and that the Intereſt in the Debts, due upon ſuch Security, ſhould, by Virtue of ſuch Aſſignments, be actually veſted in the Aſſignee; then, if *A.* owed *B.* the Sum of five-hundred Pounds, and *B.* owed *C.* five-hundred Pounds, and *B.* his Time of Payment was come, and he had no Money to pay the ſame, the Aſſignment of *A.* his Bond to *C.* would be accepted, if he were a Perſon anſwerable, in Diſcharge of *B.* his Debt. And, if he had Occaſion to pay Money, and had it not by him, *C.* might preſently aſſign the ſaid *A.* his Bond to *D.* and *D.* to *E*, &c. And this would make all Bills, Bonds, and other Securities, as good as ready Money; which will be of great Uſe to the Subjects, and prevent the Multiplicity of Suits that now happen; and thereby the Ruins of many Families.

Secondly, It will be of great Advantage and Security to the Gentry; for, if their Bills, Bonds, or other Securities be aſſignable, Perſons, to whom they enter into ſuch Securities, though they want Money, will not be haſty to put their Securities in Suit, or compel them (as now they are forced to do) frequently to ſhift and alter Securities, which is chargeable and difficult; becauſe, then, Bonds will be in the Nature of ready Money, and in Trade be equally as good, when Aſſignments ſhall be enacted to be irrevocable; and that Suits brought thereupon by the Aſſignees, in their own Names, and to their own Uſes, ſhall not be diſcharged, but by Delivering up the Securities themſelves, and that not without the Conſent of the Perſon, to whom, by Endorſement on the Back of ſuch Securities, it ſhall appear to have been laſt aſſigned: And to enact, that no Perſon ſhall be ſued for a Book-Debt, after three Years, would be of excellent Uſe both to Buyer and Seller.

For frequently it hath happened, that Gentlemen who had taken up Goods upon Truſt, living remote in the Country, have afterwards ſent up Money, and paid for the ſame, but not ſeen the Book croſſed; whereupon, many Years after the Death of the Buyer and Seller, by the Executor of the Seller, the Buyer's Executor hath been ſued for the ſame, and the Plaintiff hath recovered againſt him, merely becauſe ſuch a Debt hath been found ſtanding in the Book, and the Delivering of the Goods proved; and ſo a Verdict hath paſſed againſt the Executor of the Debtor, becauſe he hath not been able to prove Payment for the ſame.

How many, by letting Debts ſtand long in Shop-keepers Books, have, when they came to Account with them, found Entries made of Goods never bought by them, or of greater Quantities, than they had of ſuch Goods as they did buy?

But, if no Book-Debt ſhall be ſued for, after three Years Standing, it will oblige the Shop-keepers to come to Account, once in three Years, and get Bill or Bond for their Monies, whilſt Things are freſh in Memory, or elſe to ſue for the ſame; when, if any Thing be found unjuſt in their Books, the Creditor will be able, by his Memory, to diſcover the ſame, and prevent Payment thereof.

Beſides, it will prevent Perjury, and other foul Practices.

Thirdly, This Act deſired would be of great Advantage to the Nation in general; for, when paſſed, all Bills, Bonds, and other good Securities will be *Tantamount* to ready Money; ſo that there will be twenty-thouſand Pounds, or as good as twenty-thouſand Pounds in *England*, inſtead of every thouſand Pounds, that now is

paſſing

paſſing in Trade, which muſt neceſſarily be a great Advantage to the Publick.

This Courſe is practiſed in other foreign Parts, and found of as great Importance and Benefit to Trade, as can be imagined.

And, for Preventing the Miſchiefs ariſing to Traders, by the Knaveries of Perſons pretending to be Bankrupts, and who break with Deſign, only to defraud their Creditors, ſome further and ſtricter Act muſt be made, than hitherto there hath been; otherwiſe there will be no Truſting any Man, it being frequent for Men of wicked and cheating Principles, when they deſign to break, knowing themſelves to be Perſons not ſuſpected to fail, but of a good Credit, to take up great Parcels of Goods, or Sums of Money of ſeveral other Tradeſmen; which, ſo ſoon as they get into their Hands, they diſpoſe unto Friends in Truſt for them, and their Wives, and Children; which done, then, they preſently do ſome Act, whereby they become Bankrupts; as ſuch are proſecuted, Commiſſions taken out to declare them Bankrupts, whereupon, they withdraw and abſcond themſelves in the Country, till they can get Releaſes from their Creditors, or compound for ſome ſmall Matter, or otherwiſe they take the *King's-Bench*, lie within the *Rules*, and frequently go Abroad, and, all that Time, have the Money, they break for, going in Trade in other Names; and from ſuch their Truſtees they receive the Benefit thereof, wherewith, they live high, whilſt their Creditors are undone by them; and, if they cannot bring their Creditors to Compoſition, they will continue all their Life-time in the *King's-Bench*, and the Creditors get nothing; ſo that their Creditors are frequently brought to ſmall Compoſition: Which done, then theſe Bankrupts immediately appear in their Shops again, richer than ever they were, when firſt ſet up; and this, with other honeſt Men's Stocks, who, with their Families are undone, through the Loſſes ſuſtained by thoſe Men's knaviſh Breaking. And this Trick ſome Men have played ſeveral Times over; therefore, it is fit for the future, if poſſible, to be prevented.

XII.

THE Twelfth Propoſal, is, That the *Newcaſtle* Trade for Coals be managed by Commiſſioners for the King, whereby the Subjects may be ſupplied with Coals, at eaſy Rates, and not be exacted upon, as they now are; and about two-hundred thouſand Pounds, *per Annum*, be coming to the Crown; which would be a further Help towards the Payment of the publick Debts.

I need not declare how the Subjects are abuſed in the Price of Coals.

How many Poor have been ſtarved, for Want of Fewel, by Reaſon of the horrid Prices put upon them; eſpecially, in Time of War, either by the Merchant, or the Woodmonger, or between them both.

That which I ſhall propoſe, is,

That the whole Trade be managed by Commiſſioners, for the Benefit of the Publick.

That thoſe Commiſſioners take Care to ſupply all Parts of his Majeſty's Dominions with Coals.

That Coals be ſold all the Year long, at two and twenty Shillings, *per* Chaldron; at which Rate, they may very well be afforded.

For, at *Newcaſtle*, they buy them for about ſeven Shillings *per* Chaldron.

The *Newcaſtle* Chaldron makes five *London* Chaldrons.

The Freight of each Chaldron is not above ſix Shillings.

The Duty to the City, for each Chaldron, is but three Shillings.

Lighterage, Warfage, and Cartage may coſt, *per* Chaldron, four Shillings.

I compute the higheſt Rates that can be imagined.

And at theſe Rates, each *Newcaſtle* Chaldron will lie the Commiſſioners but in twenty Shillings.

If then three *Newcaſtle* Chaldron, computed at three Pounds, make five *London* Chaldron, and, they be ſold for five Pounds ten Shillings, there is very nigh Half in Half gotten thereby: Conſidering then, how many hundred-thouſand Chaldron of Coals are ſpent every Year, and by a moderate Computation it will appear, that near two-hundred thouſand Pounds, *per Annum*, Advantage may ariſe hereby to the Publick, and the Subjects alſo receive a great Benefit by the ſame.

XIII.

THE laſt Propoſal is, That the Fiſhing Trade may be ſet up and encouraged, all poor People ſet at Work, to make Fiſhing-tackle, and be paid out of the yearly Rates, laid upon the Subjects for Maintaining of the Poor.

This

This would be of vaſt Advantage to the Publick.

The Money, yearly paid by the Subjects for the Relief of the Poor, is nigh as much as an Aſſeſſment of ſeventy-thouſand Pounds a Month to the King.

This is employed only to maintain idle Perſons, doth great Hurt, rather than Good, makes a World of Poor, more than otherwiſe there would be, prevents Induſtry and Laborioufneſs, Men and Women growing ſo idle and proud, that they will not work, but lie upon the Pariſh, wherein they dwell, for Maintenance, applying themſelves to nothing but Begging or Pilfering, and Breeding up their Children accordingly, never putting them upon any Thing that may render them uſeful in their Generations, or beneficial either to themſelves, or the Kingdom.

But, if inſtead of giving them weekly Allowances for maintaining them in their Idleneſs, the Money collected were employed to ſet all of them, that are able, at Work, to ſome Kind of Employment or other, ſuitable to their Capacities, it would be of infinite Uſe and Advantage to the Nation: There are none except Bedridden or Blind, but ſome Work or other may be found, that they may be capable of Doing; which, if they would not ſet unto, when appointed them, they ſhould have Correction, rather than any Encouragement, which now they have, by allowing them weekly Maintenance. And, thus, not only Men and Women would become uſeful and beneficial to the Kingdom, but their Children ſhould all of them be employed, and ſet at Work, to do ſomething or other, that may keep them from Idleneſs; which becoming habitual to them in their Youth, they are ſeldom broke off, whilſt they live.

Induſtry and Labour ought to be countenanced and encouraged, and Magiſtrates and Gentry would do well to give Examples thereof to thoſe amongſt whom they live.

If all the Poor now maintained in their Idleneſs were ſet at Work, and paid out of the Money raiſed as aforeſaid, thoſe that now have two Shillings, or three Shillings a Week, might, by their Work, earn ſo much; or ſuppoſe they could earn but one Shilling ſix Pence a Week, and nevertheleſs receive three Shillings, it is Half in Half ſaved; ſo that a Moiety of what now is collected from the People might be ſpared to them, and yet the Poor be as well, or better maintained than now.

But, if Men, Women, and Children were ſet at Work, few Families that now receive two or three Shillings a Week, but, in all Probability, would and might earn four or five Shillings a Week, help to manufacture the Staple Commodities of the Kingdom at cheap Rates, and thereby bring down the Wages of Handicrafts-men, which now are grown ſo high, that we have loſt the Trade of foreign Conſumption, becauſe, Abroad, Wool and Leather, and the Manufactures thereof, are ſold at lower Rates than we can afford ours at.

This Miſchief of high Wages to Handicrafts-men is occaſioned, by Reaſon of the Idleneſs of ſo vaſt a Number of People in *England*, as there are, ſo that thoſe that are induſtrious, and will work, make Men pay what they pleaſe for their Wages; but ſet the Poor at Work, and then theſe Men will be forced to lower their Rates, whereby we ſhall quickly come to ſell as cheap as Foreigners do, and conſequently engroſs the Trade to ourſelves.

There are many Ways to ſet the Poor at Work, both old and young.

Women and Children, by Spinning of Linnen, Woollen, and Worſted, Carding, Combing, Knitting, Working Plain-work, or Points, Making Bone-lace, or Thread or Silk Laces, Brede, and divers other Things.

The Linnen-trade, if well regulated, would employ ſome Hundred-thouſands of People; and, if brought to Perfection, might ſave vaſt Sums of Money, within the Kingdom, which now are ſent out for the ſame.

The Woollen and Leathern Manufactures would employ Multitudes of Men, and young Youths, and vaſt Quantities of Wool might be manufactured and conſumed in *England*, more than now is, if all the Tapeſtry we now uſe were made here, which is now imported from beyond the Seas. Alſo, if the Act for Burying in Flannel, as ridiculous as Men make it, were put in Execution, ſeeing Flannel would be as good for that Uſe, as Linnen, Abundance of our Poor would be employed in Making theſe Things; and the Money, now paid for theſe foreign Manufactures, would be kept in *England*, and defray the Charge of the Manufacturing of them at Home.

It is not to be imagined how many Thouſands of Men, Women, and Children, the Fiſhing-trade, which is that I principally aim at,

at, would keep in Employment. The Making of the Nets, Sails, Cordage, and other Materials for that Uſe, the Building of Fiſhing Veſſels, and the Catching and Curing of the Fiſh, when catched, would find Work for above two-hundred thouſand People, and would increaſe the Number of Sea-men, Ship-wrights, and many Handicrafts-men: A great Revenue, if well managed, would thereby ariſe to the Publick; and the Fiſh taken would be as good to us, as ſo much ready Money; and be taken off beyond Seas, in Exchange for ſuch Goods, as we neceſſarily want, and have from foreign Parts, and now pay ready Money for.

To conclude, Were the Things propoſed as aforeſaid done, as deſired, Trade would be encouraged and increaſed, the Proviſions and Manufactures of the Kingdom be, in far greater Quantities, conſumed, both at Home and Abroad, the Price of Lands would be raiſed, Tenants be enabled to pay their Rents, the Kingdom would be greatly inriched, and in a few Years, the publick Debts of the Kingdom might be diſcharged, without impoſing any conſiderable Tax upon the People.

Let me ſpeak too: Or, Eleven Queries, humbly propoſed to the Officers of the Army, concerning the late Alteration of Government. The laſt Teſtimony amongſt Men, both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, which no Time will aboliſh, is that which, by Oath, calleth the Gods to be Sureties of their Covenants. *Procopius.*

PSAL. XV. 4.

Having ſworn to his own Hurt, he changeth not.

Let your Moderation be known to all Men, for the Lord is at Hand.

London, printed 1659. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

Gentlemen,

AS it pleaſed the Lord of Hoſts to conduct you through many Difficulties hitherto, with whom to this Time I have kept Pace, and wherein I cannot accord, I humbly with all Affection propoſe my Scruples, being willing to be delivered from any Error, and Miſapprehenſion in any Kind, and that, which is given with the Right-hand, will not, I hope, be taken with the Left: And let me acquaint you, it is not private Intereſt, or worldly Gain, is any Ground at all to incline me to Query; for I was never no Courtier, nor received any Benefit by it, nor was ever like to do, nor ever received the leaſt perſonal Injury from the long Parliament.

Therefore, as they are the naked and plain Reſult of an unbiaſſed Mind, I hope you will the rather bear with them and me; I know ſome amongſt you, which, I am ſorry to

ſee,

ſee, take all ill, and reſent nothing to be Reaſon, but that which comports with their own Humours; as for them, I am in little Hope, either to receive or give Satisfaction.

This only I would farther ſay, that the former Bleſſings of God, and his Mercy unto you, is no Argument at all, that he will ever continue the ſame, but will, as he hath done to other People, more highly declare himſelf againſt you, in Caſe you take Sanctuary at unrighteous Ways and Courſes, and what are not juſtifiable before God and Men: You have I loved above all the Nations of the Earth, I therefore will puniſh you for your Iniquity. I do not know any one Action, that ever brought your Principles into Suſpicion, and that you bear not the ſame Good-will to righteous and juſt Proceedings, as this laſt of dethroning his Highneſs without any Reaſon or Cauſe given, at leaſt worthy ſuch Severity: All that I have further to ſay is, that, if you have done well, and have the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience, the Lord eſtabliſh you; if not, God give you Repentance, and make Reſtitution.

Query 1.

WHether there be any Power or Authority by Kings or Protectors, with Parliament or Parliaments alone, or a free State ſo called; and what other Government ſoever be more *Jure divino*, than another? And the Reaſon of this Query is this: Becauſe no one Government, but hath been as beneficial a Government to the People as the other: And there is nothing in any new-deviſed Way of Rotation, which, in itſelf, is ſeemingly rational, but whether other Governments are not every Way as rational, and freer from Inconveniences in the Practice of it, than the other, and far more, if well conſidered?

2. Whether the late Protector was not proclaimed, as Protector and ſupreme Magiſtrate, by the Commanders in Chief of the Army, in the greateſt Solemnity imaginable; firſt, at the *Exchange* in *London*, *Weſtminſter*, and, afterwards throughout *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with the greateſt Teſtimonies of the Soldiers Good-will and Liking, and of the People's Reception and Entertainment with a *Nemine Contradicente?*

3. Whether the Officers and Soldiers of the Army afterwards, upon more ſerious Deliberation, did not generally addreſs themſelves unto the Protector as ſupreme Magiſtrate, and ſo did further thereby oblige themſelves, and, by ſuch a Kind of Tranſaction, ſubjected themſelves by Way of the moſt ſolemn Engagements unto him, as ſupreme Magiſtrate?

4. Whether the People, from all Quarters of the Nation, did not, after the moſt ſolemn Manner, addreſs themſelves likewiſe unto him, with the moſt cordial, zealous, and pathetical Expreſſions, that it was poſſible, for a poor People, tired out with War and Blood, to utter; thinking with themſelves, that now they were arrived at the fair Haven of Peace and Safety? And, withal, let this be conſidered alſo, That if an Agreement of the People, ſo much talked of by ſome, be that which would be as a fundamental Baſis for a Government to be ſettled upon; then, lo here it is. I think it may be ſaid, without the leaſt Kind of Preſumption, That no Prince, or King of *England*, or any other Government, ſince this was a Land, had a greater Teſtimony, and Witneſs, and Agreement of the People, both Religious and others, than this Protector hath, having about four or five-hundred-thouſand Hands, and twice as many Hearts beſides?

5. Whether he was not acknowledged and recogniſed by the freeſt Parliament choſen many Years, as ſupreme Magiſtrate?

6. Whether the Lord *Fleetwood*, *Deſborough*, *Lambert*, *Bury*, *Hewſon*, *Cooper*, &c. did not ſwear to be true to him as Protector when they ſat in Parliament; and how hateful to God and Men, yea, to the very Heathens have ſuch Things been? *Ezekiel* xvii. 12. 13, 14, 15, ſpeaking of the Faith that the *Hebrew* Kings had given to the *Babylonians*, Shall he proſper, ſhall he eſcape that doeth ſuch Things? Or, Shall he eſcape that breaks the Covenant, and be delivered? Verſe 16, As I live, ſaith the Lord God, ſurely in the Place where the King dwelleth that made him King, whoſe Oath he deſpiſeth, and whoſe Covenant he brake, even with him in the Midſt of *Babylon* he ſhall die. Verſe 18, Seeing he deſpiſeth the Oath, by

Breaking the Covenant (when, lo, he had given his Hand) and hath done all theſe Things, he ſhall not eſcape.

Philo. An Oath is God's Teſtimony of a Thing in Queſtion?

Auſtin. He that ſwears by a Stone, if he ſwear falſly, is perjured; and afterwards ſaith, The Stone heareth not thy Words, but God puniſhes thy Fraud.

7. Whether the late Protector, for ſo it ſeems he muſt be called, ever gave any Reaſon or Ground at all, for theſe Gentlemen to dethrone him, and to proteſt againſt him and his Government? I could wiſh, and many Thouſands more, the Reaſons might be ſeen, for nothing hath paſſed or been obſerved by diligent Obſervers and Partners with you in the ſame Cauſe, that might render him unlovely or unacceptable to any Perſon whatſoever. However, if there be any Grounds or Conſiderations, that might induce the Army to ſuch a grand Tranſaction as this; firſt, to reject and ſlight him, and then to give Reaſons, if there be any, is to hang a Man firſt, and to try him afterwards?

8. But, if there be no ſubſtantial Grounds, as it is preſumed, there none can be, even as little as you may blame the Sun for Running his Courſe, ſo harmleſs hath he been: Whether then there hath been, in any Age, more Unfaithfulneſs in Juſtice, greater Covenant-breakers, Perſons ſo rebellious, Men that have rendered the bleſſed Goſpel of Chriſt and Profeſſors thereof more uncomely, than this Generation hath done; let the World judge, for, indeed, they have already given their Verdict in the Caſe, which is more the Pity.

9. Whether your Invitation of the Long-Parliament, to return to their Truſt, be not a tranſparent Figment? Who truſted them? The People. But the People ſince have delivered their Truſt elſewhere; for, when the late Protectors did ſend out Writs, the People might have ſtaid at Home, there were none forced to chuſe, but freely they have elected others: And, if ſo be the free Choice and Election of the People make a Parliament, and they are alſo free to chuſe, as often the Providence of God ſhall put Opportunity into their Hands, then it is very doubtful whether this be any other Thing than only a Parliament ſo called, the People having freely declared themſelves otherwiſe.

Obj. But if it be objected, that theſe Gentlemen, with others, made a Vote in the Long-Parliament, That they ſhould not be diſſolved, nor diſturbed, until they themſelves pleaſed or ſaw Cauſe.

Anſ. It is a good Way of Arguing if it would ſerve, for if ten or more Lords, or great Men, ſhould chuſe Stewards and Truſtees to manage their Eſtates for the beſt Advantage, as uſually they do; and, after they felt and taſted the Sweets of their Truſt, they ſhould enter into a Combination, and reſolve and agree amongſt themſelves, that now, having the ſole Diſpoſal of their Lords Eſtates, that they would not be put out of their Stewardſhip, until they themſelves pleaſed: Do you think that they that did thus truſt theſe good Stewards were obliged by their Stewards Reſolution? Doubtleſs, No: But if, at any Time afterwards, their Lords ſhould appoint other Stewards, doubtleſs, they ought to officiate, and the others to ſhift for themſelves, except they liked to entertain them the ſecond Time; and, Whether this be not the preſent Caſe in Hand, and theſe as much a Parliament as the other Stewards, is the Query.

10. Whether this Parliament, if it needs muſt be ſo called, with ſeventy more Gentlemen for a Senate, be not like to infringe the People's Rights, and give leſs Satisfaction, than one ſingle Perſon with a Parliament? The firſt Reaſon is, This Parliament of fifty or ſixty, or thereabouts, and ſeventy more beſides, have every one of them a long Train; there is never a one but is a File-leader, that is, hath, at leaſt, ſix or ten at his Heels, to be provided for one Way or other; and all hungry as Hawks, ready to catch at any Thing, and nothing will ſerve but the Blood of the People, for they muſt be fed with ſomething.

2. *Reaſon.* It is againſt the ſtanding Rules of Reaſon, the profeſſed Principles of the Army, for any Power or Authority to have the Militia, and the Command of the People's Purſes, which this Parliament, or People, hath, which is both deſtructive and pernicious; tho' the Command of the People's Purſe was never deſired or practiſed by a ſingle Perſon; and, Whether a Government, ſettled by Parliament, under one Head, to execute the Laws of the Government ſo made by Parliament, be

not

not more pleaſing and rational than to have a Body conſiſting of ſo many Heads, which is Monſter-like? The People, generally, doubtleſs, had rather have their Laws executed by one Perſon, which they love and honour, than to have a hundred, or a hundred and fifty Men equal, or worſe than themſelves, to domineer over them, as it is too apparent they were accuſtomed to do: Beſides, you will find, in Caſe of any Exorbitancy in a Government, that one for his Truſt is ſooner dealed with than many.

11. Whether the *Good Old Cauſe*, ſo much talked of, be not generally miſtaken? For what is this Cauſe ſo much magnified, but that which you have poſſeſſed and enjoyed as free in this Protector's Time, as in the Long-Parliament; nay, and more alſo by far? Now let us firſt enquire what it is: If firſt the Baſis of all our fierce and fiery Conteſts with all Sorts, as well the Pulling out the Long-Parliament themſelves, as againſt the King and Biſhops, was not for Liberty of Conſcience, and for a Toleration of Men of different Minds in God's Worſhip and Service: Let every Man examine the Times, the Army's Declarations, and the Courſe of Things every Year ſince the firſt Beginning, and you will find the Kindle-coal of all Differences was in this, that ſometimes Prelacy, and then Preſbytery, both in *England* and *Scotland*, had an Itch to be beating their Fellow-ſervants; and, to ward the Dint of their Blow, preſently we ſtill betook ourſelves to our Arms; if you will ſay the Liberties of the People was a Part and a principal one too: It is true it was, I believe, not only pretended, but intended alſo: But the People are the moſt proper Judges; he, that is beaten, is beſt able to judge of the Blows; and he that is diſeaſed of the Gout, or the like, he is moſt ſenſible of the Eaſe, when he hath it; ſo the People, if their Verdict may paſs. Whether the executive Power in this Protector, or in Committees of Parliament, be beſt; it is too apparent, if the People, whoſe Servants theſe Gentlemen pretend to be, might ſpeak and be heard, they would neither give them Meat, Drink, nor Lodging for their Work, but would be as bad as a High Court of Juſtice I fear.

A Letter to the Lord *Fairfax*, and his Council of War, with divers Queſtions to the Lawyers and Miniſters: Proving it an undeniable Equity, That the common People ought to dig, plow, plant, and dwell upon the Commons, without hiring them, or paying Rent to any. Delivered to the General and the chief Officers, on *Saturday*, *June* 9. By *Jerrard Winſtanly*, in the Behalf of thoſe who have begun to dig upon *George-hill* in *Surrey*. *London*: Printed for *Giles Calvert*, at the *Black-Spread-Eagle*, at the Weſt End of *Paul*'s, 1649. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages.

To the Lord Fairfax, *General of the* Engliſh *Forces, and his Council of War.*

SIR,

OUR Digging and Plowing upon *George-hill* in *Surrey* is not unknown to you, ſince you have ſeen ſome of our Perſons, and heard us ſpeak in Defence thereof; and we did receive Mildneſs and Moderation from you, and your Council of War, both when ſome of us were at *White-hall* before you, and when you came in Perſon to *George-hill*, to view our Works; we endeavour to lay open the Bottom and Intent of our Buſineſs, as much as can be, that none may be troubled with doubtful Imaginations about us, but may be ſatisfied in the Sincerity and univerſal Righteouſneſs of the Work.

We underſtand that our Digging upon that Common is the Talk of the whole Land; ſome approving, ſome diſowning; ſome are Friends, filled with Love, and ſee the Work intends Good to the Nation, the Peace whereof is that which we ſeek after; others are Enemies filled with Fury, and falſely report of us, that we have Intent to fortify ourſelves, and afterwards to fight againſt others, and take away their Goods from them, which is a Thing we abhor; and many other Slanders we rejoice over, becauſe we know ourſelves clear, our Endeavour being no otherwiſe, but to improve the Commons, and to caſt off that Oppreſſion, and outward Bondage, which the Creation groans under, as much as in us lies, and to lift up and preſerve the Purity thereof.

And the Truth is, Experience ſhews us, that in this Work of Community in the Earth, and in the Fruits of the Earth, is ſeen plainly a pitched Battle between the Lamb and the Dragon, between the Spirit of Love, Humility, and Righteouſneſs, which is the Lamb appearing in Fleſh, and the Power of Envy, Pride, and Unrighteouſneſs, which is the Dragon appearing in Fleſh; the latter Power ſtriving to hold the Creation under Slavery, and to lock and hide the Glory thereof from Man; the former labouring to deliver the Creation from Slavery, to unfold the Secrets of it to the Sons of Men, and ſo to manifeſt himſelf to be the great Reſtorer of all Things.

And theſe two Powers ſtrive in the Heart of every ſingle Man, and make ſingle Men to ſtrive in Oppoſition, one againſt the other; and theſe Strivings will be till the Dragon be caſt out, and his Judgment and Downfal haſtens a-pace; therefore let the righteous Hearts wait with Patience upon the Lord, to ſee what End he makes of all the confuſed Hurlyburlies of the World.

When you were at our Works upon the Hill, we told you, many of the Country-people, that were offended at firſt, begin now to be moderate, and to ſee Righteouſneſs in our Work, and to own it, excepting one or two covetous Free-holders, that would have all the Commons to themſelves; and that would uphold the *Norman* Tyranny over us, which, by the Victory that you have got over the *Norman* Succeſſor, is plucked up by the Roots, therefore ought to be caſt away. And we expect, that theſe our angry Neighbours, whom we never wronged, nor will not wrong, will in Time ſee their furious Raſhneſs to be their Folly, and become moderate, to ſpeak and carry themſelves like Men rationally, and leave off Puſhing with their Horns like Beaſts; they ſhall have no Cauſe to ſay we wrong them, unleſs they count us Wrongers of them, for ſeeking a Livelihood, out of the Common-land of *England*, by our righteous Labour, which is our Freedom, as we are *Engliſhmen*, equal with them; and rather our Freedom than theirs, becauſe they are elder Brothers, and Free-holders, and call the Incloſures their own Land, and we are younger Brothers, and the poor oppreſſed, and the Common-lands are called ours, by their own Confeſſion.

We told you, upon a Queſtion you put to us, that we were not againſt any that would have Magiſtrates and Laws to govern, as the Nations of the World are governed, but, as for our Parts, we ſhall need neither the one, nor the other, in that Nature of Government; for as our Land is Common, ſo our Cattle is to be common, and our Corn and Fruits of the Earth common, and are not to be bought and ſold among us, but to remain a ſtanding Portion of Livelihood to us, and our Children, without that cheating Intanglement of Buying and Selling, and we ſhall not arreſt one another.

And

And then, What Need have we of Imprisoning, Whipping, or Hanging Laws, to bring one another into Bondage? And we know, that none of those that are subject to this righteous Law dares arrest or inslave his Brother for, or about the Objects of the Earth, because the Earth is made by our Creator, to be a common Treasury of Livelihood to one equal with another, without Respect of Persons.

But now, if you that are elder Brothers, and that call the Inclosures your own Land, hedging out others, if you will have Magistrates and Laws in this outward Manner of the Nations, we are not against it, but freely, without Disturbance, shall let you alone; and if any of we Commoners, or younger Brothers, shall steal your Corn, or Cattle, or pull down your Hedges, let your Laws take Hold upon any of us that so offends.

But, while we keep within the Bounds of our Commons, and none of us shall be found guilty of meddling with your Goods, or inclosed Proprieties, unless the Spirit in you freely give it up, your Laws then shall not reach to us, unless you will oppress or shed the Blood of the Innocent; and yet, our Corn and Cattle shall not be locked up, as though we would be Proprietors in the Middle of the Nation: No, no, we freely declare, that our Corn and Cattle, or what we have, shall be freely laid open, for the Safety and Preservation of the Nation, and we, as younger Brothers, living in Love with you our elder Brothers, for we shall endeavour to do, as we would be done unto; that is, to let every one enjoy the Benefit of his Creation, to have Food and Raiment free by the Labour of his Hands from the Earth.

And, as for spiritual Teachings, we leave every Man to stand and fall to his own Master; if the Power of Covetousness be his Master, or King, that rules in his Heart, let him stand and fall to him; if the Power of Love and Righteousness be his Master or King, that rules in his Heart, let him stand and fall to him; let the Bodies of Men act Love, Humility, and Righteousness, one towards another, and let the Spirit of Righteousness be the Teacher, Ruler, and Judge, both in us and over us; and, by thus doing, we shall honour our Father, the Spirit that gave us our Being. And, we shall honour our Mother, the Earth, by labouring her in Righteousness, and leaving her free from Oppression and Bondage.

We shall then honour the higher Powers of the Left-hand Man, which is our Hearing, Seeing, Tasting, Smelling, Feeling, and walk in the Light of Reason and Righteousness, that is the King and Judge that sits upon this five-cornered Throne; and we shall be strengthened by those five Well-springs of Life, of the Right-hand Man, which is, Understanding, Will, Affections, Joy, and Peace, and so live like Men, in the Light and Power of the Sun of Righteousness within ourselves feelingly. What Need, then, have we of any outward, selfish, confused Laws made, to uphold the Power of Covetousness, when we have the righteous Law written in our Hearts, teaching us to walk purely in the Creation?

Sir, The Intent of our Writing to you, is not to request your Protection, though we have received an Unchristian-like Abuse from some of your Soldiers; for, truly, we dare not cast off the Lord, and make Choice of a Man or Men to rule us. For the Creation hath smarted deeply for such a Thing, since *Israel* chose *Saul* to be their King; therefore, we acknowledge before you, in plain *English*, That we have chosen the Lord God Almighty to be our King and Protector.

Yet, in Regard you are our Brethren, as an *English* Tribe, and for the Present are owned to be the outward Governors, Protectors, and Saviours of this Land, and whose Hearts we question not, but that you endeavour to advance the same King of Righteousness with us, therefore, we are free to write to you, and to open the Sincerity of our Hearts freely to you, and to all the World.

And if, after this Report of ours, either you, or your Forces, called *Soldiers*, or any that own your Laws of Propriety, called *Freeholders*, do abuse or kill our Persons, we declare to you, that we die, doing our Duty to our Creator, by endeavouring, from that Power he hath put into our Hearts, to lift up his Creation out of Bondage; and you and they shall be left without Excuse in the Day of Judgment, because you have been spoken to sufficiently.

And, therefore, our Reason of Writing to you is this, in Regard some of your Foot Soldiers of the General's Regiment, under Captain *Stravie*, that were quartered in our Town, we bearing Part therein as well as our Neighbours,

giving

giving them ſufficient Quarter, ſo that there was no Complaining, did, notwithſtanding, go up to *George-hill*, where was only one Man and one Boy of our Company of the Diggers. And, at their firſt Coming, divers of your Soldiers, before any Word of Provocation was ſpoken to them, fell upon thoſe two, beating the Boy, and took away his Coat off his Back, and ſome Linnen and Victuals that they had, beating and wounding the Man very dangerouſly, and fired our Houſe.

Which we count a ſtrange and heatheniſh Practice, that the Soldiery ſhould meddle with naked Men, peaceable Men, Country men, that meddled not with the Soldiers Buſineſs, nor offered any Wrong to them in Word or Deed; unleſs, becauſe we improve that Victory, which you have gotten in the Name of the Commons over King *Charles*, do offend the Soldiery. In Doing whereof, we rather expect Protection from you, than Deſtruction. But, for your own Particular, we are aſſured of your Moderation and Friendſhip to us, who have ever been your Friends in Times of Straits; and that you would not give Commiſſion to ſtrike us, or fire or pull down our Houſes, but you would prove us an Enemy firſt.

Yet, we do not write this, that you ſhould lay any Puniſhment upon them, for that we leave to your Diſcretion; only we deſire, in the Requeſt of Brethren, that you would ſend forth Admonition to your Soldiers, not to abuſe us hereafter, unleſs they have a Commiſſion from you; and truly, if our Offences ſhould prove ſo great, you ſhall not need to ſend Soldiers for us, or to beat us, for we ſhall freely come to you upon a bare Letter.

Therefore, that the ignorant, covetous Freeholders, and ſuch of your ignorant Soldiers, that know not what Freedom is, may not abuſe thoſe, that are true Friends to *England*'s Freedom, and faithful Servants to the Creation, we deſire, that our Buſineſs may be taken Notice of by you, and the higheſt Council the Parliament; and if our Work appear righteous to you, as it does to us, and wherein our Souls have ſweet Peace, in the Midſt of Scandals and Abuſes:

Then, in the Requeſt of Brethren, we deſire we may enjoy our Freedom, according to the Law of Contract between you and us, that we, that are younger Brothers, may live comfortably in the Land of our Nativity, with you the elder Brothers, enjoying the Benefit of our Creation, which is Food and Raiment, freely by our Labours; and that we may receive Love, and the Protection of Brethren from you, ſeeing we have adventured Eſtate and Perſons with you, to ſettle the Land in Peace; and that we may not be abuſed by your Laws, nor by your Soldiers, unleſs we break over into your Incloſures, as aforeſaid, and take away your Proprieties, before you are willing to deliver it up. And, if this you do, we ſhall live in Quietneſs, and the Nation will be brought into Peace, while you, that are the Soldiery, are a Wall of Fire round about the Nation, to keep out a foreign Enemy, and are Succourers of your Brethren, that live within the Land, who endeavour to hold forth the Sun of Righteouſneſs in their Actions, to the Glory of our Creator.

And you and the Parliament, hereby, will be faithful in your Covenants, Oaths, and Promiſes to us, as we have been faithful to you and them, in paying Taxes, giving Free-quarter, and affording other Aſſiſtance in the publick Work, whereby we, that are the common People, are brought almoſt to a Morſel of Bread; therefore we demand our Bargain, which is Freedom with you in this Land of our Nativity.

But, if you do ſlight us and our Cauſe, then know we ſhall not ſtrive with Sword and Spear, but with Spade and Plough, and ſuch like Inſtruments, to make the barren and common Lands fruitful; and we have, and ſtill ſhall, commit ourſelves and our Cauſe unto our righteous King, whom we obey, even the Prince of Peace, to be our Protector; and unto whom you likewiſe profeſs much Love, by your Preaching, Praying, Faſtings, and in whoſe Name you have made all your Covenants, Oaths, and Promiſes to us: I ſay, unto him we appeal, who is and will be our righteous Judge, who never yet failed thoſe that waited upon him, but ever did judge the Cauſe of the Oppreſſed righteouſly.

We deſire that your Lawyers may conſider theſe Queſtions, which we affirm to be Truths, and which give good Aſſurance, by the Law of the Land, that we that are the younger Brothers, or common People, have a true Right to dig, plow up, and dwell upon the Commons, as we have declared.

1. Whether *William the Conqueror* came not to be King of *England* by Conqueſt, turned the *Engliſh* out of their Birth-rights, burned

ed divers Towns, whereof thirty Towns were burned by him in *Windſor Foreſt*, by Reaſon whereof all Sorts of People ſuffered, and compelled the conquered *Engliſh*, for Neceſſity of Livelihood, to be Servants to him and his *Norman* Soldiers?

2. Whether King *Charles* was not Succeſſor to the Crown of *England* from *William the Conqueror?* And whether all Laws, that have been made in every King's Reign, did not confirm and ſtrengthen the Power of the *Norman* Conqueſt, and ſo did, and do ſtill hold the Commons of *England* under Slavery to the Kingly Power, his Gentry, and Clergy?

3. Whether Lords of Manors were not the Succeſſors of the Colonels and chief Officers of *William the Conqueror*, and held their Royalty to the Commons by Leaſe, Grant, and Patents from the King, and the Power of the Sword was and is the Seal to their Title?

4. Whether Lords of Manors have not loſt their Royalty to the Common-land, ſince the common People of *England*, as well as ſome of the Gentry, have conquered King *Charles*, and recovered themſelves from under the *Norman* Conqueſt?

5. Whether the *Norman* Conqueror took the Land of *England* to himſelf, out of the Hands of a few Men, called a Parliament, or from the whole Body of the *Engliſh* People? Surely he took Freedom from every one, and became the Diſpoſer both of Incloſures and Commons; therefore every one, upon the Recovery of the Conqueſt, ought to return into Freedom again, without reſpecting Perſons, or elſe what Benefit ſhall the common People have, that have ſuffered moſt in theſe Wars, by the Victory that is got over the King? It had been better for the common People there had been no ſuch Conqueſt; for they are impoveriſhed in their Eſtates by Free-quarter and Taxes, and made worſe to live than they were before. But, ſeeing they have paid Taxes, and given Free-quarter, according to their Eſtates, as much as the Gentry to theirs, it is both Reaſon and Equity, that they ſhould have the Freedom of the Land for their Livelihood, which is the Benefit of the Commons, as the Gentry have the Benefit of their Incloſures.

6. Whether the Freedom, which the common People have got by caſting out the Kingly Power, lie not herein principally, To have the Land of their Nativity for their Livelihood, freed from the Intanglement of Lords, Lords of Manors, and Landlords, which are our Taſkmaſters? As, when the Enemy conquered *England*, he took the Land for his own, and called that his *Freedom*; even ſo, ſeeing all Sorts of People have given Aſſiſtance to recover *England* from under the *Norman* Yoke, ſurely all Sorts, both Gentry in their Incloſures, and Commonalty in their Commons, ought to have their Freedom, not compelling one to work for Wages for another.

7. Whether any Laws, ſince the Coming in of Kings, have been made in the Light of the righteous Law of our Creation, reſpecting all alike; or have not been grounded upon ſelfiſh Principles, in Fear or Flattery of their King, to uphold Freedom in the Gentry and Clergy, and to hold the common People under Bondage ſtill, and ſo reſpecting Perſons?

8. Whether all Laws, that are not grounded upon Equity and Reaſon, not giving an univerſal Freedom to all, but reſpecting Perſons, ought not to be cut off with the King's Head? We affirm, They ought.

If all Laws be grounded upon Equity and Reaſon, then the whole Land of *England* is to be a common Treaſury to every one that is born in the Land; but, if they be grounded upon ſelfiſh Principles, giving Freedom to ſome, and laying Burdens upon others, ſuch Laws are to be cut off with the King's Head, or elſe the Neglecters are Covenant, Oath, and Promiſe-breakers, and open Hypocrites to the whole World.

9. Whether every one without Exception, by the Law of Contract, ought not to have Liberty to enjoy the Earth for his Livelihood, and to ſettle his Dwelling in any Part of the Commons of *England*, without Buying or Renting Land of any, ſeeing every one, by Agreement and Covenant among themſelves, have paid Taxes, given Free-quarter, and adventured their Lives to recover *England* out of Bondage? We affirm, They ought.

10. Whether the Laws, that were made in the Days of the Kings, do give Freedom to any other People, but to the Gentry and Clergy? All the reſt are left Servants and Bondmen to thoſe Taſkmaſters; none have Freedom by the Laws, but thoſe two Sorts of People; all the common People have been, and ſtill are, burdened under them.

And, ſurely, if the common People have no more Freedom in *England*, but only to live among

among their elder Brothers, and work for them for Hire, What Freedom, then, have they in *England*, more than we can have in *Turkey* or *France?* For, there, if any Man will work for Wages, he may live among them, otherwiſe not; therefore conſider, whether this be righteous, and for the Peace of the Nation, That Laws ſhall be made to give Freedom to Impropriators and Freeholders, whereas the Poor, that have no Land, are left ſtill in the Streights of Beggary, and are ſhut out of all Livelihood, but what they ſhall pick out of ſore Bondage, by working for others, as Maſters over them; and, if this be not the Burden of the *Norman* Yoke, let rational Men judge: Therefore take not away Men, but take away the Power of Tyranny and bad Government (the Price is in your Hand) and let no Part of the Nation be wronged, for Want of a Repreſentative.

And here now we deſire your publick Preachers, that ſay they preach the righteous Law, to conſider theſe Queſtions, which confirm us in the Peace of our Hearts, that we, that are the common People born in *England*, ought to improve the Commons, as we have declared, for a publick Treaſury and Livelihood; and that thoſe that hinder us are Rebels to their Maker, and Enemies to the Creation.

Firſt, We demand, Yea or No, Whether the Earth, with her Fruits, was made to be bought and ſold from one to another? And whether one Part of Mankind was made a Lord of the Land, and another Part a Servant, by the Law of Creation before the Fall?

I affirm (and I challenge you to diſprove) That the Earth was made to be a common Treaſury of Livelihood for all, without Reſpect of Perſons, and was not made to be bought and ſold: And that Mankind, in all his Branches, is the Lord over the Beaſts, Birds, Fiſhes, and the Earth; and was not made to acknowledge any of his own Kind to be his Teacher and Ruler, but the Spirit of Righteouſneſs only his Maker, and to walk in his Light, and ſo to live in Peace; and, this being a Truth, as it is, then none ought to be Lords or Landlords over another, but the Earth is free for every Son and Daughter of Mankind to live free upon.

This Queſtion is not to be anſwered by any Text of Scripture, or Example ſince the Fall; but the Anſwer is to be given in the Light of itſelf, which is the Law of Righteouſneſs, or that Word of God that was in the Beginning, which dwells in Man's Heart, and by which he was made, even the pure Law of Creation, unto which the Creation is to be reſtored.

Before the Fall, *Adam*, or the Man, did dreſs the Garden, or the Earth, in Love, Freedom, and Righteouſneſs, which was his Reſt and Peace; but, when Covetouſneſs began to riſe up in him, to kill the Power of Love and Freedom in him, and ſo made him (Mankind) to ſet himſelf one Man above another, as *Cain* lifted up himſelf above *Abel*; which was but the outward Declaration of the two Powers that ſtrive in the Man *Adam*'s Heart: And, when he conſented to that Serpent, Covetouſneſs, then he fell from Righteouſneſs, was curſed, and was ſent into the Earth to eat his Bread in Sorrow: And from that Time began particular Propriety to grow in one Man over another; and the Sword brought in Propriety, and holds it up, which is no other but the Power of angry Covetouſneſs; for *Cain* killed *Abel*, becauſe *Abel*'s Principles, or Religion, were contrary to his. And the Power of the Sword is ſtill *Cain* killing *Abel*, lifting up one Man ſtill above another. But *Abel* ſhall not always be ſlain, nor always lie under the Bondage of *Cain*'s curſed Propriety, for he muſt riſe; and that *Abel* of old was but a Type of Chriſt, that is now riſing up to reſtore all Things from Bondage.

Secondly, I demand, Whether all Wars, Bloodſhed, and Miſery came not upon the Creation, when one Man endeavoured to be a Lord over another, and to claim Propriety in the Earth one above another? Your Scripture will prove this ſufficiently to be true. And whether this Miſery ſhall not remove (and not till then) when all the Branches of Mankind ſhall look upon themſelves as one Man, and upon the Earth as a common Treaſury to all; without Reſpecting Perſons, every one acknowledging the Law of Righteouſneſs in them and over them, and walking in his Light purely? Then caſt away your Buying and Selling the Earth with her Fruits; it is unrighteous, it lifts one above another, it makes one Man oppreſs another, and is the Burden of the Creation.

Thirdly, Whether the Work of Reſtoration lies not in removing Covetouſneſs, caſting that Serpent out of Heaven (Mankind) and making Man

Man to live in the Light of Righteouſneſs, not in Words only, as Preachers do, but in Action, whereby the Creation ſhines in Glory? I affirm it.

Fourthly, Whether is the King of Righteouſneſs a Reſpecter of Perſons, yea, or no? If you ſay No, then Who makes this Difference, That the elder Brother ſhall be Lord of the Land, and the younger Brother a Slave and Beggar? I affirm, It was and is Covetouſneſs ſince the Fall, not the King of Righteouſneſs before the Fall, that made that Difference; therefore, if you will be Preachers, hold forth the Law of Righteouſneſs purely, and not the confuſed Law of Covetouſneſs, which is the Murderer. The Law of Righteouſneſs would have every one to enjoy the Benefit of his Creation, that is, to have Food and Raiment by his Labour freely in the Land of his Nativity; but Covetouſneſs will have none to live free, but he that hath the ſtrongeſt Arm of Fleſh; all others muſt be Servants.

Fifthly, Whether can a Man have true Peace by walking in the Law of Covetouſneſs and Self, as generally all do, or by walking in the Law of univerſal Righteouſneſs, doing as he would be done by? I affirm, There is no true Peace, till Men talk leſs, and live more actually in the Power of univerſal Righteouſneſs. Then, you Preachers, lay aſide your Multitude of Words, and your ſelfiſh Doctrines, for you confound and delude the People.

Sixthly, Whether does the King of Righteouſneſs bid you love or hate your Enemies? If you ſay, Love them, then I demand of you, Why do ſome of you, in your Pulpits, and elſewhere, ſtir up the People to beat, to impriſon, put to Death, or baniſh, or not to buy and ſell with thoſe that endeavour to reſtore the Earth to a common Treaſury again? Surely, at the Worſt, you can make them but your Enemies; therefore love them, win them by Love, do not hate them, they do not hate you.

Seventhly, Whether it be not a great Breach of the National Covenant to give two Sorts of People their Freedom, that is, Gentry and Clergy, and deny it to the reſt? I affirm, It is a high Breach; for Man's Laws make theſe two Sorts of People the Antichriſtian Taſk-maſters over the common People; the one forcing the People to give them Rent for the Earth, and to work for Hire for them; the other, which is the Clergy, forcing a Maintenance of Tithes from the People: A Practice, which Chriſt, the Apoſtles, and Prophets never walked in; therefore, ſurely, you are the falſe Chriſts, and falſe Prophets, that are riſen up in theſe latter Days.

Thus I have declared to you, and to all in the whole World, what that Power of Life is, that is in me; and, knowing that the Spirit of Righteouſneſs does appear in many in this Land, I deſire all of you ſeriouſly, in Love and Humility, to conſider of this Buſineſs of publick Community, which I am carried forth in the Power of Love, and clear Light of univerſal Righteouſneſs, to advance as much as I can; and I can do no other, the Law of Love in my Heart does ſo conſtrain me; by Reaſon whereof I am called *Fool* and *Madman*, and have many ſlanderous Reports caſt upon me, and meet with much Fury from ſome covetous People; under all which my Spirit is made patient, and is guarded with Joy and Peace. I hate none, I love all, I delight to ſee every one live comfortably, I would have none live in Poverty, Streights, or Sorrows; therefore, if you find any Selfiſhneſs in this Work, or diſcover any Thing that is deſtructive to the whole Creation, that you would open your Hearts as freely to me, in declaring my Weakneſs to me, as I have been open-hearted, in declaring that which I find and feel much Life and Strength in. But, if you ſee Righteouſneſs in it, and that it holds forth the Strength of univerſal Love to all, without Reſpect to Perſons, ſo that our Creator is honoured in the Work of his Hand, then own it, and juſtify it, and let the Power of Love have his Freedom and Glory.

Jerrard Winſtanly.

The Reformation, that *England* now is to endeavour, is not to remove the *Norman* Yoke only, and to bring us back to be governed by thoſe Laws, that were before *William the Conqueror* came in, as if that were the Rule or Mark we aim at: No, that is not it; but the Reformation is according to the Word of God, and that is the pure Law of Righteouſneſs before the Fall, which made all Things, and unto which

which all Things are to be reſtored; and he, that endeavours not that, is a Covenant-breaker.

This Letter, with the Queſtions, was delivered by the Author's own Hand to the General and the chief Officers; and they very mildly promiſed, they would read it, and conſider of it.

An humble Declaration of the Apprentices and other young Men of the City of *London*, who were Petitioners for Peace; ſhewing the Cauſes of their Petitioning, and the Paſſages concerning it. Together with a true Copy of their Petition, as it was delivered to both Houſes of Parliament, diſclaiming thoſe in Print, which were without their Knowledge.

Nulla Salus Bello, Pacem te poſcimus omnes.

Printed at *London*, 1642. *Folio*, containing eight Pages.

WE the Apprentices, and other young Men, in and about the City of *London*, having lately engaged ourſelves in a Petition for Peace, and thereunto ſubſcribed, do now, for the Satisfaction of all, who are deſirous for Peace, and to be informed of the Truth of our Proceedings, as alſo for the Clearing ourſelves from thoſe malicious Calumnies, that either are, or ſhall be caſt upon us; humbly and truly inform, and declare to all the World, that that which firſt gave Life, and Quickening to our Undertaking of this Petition, was the Glory of God, and the Peace and Happineſs of our King, Parliament, and Kingdom, and for no By-reſpect, or ill Deſign whatſoever.

The Contents of which Petition follow, *verbatim*, viz.

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons, in the High Court of Parliament now aſſembled.

The humble Petition of divers Apprentices, and other young Men, in and about the City of London.

In moſt humble Manner ſheweth,

THAT your former gracious Acceptation of Petitions from Perſons of as mean Quality as ourſelves, your late kind Embracement of that Petition from our Maſters, and others of eminent Quality; together with your conſtant Endeavours for a Pacification, for which we preſent our humble Thanks; hath concited us, tho', in Regard of our preſent Condition, not ſo much conſiderable, to addreſs ourſelves alſo, in all Humility, to this honourable Aſſembly, whom we conceive the only Means, under God, for our Redreſs, beſeeching you to perſiſt, as you have honourably begun, in Working a Period of theſe ruinating Diſtractions.

And

And though the preſent Calamity doth not ſo immediately reflect upon your Petitioners: Yet we, conſidering the Loſs of ſo many of our Fellows Lives, the daily Hazard the reſt are expoſed to, and foreſeeing the Face of our own Ruin, in our Maſters preſent Condition, as alſo prizing our Parents and Friends Lives, and Livelihoods, as dearly as our own, hold ourſelves engaged by the Laws of Conſcience and Nature, to be no leſs ſollicitous, for the bleeding Condition of this Church and State; in Regard, though Servants, we are Subjects, and humbly conceive ourſelves to be concerned herein.

We come, therefore, in the ſtill Voice, to embowel our Grievances and zealous Deſires before you; not preſuming to dictate to your grave Judgments, but humbly deſiring you to pardon our Boldneſs, in Petitioning, and the Errors of our Petition, if any be:

And unanimouſly beſeech you to conſider theſe preſent Diſtractions, the continual and increaſing Violations of our Religion by Papiſts and Sectaries, the Breach of our known Laws, the Invaſion of the Subjects Liberties, and general Decay of Trade.

Reflecting alſo, with ſerious Thoughts, upon theſe inevitable Dangers, that now hover over our Heads, uſhered in by a Civil, unnatural, and bloody War, whoſe Effects are the impartial Deſtructions of Chriſtians, the Effuſion of much innocent Blood, the Impoveriſhing and Diſpeopling of the Kingdom, and Expoſing the Body of the State, to the mercileſs Tyranny of Famine, Sickneſs, and Invaſion, the Fore-runners of an univerſal Confuſion:

All which, better known to your Apprehenſions, we humbly deſire you to ponder, and to proſecute your pious Intentions for Peace; leaving no juſt Way unattempted which may conduce to the Settlement of theſe Differences, that the undiſcerning Sword be not Umpire to decide Controverſies, of ſo near Concernment; neither give Audience to any Incendiaries of this preſent War, whoſe only Aim, we fear, is to prey upon the Lives and Livings of his Majeſty's loyal Subjects; that the Goſpel of Peace need not be maintained by War; but that the cemented Joints of the Church and State may hold firm the Bond of Unity, to the Glory of God, the Good of his Majeſty, the Preſervation of Parliaments, the only Happineſs of this Kingdom, and Enablement for a Supply, for the Neceſſities of our diſtreſſed Brethren in *Ireland*.

And your Petitioners, as in all Duty bound, ſhall daily pray for a Bleſſing upon your Conſultations.

To which we have ſubſcribed our Hands and Hearts, each ready to ſacrifice his Life for Accompliſhment thereof.

Of which Petition we diſperſed ſeveral Copies, for no other Cauſe, but to procure Subſcriptions, with the more Convenience. But, by what Means we know not, there was a very falſe Copy printed, and intitled ours, but ſo different from the true Petition, both in Matter and Expreſſions, that, had it not been for the Title, we could not believe it had at all concerned us.

This we conceive, was a great Wrong to us, and did indeed diſcourage ſome of us, from our intended preſenting of our Petition. But yet, at laſt, we poiſing both, preferred the Glory of God, and Peace of this Church and State, before any Thing that might diſcourage or diſhearten us.

Whereupon all agreed upon *Monday, January* the Second, for our Day of Delivery, and accordingly ſet forth Notes, deſiring all the Subſcribers to meet at the *Piazza*'s in *Covent-Garden*, in compleat civil Habit, without Swords or Staves: Upon which Day, and at which Place, there met a very conſiderable Number of us, and, which in Modeſty we would not ſay of ourſelves, but that we are ſcandalouſly and falſly traduced by others, did demean, and behave ourſelves very civil and orderly.

But it fell out, that without our Knowledge or Conſent, there thruſt in amongſt us a Papiſt, which we being informed of, preſently expelled him our Company, to avoid all Cauſe of Scandal upon our Intentions.

After this comes one, and began to ſing a Ballad in Diſhonour to the Parliament, but we preſently diſcarded him alſo, with manifeſt Expreſſion of our great Diſlike of his Doings.

This done, a Lieutenant to a Troop of Horſe came to us, to know the Intent of our Appearance, being before informed, as he told us, that we had Piſtols about us, which was altogether falſe.

And then at the appointed Time we repaired to *Weſtminſter*, into the *Palace-yard*, and were preſently called before Captain *Harvey*, who attended there with his Troop, and by him, after ſome ſmall Diſcourſe between us, twenty of us were admitted to the Houſe of Lords; the reſt, by his Direction, immediately, and quietly, retreated to *White-hall* Gate, waiting the Return of their Fellows.

We, coming to the Houſe, were bold to acquaint the ever honoured Earl of *Pembroke* with our Deſires, who was pleaſed to impart them to the Houſe: But by Reaſon of a Conference of both Houſes, as we conceive, the Lords ſent us a Note, by Mr. *Maxwell*, to this Effect:

'The Lords have formerly expreſſed their 'Diſlike of Coming in Multitudes to the Par-'liament, and they take Notice of a great 'Multitude that came, this Morning, towards 'the Parliament: Which Manner of Coming 'with Petitions, they are yet unſatisfied with-'al. But, if you will chuſe a few of you, and 'come ſome other Day, they will receive your 'Petition.

Upon this, in Obedience to their Lordſhips Directions, we for that Time departed, having appointed twenty of us to deliver our Petition on the next Day; but we retiring Homewards, it was told us, That ſome of our Company tarried at *White-hall* Gate, and ſtopped ſome of the Lords Coaches, crying for Peace; upon this we wrote a Note to Captain *Harvey*, ſubſcribed by the twenty Deliverers, and by three of them delivered to him, wherein we expreſſed our Thanks for his Courteſy ſhewed to us: And that we were informed, that divers, who pretended to be of our Mind, tarried behind, we know not for what Deſign, and that, if they did any Action which was unlawful, we diſclaimed it; deſiring to ſteer all our Actions by the known Laws of God and Man; and therefore, if any Thing were done to the Contrary, we deſired it might be ſuppreſſed, that it might not be a Scandal to our Intentions, nor a Hinderance to the Anſwer of our Petition.

Which we preſented to the Captain, who did accept it, and approve of our Carriage, and Behaviour therein.

This was the Paſſage of that Day.

On *Tueſday*, the Twenty appointed to deliver the Petition met, and went to the Houſe with it, and while they were waiting at the Door for Admittance, there was one in a Miniſter's Habit, did with much Boldneſs and Confidence, but withal, as falſly and cauſeleſly, affirm to ſome Lords of the Houſe, that we intended to plunder Houſes in *Covent-Garden*, and that ſome of our Company motioned it; which ſeemed very ſtrange to us, knowing it to be altogether falſe. But yet upon ſome Examination of the Matter, it fell out, that ſome ſuch Words had fallen from a Soldier, not of our Company, perhaps incited to it, who, as we are credibly informed, is now in Cuſtody for it. And the Informer hereof, being convinced by his own Conſcience, and our Arguments, did at laſt recant it, and deſire our favourable Opinion of him.

Some other falſe Suggeſtions were urged againſt us, and our Petition, by ſome either miſ-informed, or ill-affected Perſons. But it pleaſed God to make them appear, to the honourable Houſe, to be falſe and frivolous.

But after all theſe Winds and Storms, came a ſtill Voice, and gave us Admittance to the Lords, who being entered, delivered our Petition. And the Earl of *Mancheſter* declared to us, That the Houſe was content to accept of our Petition, and that they would give us their Anſwer in due Time.

From thence we went to the Honourable Houſe of Commons, where we found a moſt ready, and favourable, and for aught we could conceive, a general Conſent to accept of our Petition. And after Reading thereof Mr. Speaker did declare, That the Pleaſure of the Houſe was to accept our Petition, and that they would take it into their ſerious Conſideration.

We returned our humble Thanks, and departed.

We deſire now to clear ourſelves from many falſe Aſperſions that are caſt upon us. Concerning the Matter of our Petition, it being in Subſtance for nothing but Peace, and aiming at the Advancement of God's Glory, and the Quiet of the Church and State, it is, we conceive good and lawful, yet there want not thoſe who ſpeak againſt the very Subject of it, Peace. But we wonder not much at them, they being ſuch as are made compleat Soldiers on the Sudden, and ſuck their whole Subſiſtence, and fix their Hopes to repair their Breaches and Decays,

Decays, upon the Ruin of others; fearing that the Settling of our Trades will be the Decay of theirs. And to leave nothing unattempted which may diſcourage us, and others, from proſecuting hereof, they have ſtudied new Sophiſtry, to prove Peace to be no Peace; and under Pretence, that we *Peace-petitioners*, as they mockingly call us, do oppoſe Truth, they do indeed beat down both. Whereas any Man, that is not purblind with Prejudice and Faction, may diſcern that the Parliament, the ſupreme Court of Judicature, and Center of Wiſdom and Piety, will never conſent to a Peace, that ſhall war with Truth, they being Twins of the Commonwealth, and inſeparable. And we ſhould argue ourſelves very unadviſed, which therein we hope we are not, to petition for a Thing, which no Colour of Reaſon tells us we ſhall obtain.

And for thoſe compleat Soldiers, whoſe very Prayers, if they uſe any, are but Alarms to Battle, they muſt give us Leave, though, we hope, not without Ground, as they do, to paſs our Cenſure upon them, and therefore we are bold to tell them, we think they lay their Foundation for War, on theſe two Grounds, which they make Uſe of for Reaſons, *Dulce bellum inexpertis, & dulce lucrum expertis*. But the Time may come, that they may find it better to hearken to the bleſſed Accents of Peace, than to have Bullets whiſper Deſtruction in their Ears.

And, though we for ſeveral Conſiderations were not, or not ſuffered to be, of that Number, who have expoſed their Perſons to the Fury of War, yet, as they bleed outwardly, we bleed within for the Diſtempers of this Church and State; and, to ſhew our ardent Zeal for the Good of both, we dare baniſh his Soul, whoſe Blood ſhares of ſo much Cowardice, to retreat at the Thought of Death, if it might conduce to a happy Union of the King and Parliament, and the Welfare of this late flouriſhing Nation.

Concerning our Manner of Delivery of our Petition, it was generally conceived to be, as we hope, civil, humble, and warrantable; ſtriving, what in us lay, the Appearance of Tumults, Mutinies, Force, or Violence, habiting ourſelves with no Weapons offenſive nor defenſive, but our Innocence, and the Uprightneſs of our Deſigns, that all Occaſion of Offence might be taken off.

Our Number is not certainly known to us, but, though great, it is warranted, as we under Correction conceive, both by Precept and Precedent. The Honourable Mr. *Nathaniel Fynes*, upon the like Occaſion, having delivered, in Anſwer to the Lord *Digby*'s Speech, That a Multitude, being grieved, may petition, and that it is fit for all Subſcribers to be preſent, leſt their Hands be ſuppoſed counterfeit. And the Lords and Commons were pleaſed to declare, in their Remonſtrance of the Nineteenth of *May*, That the Number makes not an Aſſembly unlawful, but when the End or Manner of their Carriage makes it ſo; and that they knew no Reaſon, why it ſhould be more faulty in the Citizens to come to the Parliament, than the Reſort of great Numbers every Day in the Term, to the ordinary Courts of Juſtice.

We confeſs, as ſome have objected, there are ſome Clerks and Journeymen amongſt us, but, being young Men, they come under the Name of Petitioners. Beſides, the one being generally Scholars, and ſeen in the Laws, giving great Sums of Money to their Maſters, and Men's Sons of good Rank, and living by Peace, and the other waiting for Peace, being newly come to provide for themſelves, we conceive are as much concerned herein as the reſt.

Nor are we of the Ribaldry of the City (as ſome Blackmouths have uncharitably belched out againſt us) yet, in ſuch a Multitude, the City being exhauſted of many of our Fellows, it is not to be expected that all ſhould be wiſe, learned, nor rich; nor can we ſee any Reaſon why a poor or illiterate Man, being injured, ſhould not ſeek for Redreſs of his Grievances, as well as a rich or learned.

And, though a Multitude, we humbly conceive ourſelves no Tumults. As for that Miſcarriage at *Whitehall Gate*, if any were, tho' greater, have been than that is reported to be: We gave no Direction for doing it, nor do we commend, much leſs juſtify it. But, however, we hope, that particular Crimes ſhall not be imputed to a general Cauſe, nor hinder a general Good: Nor if the major Part of them, that accompanied us, had committed any Outrages, in Regard they had diveſted themſelves of their Power, and laid it on the Twenty, who are the repreſentative Body of the Petitioners, it would be but hard Juſtice to make them liable to the Offences of others, nor ought it to be, we hope, at leaſt, in a candid, or but indifferent Conſtruction,

ſtruction, a Scandal upon the Petitioners, or Crime upon the Petition.

Concerning our prepoſterous Delivery of the Petitions, we deſire the Houſes favourable Conſtruction; for, in that we preſented it firſt to the Houſe of Lords, it was not for Want of due Honour or Reſpect to the Houſe of Commons, but our Want of Experience in Parliament-courſes; which we hope may ſatisfy that Honourable Houſe.

All which we thought good to declare, that the World may know, that endeavouring for Peace is a Work acceptable, we hope, to God, his Majeſty, the Parliament, and Kingdom; though, we believe, ſome, not altogether for a good Conſcience's Sake, do oppoſe us. But we eſteem their Words as no Slander, becauſe they are nothing elſe: And, that Poſterity may know, that we, by ſeeking Peace, are Servants, as to private and particular Men, ſo to the general and publick Good.

The Earl of *Strafford*'s Letter to the King, to paſs the Bill occaſioned by the Tumult of the Apprentices. Taken from the Original Copy. *London*, printed for *Thomas Burrel*, 1680. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

IT hath been my greateſt Grief, in all theſe Troubles, to be taken as a Perſon which ſhould endeavour to repreſent and ſet Things amiſs between your Majeſty and your People; and to give Counſels tending to the Diſquiet of your three Kingdoms.

Moſt true it is, that, this mine own private Condition conſidered, it had been a great Madneſs, ſince, through your gracious Favour I was ſo provided, as not to expect, in any Kind, to mind my Fortune, or pleaſe my Mind more, than by reſting where your bounteous Hand had placed me.

Nay, it is moſt mightily miſtaken: For, unto your Majeſty it is well known, my poor and humble Advices concluded ſtill in this, That your Majeſty and your People could never be happy till there were a right Underſtanding betwixt you and them; no other Means to effect and ſettle this Happineſs but by the Council, and Aſſent of the Parliament; or, to prevent the growing Evils upon this State, but by intirely putting yourſelf in your laſt Reſort upon the Loyalty and good Affections of your *Engliſh* Subjects.

Yet, ſuch is my Misfortune, this Truth findeth little Credit, the Contrary ſeemeth generally to be believed, and myſelf reputed as ſomething of Separation between you and your People, under a heavier Cenſure than which, I am perſuaded, no Gentleman, can ſuffer.

Now, I underſtand the Minds of Men are more incenſed againſt me, notwithſtanding your Majeſty hath declared, that, in your Princely Opinion, I am not guilty of Treaſon, nor are you ſatisfied in your Conſcience to paſs the Bill.

This bringeth me into a very great Streight; there is before me the Ruin of my Children and Family, hitherto untouched, in all the Branches of it, with any foul Crimes. Here is before me the many Ills which may befal your ſacred Perſon, and the whole Kingdom, ſhould yourſelf and the Parliament part leſs ſatisfied one with the other than is neceſſary for the Preſervation of King and People. Here are before me the Things moſt valued, moſt feared by mortal Men, Life or Death.

To ſay, Sir, that there hath not been a Strife in me, were to make me leſs than, God knoweth, mine Infirmities give me.

And to call Deſtruction upon myſelf and young Children, were the Intentions of my Heart, at leaſt have been innocent of this great Offence, may be believed will find no eaſy Content to Fleſh and Blood.

But, with much Sadneſs, I am come to a Reſolution of that which I take to be the beſt becoming me, to look upon that which is moſt

principal

principal in itſelf, which, doubtleſs, is the Proſperity of your ſacred Perſon and the Commonwealth, infinitely before any Man's private Intereſt.

And, therefore, in few Words, as I put myſelf wholly upon the Honour and Juſtice of my Peers ſo clearly, as to beſeech your Majeſty might pleaſe to have ſpared that Declaration of yours on *Saturday* laſt, and intirely to have left me to their Lordſhips; ſo now, to ſet your Majeſty's Conſcience, &c. at Liberty, I do moſt humbly beſeech you, for the Preventing of ſuch Miſchief as may happen by your Refuſal to paſs the Bill, by this Means to remove, praiſed be God, I cannot ſay this accurſed, but, I confeſs, this unfortunate Thing forth of the Way, towards that bleſſed Agreement, which God, I truſt, ſhall for ever eſtabliſh betwixt you and your Subjects.

Sir, my Conſent herein ſhall more acquit you to God, than all the World can do beſides: To a willing Mind there is no Injury done; and as, by God's Grace, I forgive all the World, ſo, Sir, I can give up the Life of this World with all Chearfulneſs imaginable, in the juſt Acknowledgment of your exceeding Favour; and only beg that, in your Goodneſs, you would vouchſafe to caſt your gracious Regard upon my poor Son and his Siſters, leſs or more, and no otherwiſe than their unfortunate Father ſhall appear more or leſs guilty of his Death. God long preſerve your Majeſty.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble,

moſt faithful Subject

Tower, May 4, 1641. *and Servant,*

Strafford.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Speech: Or, his Funeral Sermon, preached by himſelf on the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, on *Friday* the Tenth of *January*, 1644, upon *Hebrews* xii. 1, 2. Alſo, the Prayers which he uſed at the ſame Time and Place before his Execution. All faithfully written by *John Hinde*, whom the Archbiſhop beſeeched that he would not let any Wrong be done him by any Phraſe in falſe Copies. Licenſed and Entered according to Order. *London*, printed by *Peter Cole*, at the Sign of the *Printing-Preſs* in *Cornhill*, near the *Royal-Exchange*, over-againſt *Pope*'s-*Head-alley*, 1644. *Quarto*, containing twenty Pages.

Hebrews xii. 1, 2.

Let us run with Patience the Race that is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus *the Author and Finiſher of our Faith; who, for the Joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the Shame, and is ſet down at the Right-hand of the Throne of God.*

Good People,

YOU will pardon my old Memory, and upon ſo ſad Occaſions as I am come to this Place, to make Uſe of my Papers; I dare not truſt myſelf otherwiſe.

Good People,

This is a very uncomfortable Place to preach in, and yet I ſhall begin with a Text of Scripture in the Twelfth of the *Hebrews*:

Let us run with Patience the Race that is ſet before us; looking unto Jeſus *the Author and Finiſher of our Faith; who, for the Joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the Shame, and is ſet down at the Right-hand of the Throne of God.*

I have been long in my Race, and how I have looked unto *Jeſus*, the Author and Finiſher of my Faith, is beſt known to him: I am now come to the End of my Race, and here I find the Croſs, a Death of Shame, but the Shame muſt be deſpiſed, or there is no Coming to the Right-hand of God: *Jeſus* deſpiſed the Shame for me, and, God forbid, but I ſhould deſpiſe the Shame for him. I am going a-pace, as you ſee, towards the *Red-Sea*, and my Feet are upon the very Brinks of it, an Argument, I hope, that God is bringing me to the Land of Promiſe, for that was the Way by which of old he led his People: But, before they came to the Sea, he inſtituted a Paſſover for them, a Lamb it was, but it was to be eaten with very ſowre Herbs, as in the Twelfth of *Exodus*.

I ſhall obey, and labour to digeſt the ſowre Herbs, as well as the Lamb, and I ſhall remember that it is the Lord's Paſſover: I ſhall not think of the Herbs, nor be angry with the Hands which gathered them, but look up only to him who inſtituted the one, and governeth the other; for Men can have no more Power over me, than that which is given them from above. I am not in Love with this Paſſage through the *Red Sea*, for I have the Weakneſs and Infirmity of Fleſh and Blood in me, and I have prayed, as my Saviour taught me, and exampled me, *Ut tranſiret calix iſta*.

That this Cup of red Wine might paſs away from me; but, ſince it is not that my Will may, his Will be done; and I ſhall moſt willingly drink of this Cup, as deep as he pleaſes, and enter into this Sea, Ay, and paſs through it, in the Way that he ſhall be pleaſed to lead me.

And yet, good People, it would be remembered, That, when the Servants of God, old *Iſrael*, were in this boiſterous Sea, and *Aaron* with them, the *Egyptians* that perſecuted them, and did, in a Manner, drive them into that Sea, were drowned in the ſame Waters, while they were in Purſuit of them: I know my God, whom I ſerve, is as able to deliver me from this Sea of Blood, as he was to deliver the three Children from the Furnace, *Daniel iii.*

And I moſt humbly thank my Saviour for it, my Reſolution is now, as theirs was then; their Reſolution was, They would not worſhip the Image, which the King had ſet up; nor ſhall I, the Imaginations, which the People are ſetting up, nor will I forſake the Temple, and the Truth of God, to follow the Bleating of *Jeroboam*'s Calves, in *Dan* and in *Bethel*.

And I pray God, bleſs all this People, and open their Eyes, that they may ſee the right Way; for, if it fall out, that the Blind lead the Blind, doubtleſs, they will both fall into the Ditch: For myſelf, I am, and I acknowledge it in all Humility, a moſt grievous Sinner, many Ways, by Thought, Word, and Deed, and therefore I cannot doubt, but that God hath Mercy in Store for me, a poor Penitent, as well as for other Sinners: I have, upon this ſad Occaſion, ranſacked every Corner of my Heart, and yet, I thank God, I have not found any of my Sins that are there, any Sins now deſerving Death by any known Law of this Kingdom; and yet, thereby, I charge nothing upon my Judges (I humbly beſeech you, I may rightly be underſtood, I charge nothing, in the leaſt Degree, upon my Judges) for they are to proceed by Proof, by valuable Witneſſes, and, in that Way, I, or any Innocent in the World, may juſtly be condemned: And, I thank God, though, the Weight of the Sentence lie very heavy upon me, yet I am as quiet within, as (I thank

thank Chriſt for it) I ever was in my Life: And though I am not only the firſt Archbiſhop, but the firſt Man, that ever died in this Way; yet ſome of my Predeceſſors have gone this Way, though not by this Means: For *Elfegus* was hurried away, and loſt his Head by the *Danes*; and *Simon Sudbury*, in the Fury of *Wat Tyler* and his Fellows; and, long before theſe, St. *John Baptiſt* had his Head danced off by a leud Woman; and St. *Cyprian*, Archbiſhop of *Carthage*, ſubmitted his Head to a perſecuting Sword. Many Examples great and good, and they teach me Patience, for I hope, my Cauſe in Heaven will look of another Dye, than the Colour that is put upon it here upon Earth; and ſome Comfort it is to me, not only that I go the Way of theſe great Men, in their ſeveral Generations, but alſo, that my Charge (if I may not be partial) looks ſomewhat like that againſt St. *Paul*, in the Twenty-fifth of the *Acts*, for he was accuſed for the Law and the Temple, that is, the Law and Religion; and, like that of St. *Stephen*, in the Sixth of the *Acts*, for Breaking the Ordinances, which *Moſes* gave us, which Ordinances were Law and Religion; but, you will ſay, Do I then compare myſelf with the Integrity of St. *Paul*, and St. *Stephen*? No, God forbid, far be it from me; I only raiſe a Comfort to myſelf, that theſe great Saints and Servants of God were thus laid up in their ſeveral Times: And it is very memorable, that St. *Paul*, who was one of them, and a great one, that helped on the Accuſation againſt St. *Stephen*, fell afterwards into the ſelf-ſame Accuſation on himſelf, yet, both of them great Saints and Servants of God: Ay, but, perhaps, a great Clamour there is, that I would have brought in Popery; I ſhall anſwer that more fully, by and by; in the mean Time, you know what the Phariſees ſaid againſt Chriſt himſelf, in the Eleventh of *John*, If we let him alone, all Men will believe on him, *Et venient Romani*, and the *Romans* will come, and take away both our Place, and the Nation. Here was a cauſeleſs Cry againſt Chriſt, that the *Romans* would come; and ſee how juſt the Judgment of God was, they crucified Chriſt, for Fear leſt the *Romans* ſhould come, and his Death was that, that brought in the *Romans* upon them, God puniſhing them with that which they moſt feared; and, I pray God, this Clamour of *Veniunt Romani* (of which, I have given, to my Knowledge, no juſt Cauſe) help not to bring him in; for the Pope never had ſuch a Harveſt in *England*, ſince the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and Diviſions that are amongſt us; in the mean Time, by Honour and Diſhonour, by good Report and evil Report, as a Deceiver, and yet true, am I now paſſing out of this World.

Some Particulars, alſo, I think not amiſs to ſpeak of: And firſt this I ſhall be bold to ſpeak of the King, our gracious Sovereign, he hath been much traduced by ſome, for Labouring to bring in Popery; but, upon my Conſcience (of which, I am now going to give God a preſent Account) I know him to be as free from this Charge, I think, as any Man living, and I hold him to be as ſound a Proteſtant, according to the Religion by Law eſtabliſhed, as any Man in this Kingdom, and that he will venture his Life, as far and as freely, for it; and I think, I do or ſhould know both his Affection to Religion, and his Grounds upon which that Affection is built, as fully as any Man in *England*.

The ſecond Particular is, concerning this great and populous City, which God bleſs; here hath been, of late, a Faſhion taken up to gather Hands, and then go to the honourable and great Court of the Kingdom, the Parliament, and clamour for Juſtice, as if that great and wiſe Court (before whom, the Cauſes come which are unknown to the many) could not, or would not do Juſtice, but at their Call and Appointment; a Way which may endanger many an innocent Man, and pluck innocent Blood upon their own Heads, and perhaps, upon this City alſo, which God forbid: And this hath been lately practiſed againſt myſelf, God forgive the Setters of this, with all my Heart, I beg it, but many well-meaning People are caught by it: In St. *Stephen*'s Caſe, when nothing elſe would ſerve, they ſtirred up the People againſt him, *Acts* vi. and *Herod* went juſt the ſelf-ſame Way, for, when he had killed St. *James*, he would not venture upon St. *Peter* too, till he ſaw how the People took it, and were pleaſed with it, in the Twelfth of the *Acts*. But take Heed of having your Hands full of Blood, in the Firſt of *Iſaiah*; for there is a Time beſt known to himſelf, when God, among other Sins, makes Inquiſition for Blood; and, when Inquiſition is on Foot, the Pſalmiſt tells us, *Pſalm* ix, That God remembers,

bers, that is not all, that God remembers, and forgets not (ſaith the Prophet) the Complaint of the Poor; and he tells you, what Poor they are, in the ninth Verſe, the Poor, whoſe Blood is ſhed by ſuch Kind of Means: Take Heed of this, It is a fearful Thing, at any Time, to fall into the Hands of the living God, in the Twelfth of the *Hebrews*: But it is fearful, indeed, and then eſpecially, when he is making his Inquiſition for Blood; and therefore, with my Prayers to avert the Prophecy from the City, let me deſire, that this City would remember the Prophecy that is expreſſed, *Jeremiah* xxvi. 15.

The third Particular is this poor Church of *England*, that hath flouriſhed and been a Shelter to other neighbouring Churches, when Storms have driven upon them: But alas! now it is in a Storm itſelf, and God knows whether, or how it ſhall get out; and which is worſe than a Storm from without, it is become like an Oak, cleft to Shivers with Wedges made out of its own Body, and that, in every Cleft, Prophaneneſs and Irreligion is creeping in apace; while, as *Proſper* ſaith, Men that introduce Prophaneneſs are cloaked with a Name of imaginary Religion, for we have, in a Manner, almoſt loſt the Subſtance, and dwell much, nay, too much a great Deal, in Opinion; and that Church, which all the Jeſuits Machinations, in theſe Parts of *Chriſtendom*, could not ruin, is now fallen into a great Deal of Danger, by her own.

The laſt Particular (for I am not willing to be tedious, I ſhall haſten to go out of this miſerable World) is myſelf, and, I beſeech you, as many as are within Hearing, obſerve me: I was born and baptized in the Boſom of the Church of *England*, as it ſtands yet eſtabliſhed by Law; in that Profeſſion I have ever ſince lived, and in that Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion here eſtabliſhed I come now to die: This is no Time to diſſemble with God, leaſt of all in Matter of Religion; and therefore I deſire it may be remembered, I have always lived in the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, and in that I come now to die. What Clamours and Slanders I have endured, for Labouring to keep an Uniformity in the external Service of God, according to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of this Church, all Men know, and I have abundantly felt: Now, at laſt, I am accuſed of High Treaſon in Parliament, a Crime which my Soul ever abhorred. This Treaſon was charged upon me to conſiſt of two Parts; an Endeavour to ſubvert the Laws of the Realm, and a like Endeavour to overthrow the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed by thoſe Laws. Beſides my Anſwers, which I gave to the ſeveral Charges, I proteſted my Innocency in both Houſes: It was ſaid, Priſoners Proteſtations at the Bar muſt not be taken *de ipſo*. I can bring no Witneſs of my Heart, and the Intentions thereof; therefore I muſt come to my Proteſtation, not at the Bar, but to my Proteſtation at this Hour and Inſtant of my Death, in which (as I ſaid before) I hope all Men will be ſuch charitable Chriſtians, as not to think I would die and diſſemble my Religion: I do therefore here proteſt, with that Caution that I delivered before, without all Prejudice in the World to my Judges, that are to proceed *ſecundum allegata & probata*, and ſo to be underſtood, I die in the Preſence of Almighty God, and all his holy and bleſſed Angels, and I take it now on my Death, That I never endeavoured the Subverſion of the Laws of the Realm, nor never any Change of the Proteſtant Religion into Popiſh Superſtition: And I deſire you all to remember this Proteſt of mine, for my Innocency in theſe, and from all Manner of Treaſons whatſoever.

I have been accuſed likewiſe as an Enemy to Parliaments: No, God forbid, I underſtood them, and the Benefits that come by them, a great deal too well to be ſo; but I did, indeed, diſlike ſome Miſgovernments (as I conceived) of ſome few one or two Parliaments; and I did conceive humbly that I might have Reaſon for it; for, *Corruptio optimi eſt peſſima*: There is no Corruption in the World ſo bad as that which is of the beſt Thing in itſelf; for, the better the Thing is in Nature, the worſe it is, corrupted: And this being the higheſt and greateſt Court, over which no other can have any Juriſdiction in the Kingdom, if by any Way a Miſgovernment, which God forbid, ſhould any Ways fall upon it, the Subjects of this Kingdom are left without all Manner of Remedy; and therefore God preſerve them, and bleſs them, and direct them, that there may be no Miſconceit, much leſs Miſgovernment, amongſt them. I will not enlarge myſelf any further, I have done, I forgive all the World, all and every of thoſe bitter Enemies, or others, whatſoever they have been, which have any Ways proſecuted me in this Kind;

and

and I humbly desire to be forgiven first of God, and then of every Man, whether I have offended him or no, if he do but conceive that I have: Lord, do thou forgive me, and I beg Forgiveness of him, and so I heartily desire you to join with me in Prayer.

The Bishop of Canterbury's *first Prayer on the Scaffold.*

O Eternal God, and merciful Father, look down upon me in Mercy, in the Riches and Fulness of all thy Mercies, look upon me, but not till thou hast nailed my Sins to the Cross of Christ; look upon me, but, not till thou hast bathed me in the Blood of Christ, not till I have hid myself in the Wounds of Christ, that so the Punishment, that is due to my Sins, may pass away, and go over me: And, since thou art pleased to try me to the uttermost, I humbly beseech thee, give me now in this great Instant full Patience, proportionable Comfort, a Heart ready to die for thine Honour, and the King's Happiness, and this Church's Preservation; and my Zeal to these, far from Arrogancy be it spoken, is all the Sin, human Frailty excepted, and all Incidents thereunto, which is yet known of me in this Particular, for which I now come to suffer; I say, in this Particular of Treason; but, otherwise, my Sins are many and great, Lord, pardon them all, and those especially, whatsoever they be, which have drawn down this present Judgment upon me, and, when thou hast given me Strength to bear it, then do with me as seems best in thy own Eyes, and carry me through Death, that I may look upon it in what Visage soever it shall appear to me, and that there may be a Stop of this Issue of Blood in this more than miserable Kingdom. I shall desire that I may pray for the People too, as well as for myself: O Lord, I beseech thee, give Grace of Repentance to all People that have a Thirst for Blood, but, if they will not repent, then scatter their Devices so, and such as are, or shall be contrary to the Glory of thy great Name, the Truth and Sincerity of Religion, the Establishment of the King, and his Posterity after him, in their just Rights and Privileges, the Honour and Conservation of Parliaments, in their ancient and just Power, the Preservation of this poor Church in her Truth, Peace, and Patrimony, and the Settlement of this distracted and distressed People under their ancient Laws, and in their native Liberties; and, when thou hast done all this in mere Mercy for them, O Lord, fill their Hearts with Thankfulness, and with religious dutiful Obedience to thee, and thy Commandments, all their Days: So, *Amen*, Lord *Jesus*, and I beseech thee receive my Soul to Mercy. Our Father which art in Heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy Will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this Day our daily Bread. And forgive us our Trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into Temptation: But deliver us from Evil, *Amen*.

When he had finished his Prayer, he gave his Paper to Dr. *Sterne*, saying, Doctor, I give you this, that you may shew it to your Fellow-Chaplains, that they may see how I am gone out of the World, and God's Blessing and his Mercy be upon them.

Then, turning to Master *Hinde*, he said, Friend, I beseech you hear me, I cannot say I have spoken every Word, as it is in my Paper; but I have gone very near it, to help my Memory as well as I could; but, I beseech you, let me have no Wrong done me.

Hinde. Sir, you shall not: If I do any Wrong, let it fall on my own Head. I pray, God have Mercy on your Soul.

Cant. I thank you, I did not speak with any Jealousy, as if you would do so; but I spoke it only as a poor Man, going out of the World, it is not possible for me to keep to the Words in my Paper, and a Phrase may do me Wrong.

I did think here would have been an empty Scaffold, that I might have had Room to die; I beseech you, let me have an End of this Misery, for I have endured it long.

When Room was made, he spoke thus: I will pull off my Doublet, and God's Will be done, I am willing to go out of the World; no Man can be more willing to send me out, than I am willing to be gone.

Sir *John Clotworthy*. What special Text of Scripture now is comfortable to a Man in his Departure?

Cant. Cupio dissolvi & esse cum Christo.

Sir *John Clothworthy.* That is a good Desire, but there must be a Foundation for that Desire, as Assurance.

Cant. No Man can express it, it is to be found within.

Sir *John Clothworthy.* It is founded upon a Word though, and that Word would be known.

Cant. That Word is the Knowledge of *Jesus Christ*, and that alone.

And, turning to the Executioner, he gave him Money, saying, Here honest Friend, God forgive thee, and do thy Office upon me in Mercy.

The Executioner desiring him to give some Sign, when he should strike: He answered, Yes, I will, but let me sit myself first.

Then, kneeling down on his Knees, he prayed thus:

The Bishop of Canterbury's *last Prayer on the Scaffold.*

LORD, I am coming as fast as I can, I know I must pass through the Shadow of Death, before I can come to see thee; but it is but *umbra mortis*, a mere Shadow of Death, a little Darkness upon Nature; but thou, by thy Merits and Passion, hast broke through the Jaws of Death: So, Lord, receive my Soul, and have Mercy upon me, and bless this Kingdom with Peace, and with Plenty, and with brotherly Love and Charity, that there may not be this Effusion of Christian Blood amongst them, for *Jesus Christ*'s Sake, if it be thy Will.

And when he said, Lord, receive my Soul, which was his Sign, the Executioner did his Office.

A brief Relation containing an Abbreviation of the Arguments, urged by the late Protector, against the Government of this Nation, by a King or a single Person; to convince Men of the Danger and Inconveniency thereof. Urged by him to many of the Army, at St. *Albans*, *Windsor*, and *White-hall*, a little before the King was beheaded, and at several other Places. Published for the Good and Information of Parliament, Army, and People. Printed, *January*, 1658. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

To the Reader.

Reader,

OF what Opinion or Judgment soever you are, let not your Headiness, or prejudicate Opinion, hinder you from considering what is here declared, the Substance and Truth whereof is well known to some, in City, Army, and Country, for thine and thy Posterity's Good, Welfare, and Preservation. But beg of God Wisdom, and he will shew thee the Mystery of Iniquity, when it is going to be settled by a Law, and will cost thee hot Service, and Sorrow of Heart, to redeem thyself and Country, and it may be, when thou wouldst redeem it, it will be too hard for thee.

The Conſideration of the Obſtruction that probably this true Relation will meet with from all fawning Courtiers and deceived Engliſhmen, *had almoſt prevented its Proſecution; but, remembering that nought but the Awaking of my dear ſlumbering Countrymen from that drowſy State, that, for ſome Days, they have ſeemed to lie in; which, if perſiſted in, will give too great an Opportunity to the common Enemy to effect his Will on us all: I was encouraged to proceed, truſting in the Lord, who has, and will deliver the Innocent from all the calumnious Aſperſions of Court Paraſites. And, therefore, without any other Apology, I ſhall proceed to the Arguments themſelves, which I ſhall deliver, if not in the abſolute Terms, yet in the genuine Senſe.*

1.

IMprimis, Becauſe it is poſſible, yea, and more than ordinarily probable, that a ſingle Perſon, in a ſhort Time, will work over his Council to his own Will, though illegal; either in Conferring Places of Honour and Profit on them and their Friends, or elſe in Terrifying them by Threats.

2. Becauſe that a ſingle Perſon, being raiſed to ſuch a State, is ſubject to wax wanton and ſo forget; or, rather, neglect the Commonalty, in Providing for a few that will be at his Beck, ready to fulfil his Pleaſure.

3. Becauſe that, notwithſtanding for a Time he may carry Matters fair, and do ſome good Things, *Jehu* like, until he has gotten an Intereſt in the Affections of the People; but then, forgetting, or, rather, ſlighting what he formerly pretended too, inſtead of countenancing of Juſtice, and endeavouring Reformation, it is poſſible he may become a Favourer of Iniquity; nay, ſaid he, a Settler of a Court, or Nurſery of Whores, Rogues, Bawds, and ſuch like Perſons, as was evidently ſeen in former Days at *Whitehall*.

4. Becauſe, if he cannot accompliſh his Deſign on his Council, but they diſcover his Wickneſſes and Abominations, and oppoſe him, on the Behalf of their Country, he will be ready and apt ſecretly to confederate, and make Leagues with other Princes, and ſo let in a foreign Enemy, rather than be kept within the Bounds of Law and Juſtice, as we have ſeen in the (late) King, who has brought in *Iriſh* and *Scots*, and alſo ſent Letters Patents, with Letters of Credence to three foreign Princes, inviting them to come into *England*.

5. Becauſe, if the chief Governor, King, or ſingle Perſon ſhould become an Ideot, then nought but a continual Charge, upon the good People, could be expected, even robbing them of their Subſtance, until they are made ſo poor, as not to be able to oppoſe an Enemy; which, ſo ſoon as underſtood, will ſufficiently encourage a foreign Enemy, to make an Invaſion upon us.

6. Becauſe the Government, by one ſingle Perſon, is far more chargeable to the People, which, in the laying aſide of, the People will ſoon become ſenſible by the Leſſening of their Charge: For that Revenue (which was to uphold one Man, and ſpent in Voluptuouſneſs by him) being brought into the publick Treaſury, will help to defray much of the Charge that otherwiſe muſt fall on the People: Nay, ſaid he, whoſoever ſhall go about to ſettle the Government in one Perſon, will make themſelves ſo odious, that the People will be ready to knock them on the Head; for, when once the Family of the *Stuarts* is gone, if you eſtabliſh one Man in the Government, in a little Time he will become Maſter of the Nation's Treaſure, and, at his firſt Coming to the Place, will moſt eagerly deſire Monies, to buy this Bauble for one, and that Toy for another; and, after a little While, when he hath taſted the Sweetneſs and Deliciouſneſs thereof, will, to maintain the ſame, become a Purchaſer of Lands with the People's Monies, until they are become ſo poor, that they ſhall be neceſſitated to be his Vaſſals, and, conſequently, Slaves for ever; for, as the firſt doth, ſo a ſecond, and a third will do after him, until the good People be utterly undone.

7. Becauſe, the Government being placed in one Perſon, he will be ſubject to judge of himſelf as above Law, and without the Reach of any Law; and, by Violence, tyranniſe over whom

whom he pleaſes, commanding one Man to Priſon, and Monies from another, and, poſſibly, both Money and Liberty from a third, *&c.* the Refuſing of which arbitrary Commands or Actions will expoſe Men to his Mercy, which will be no leſs than Cruelty.

8. Becauſe that the Abominations and Wickedneſs of a Court have been, and, is juſtly feared, will be ſo great, that both the Perſon himſelf, and his Council about him, will always, for to uphold his Voluptuouſneſs, be ready to erect new Monopolies, granting Patents to his Lords, *&c.* to get Money from the People, for to maintain their Pomp and Pride, and thereby keep the People in ſuch Servitude, that, in a little Time, they will be out of a Capacity to gain Juſtice on any of the Courtiers: And then the Citizen muſt wait for his Money, when his Commodity is ſold, and ſcarce dare aſk, and not dare arreſt a Courtier for what he oweth, for Fear of his Maſter. And the Countryman's Hedges will be broken down, his Corn trampled on, and ſpoiled, or eaten by the Game, and, to complain of which, will be accounted a Crime little leſs than Treaſon.

Theſe and ſuch are the Things you muſt expect, ſaid he, if you ſet up one ſingle Perſon, and Who would be ſo mad, God having ſo ſignally witneſſed againſt the King and Houſe of Lords? The much Blood that hath been ſhed, and the vaſt Treaſure expended, and the Controverſy decided on our Parts, witneſſeth aloud againſt it. Further, ſaid he, I am confident, that, whoever they be, that ſhall go about to ſettle a Court in this Nation, God will deſtroy and bring to nought, and Confuſion will be to them and their Poſterity; and, ſaid he, if ever I ſhould go about any ſuch Thing, I deſire God would never bleſs me, nor mine.

He farther declared, That God had borne Witneſs againſt the Parliament, for that they were intending to make Peace with the late King, and to ſettle him; telling ſome Members of the then Parliament and Army, when they ſpoke of Settling the Government in one ſingle Perſon, That God would deſtroy them; ſome for Going about to ſettle Iniquity by a Law, and others for not Proteſting againſt them, and for not Declaring their Proteſt to the good People of *England*. And thus now, gentle Reader, thou haſt the Subſtance of ſome of the Reaſons urged by the late Lord Protector againſt Monarchy, though ſuddenly he leaped into the ſame himſelf. But now it may be ſaid, theſe Reaſons are not ſufficient to prove the ſame. Whether they are, or not, I ſhall not now diſpute; but, that it may appear to be probable, I preſent theſe enſuing Queries.

Upon the Whole, I query, Whether any Man upon rational Grounds can expect, that the preſent Protector, or ſingle Perſon pretending to Government, ſhould be more honeſt, righteous, and juſt, than his deceaſed Father was?

But more particularly upon the Arguments.

1. I Would query, firſt, Whether the late Protector did not work over his Council to ſome Things illegal?

2. Whether Kings formerly, and the Protector lately, did not wax wanton, and, providing for ſome few of their Creatures, neglect the Commonalty?

3. Whether our late Experience of a ſingle Perſon cannot teſtify, that, though for a ſmall Time he ſeemed to favour honeſt Men and Things, yet, when he thought himſelf ſeated, Whether, I ſay, he did not then ſlight both them and it, and become a Favourer of the Contrary? And whether our late Court did not ſhew more Growth and Increaſe of Rogues, Bawds, and Whores, than all the Time of our Government by a Commonwealth?

4. Whether a Confederacy has not been made *Abroad*, with our ſecret Enemies at Home, that ſo a *ſingle Perſon* might the better ſuppreſs thoſe that ſee the Wickedneſs of his Deſigns?

5. Whether the ſingle Perſon now pretending to Government, though the Son of a ſubtle Man, be a wiſe Man, fit to diſpoſe of Commonwealth Treaſure?

6. Whether the good People of this Nation be not very ſenſible of the Expenſiveneſs extraordinary of a ſingle Perſon, more than of a Commonwealth? And whether they do not find a Want of that vaſt Treaſure expended upon Baubles, Toys, and trifling Geugaws? Such as we of late have had too much Cauſe to ſpeak of. And whether the Cauſe of the People's Poverty has not been by Means of purchaſing Lands to the Family of the late Protector, as well as *High-Spaniola* Buſineſs?

7. Whe-

7. Whether the late Perſon ſet up did not judge himſelf above Law? And whether he did not tyranniſe over Men's Perſons, reſtraining both them and their Liberty? And whether the Mercy he has pretended to, in the Execution thereof, has not been very Cruelty?

8. Whether the late ſingle Perſon, to uphold his and his Courtiers Voluptuouſneſs, has not been ready to uphold what Monopolies he found on Foot, and likewiſe to deviſe new Ways to the ſame Purpoſe? And whether the Citizen has not had Experience of Court-payment, and the Countryman, though ſad, of the Spoiling of his Fences, and Deſtroying of his Crop, by them that belong to the Court? And that they pleaſe to call their *Game*. And, if theſe be the Beginnings, What will the End be? And therefore, for a Cloſure, I muſt ſay, What ſhall we ſay, or do, more than the King Protector has ſaid and done?

Now to conclude: I humbly preſent to Conſideration, Whether, upon a diligent, ſerious Weighing of the preſent Action, and paſt Management of State-affairs, of ſome, being Lawyers, *&c.* raiſed from a low Eſtate to ſit in Council, and become great Favourites at Court, it may not be found, and clearly ſeen, that they have a Deſign to bring in *Charles Stuart?* For, if firſt they bring in a ſingle Perſon, and grant that, the next Diſpute will be, Whether the one Family, or the other, has moſt Right? And who has moſt Intereſt, *Charles*, or *Richard*, I think, aſketh no long Time to anſwer. Farther, I would add, Whether it be not more likely to attain to the Practice of that golden Rule, 'Do as you 'would be done to,' under the Government of a Commonwealth, in which Law-makers are liable to be judged by the Law made, rather than under a Monarchical Government, where or in which one, if ſettled, is above Law, and accountable to none? Who, though never ſo wicked and unjuſt, cannot be removed, but by an extraordinary Providence, as was the Caſe of the late King and Protector.

Now, whereas it is endeavoured, by ſome Court-paraſites, to inſinuate into the People, That that, which the Commonwealth Party aims at, is an Involving of the Nations in Blood and Confuſion, I would meekly tender, Whether their Deportment and Behaviour, under the almoſt inſupportable Burden of the Tyranny of late Times, in which their Rights and Liberties have lain bleeding, hath given any juſt Cauſe of ſuch Suſpicion? Or rather, Whether their Patience has not manifeſted, their Hope hath been and ſtill is in God, from whom, by the Means of a lawful free Parliament, they only expect Deliverance? be not a Vindication ſufficient, not only from what is now ſuggeſted againſt them, but alſo from that old Brand, that the late Protector, in a Letter to the late King, while at *Hampton-court*, gave them, *viz. Levellers*; and that their Work would be to kill the King, and levy all Men's Eſtates; by which Means he effected his End, *viz.* an Incenſing of the People and the other Part of the Army againſt them: Which when he had done, he eaſily carried on his wicked Deſigns, which ſince have come to publick View; for a Deliverance from which are the hearty Prayers of all true *Engliſhmen*.

A Copie of a Letter lately ſent by a Gentleman *, Student in the Lawes of the Realme, to a Frende of his, concernyng D. *Storie*. Black Letter. *Octavo*, containing twenty-two Pages.

ACcording to your Requeſt, you ſhal hereby vnderſtand what you may truely ſaye and auowe vpon ſuch Queſtions as it ſeemeth you haue harde, of the late Execution of D. *Storie*, who ſuffred at *Tiburne* the Firſt of *Iune* laſt.

It is notorious howe euyll and vnloyally he behaued hym ſelfe here in *Englande* before he departed the Realme, and howe earneſt a Perſecutor afterward he was of all the good Subjectes of *Englande*, hauyng Cauſe to be in the *Lowe-Countreys*, both before the Arreſt made of late by the Duke of *Alua*, as ſence that

* *Vide* the 4th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets.

Tyme,

Tyme, a Multitude of honeſt Marchaunts knowe it, both *Englyſſe* and others, and a great Number haue felt it, by Impriſonment, procured by hym, and by Seaſyng and Confiſcatyng of their Goodes; ſo as there is no Doubt to be made, but that he was, to his Power, as earneſt an Enemie to the State of *Englande*, his naturall Countrey, and the Queenes Maieſties good Subiectes, as any Man borne in this Realme coulde be. Neuertheleſſe, becauſe, at the Place of his Execution before his Death, he vſed long and many Speeches, to moue ſome of ſimple Underſtandyng, or that dyd not knowe his Rancor and Malice agaynſt the Queenes Maieſtie, and the State of this Realme; and for that it was not then conuenient, nor at leaſt coulde be imagined aforehande, that he woulde haue vſed ſuche Speeches at that Tyme, and ſo he was ſuffred to ſpeake altogether without Contradiction, whereby the Trueth, percaſe, may be made to you obſcure; you ſhall vnderſtande of what deteſtable Crymes he was gyltie, and therewith ſhoulde haue ben particulerly charged at Tyme of his Arraignement in the *Kynges-Benche*, but that he craftyly and traytorouſly, knowying by his Examination wherewith he was to be charged, and howe much he hym ſelfe had confeſſed in the *Towre*; and, beyng wrytten in certayne Leaues of Paper, had ſubſcribed with his owne Hande Wrytyng; refuſed to haue any Tryall made thereof, alleaging that he ought not to anſwere, nor woulde anſwere, becauſe he was ſubiect to the Kyng of *Spayne*, and not ſubiect to the Queenes Maieſtie, and the Crowne of *Englande*: And ſo, although he was charitably, earneſtly, and reaſonably required at his Arraignment, to anſwere to the Matters wherewith he was charged by Indytement, as a borne Subiect of this Realme; yet he woulde not, but traytorouſly refuſed to anſwere thereto, in ſuch Sort, as if he had been indyted of Felonie, as he was of Hygh-Treaſon, he ſhould, for his not Anſweryng, haue ſuffred the Payne of Preſſyng to Death, which Maner of Iudgement is not vſed in Caſes of Treaſon by the Lawes of the Realme, but was adiudged gyltie of the Treaſons conteyned in the Indytement, as of Neceſſitie and Iuſtice he ought to be, for other Iudgement coulde not be geuen: And ſo, by Iuſtice of Lawe, he was iudged to the Death which he ſuffred. But, for that it may ſerue to the Satisfaction of all Men, to conſyder howe farre he was gyltie of the Treaſons conteyned in his Indytment, hereafter folowyeth a true, iuſte, and playne Report of the Mattors, both wherof he was accuſed and examined, and which alſo he did confeſſe in the *Towre*.

He was to be charged, that he dyd traytorouſly conſpire agaynſt the Queenes Maieſtie, with one *Preſtall*, an *Englyſhe* Man, who was a Fugityue, and principall Deuiſor of the firſt Treaſon intended by the young *Pooles* xi Yeres paſt, and therof was indyted and outlawed: And afterwarde, of late Tyme, he practiſed an other great Treaſon with certayne Perſons, wherof one diſcloſed the ſame to the Duke of *Norfolke*, who alſo verye duetifullye reuealed the ſame to the Queenes Maieſtie, whereupon the ſayde *Preſtall*, beyng ſought for to be apprehended, fledde into *Scotlande*, where alſo he ioyned hymſelfe with the *Engliſhe* Rebelles, and there attempted ſundry Treaſons againſt her Maieſtie, and from thence he fledde into *Flaunders*. With this Maner of Traytor had this D. *Storie* a continuall Intelligence to further his Treaſons, inſomuche as he ſayde, not long before he came into *Englande*, to one that for Dueties ſake diſcloſed it, and is redy to proue it, that *Preſtall* ſhoulde, or it were long, be the Leader of xl thouſand Men into *Englande*, agaynſt that Woman whiche toke vpon her to be Queene; and ſayde the ſame *Storie*, I woulde to God ſhe were in the Bottome of the Sea; with other vile and reprochfull Wordes, not meete to be reported. With which traytorous Speeches he ſhould haue ben charged, yf he woulde haue abyden Tryall accordyng to the Lawes of the Realme.

The ſayde *Storie* ſayde alſo, in the Preſence of two Perſons of *Engliſh Byrth*, who were redy to haue charged hym therewith, yf he woulde haue ſtande to Tryall, that he had written Letters to *Bruxels*, that, yf the Matters conteyned therein ſhoulde be reuealed, where he ſhoulde be charged therewith, he ſhoulde be hanged, drawen, and quartered. And immediatly after this Speeche he went to *Bruxels* with *Preſtall*, where he and *Preſtall* were rewarded with Money; and there *Preſtall* declared to certayne Perſons, redy alſo to haue auowed the ſame, that he had opened his whole Purpoſes to D. *Story*, whereto D. *Story* was ſworne to kepe the ſame Secrete. But, of the Thynges intended by *Preſtall* and *Story* at that Tyme, neyther of them woulde be then knowen; but yet *Preſtall* affirmed, that he had an Art to poyſon

any

any Body a farre of, beyng not preſent with them, and that none coulde do it but he. And, to ſhew ſome Taſte of their Miſchiefes, a Gentleman belongyng to *Courteuile*, a Secretarie to the Duke of *Alua*, tolde an *Englyſhe* Man, redye alſo to auowe the ſame, that D. *Story* and *Preſtall* were about ſuch Matters, and ſuch vyle Treaſon, as the ſaide Partie ſayde, that no Man coulde deuiſe worſe, and that D. *Story* was ſuch a wicked Man, as could not be found the like, and that he thought veryly they were about murdring of ſome great Perſons in *Englande*.

The ſayde *Story* alſo receaued certayne Letters from *Preſtall* out of *Scotland*, being written in *Scottyſhe*, whiche are alſo to be ſeene, and myght haue ben ſhewed at the Arraignement, yf he woulde haue ben tryed: Which Letters *Story* tranſlated into *Latin*, and caryed the ſame to *Bruxels*, by whiche it was required, that Meanes ſhould be made to the Duke of *Aluà*, to ſende into *Scotland* certayne Horſmen, and a Number of Dagges, to make an Entry and Inuaſion into *Englande*, with the *Scottes*; and by the ſame Letter *Preſtall* wrote, that, the Thyng, whiche he tolde D. *Story* in Secrete, woulde coſt a thouſande Markes, and that yf the Regent and the foolyſhe Boy, the young Kyng, were diſpatched and dead, the *Scottyſhe* Queene were a Marriage for the beſt Man lyuyng. Al which Wordes are conteyned in the Letter, tranſlated by D. *Story*.

The ſayde *Story* beyng at *Bruxels*, and receauyng a Letter from olde *Norton*, a very olde Rebell, beyng arryued at *Antwerpe*, dyd ſollicite certayne of the Counſell about the Duke, for Money for the Relieſe of the ſame *Norton*, and his Company, and wrote to hym to comfort hym by expreſſe Wordes, that, where he and his Company were before but worſhipfull, nowe they were an honourable State, and had wonne double Honor; and perpetuall Fame, for their late Enterpriſe in *Englande*, and that he woulde come ſhortly, to geue them their Welcome to *Antwerpe*; and immediatlye he procured, that one D. *Saunders*, with certayne *Englyſhe* Fugityues harboured in *Louain*, went to *Antwerpe* to the Rebelles, and there *Saunders* made to them a ſolemne long Oration in Prayſe of their Actes.

Story alſo declared in *Antwerpe*, in Preſence of ſuch as ſhoulde haue auowed it at his Arraignement, yf he woulde haue denyed it, that the Rebellion ſhoulde be renewed in *Englande*, and that, at the ſame Inſtant alſo, *Irelande* ſhoulde rebell, whereof he ſayde he was well aſſured by Aduertiſement from an *Iryſhe* Biſhop, that hadde ſcaped out of the *Towre* of *London*, and that, at the ſame Inſtant alſo, the *Scottes* ſhoulde, with an Ayde out of *Fraunce*, inuade *Englande*, and ſet vp the *Scottyſhe* Queene.

The ſayde *Story* alſo vſed commonly this Maner of Prayer after his Meates, whereof there are diuers Perſons redy to witnes the ſame, that haue hearde hym, and laſtly, euen in the Hoy wherein he was before he came laſt into *Englande*, in the Preſence of diuers Perſons, that yf the Queenes Maieſtie, whom he woulde neuer tearme, but by the Name of Dame *Elizabeth*, that tooke vppon her to be Queene, woulde not ſpeedyly turn to Queene *Maries* Religion, he prayed that ſhe myght be ouercome with Sworde and Fyre, and all that woulde take her Part.

And though he myght haue ben charged with ſundry other traytorous and haynous Conſpiracies in the *Lowe Countreys*, and with Aydyng of the Rebelles there, whereof out of the ſaide *Lowe Countreys* Aduertiſement was geuen by ſundry of good Credite; yet of ſet Purpoſe no more is aboue recited, but ſuche Thynges only, as wherwith he ſhoulde haue ben charged openly by Witneſſes, at his Arraignement, who, yf he woulde haue denyed the ſame, ſhoulde haue auowed the Whole to his Face, and in the Hearyng of the Jury, that ſhoulde haue tryed hym. And howe many of the Thynges before recited are to be iudged true and probable, it is to ſee by theſe Thynges folowyng, whiche are Worde by Worde extracted out of his owne Confeſſions, ſubſcribed with his owne Hande, and vttered upon Interrogatories, without any Maner of Torture, or Offer of Torture, although at the Place of Execution he vſed Speeche to the Contrary, very vntruly, as the worſhipfull Perſons that examined hym can well teſtifie, which were,

Sir *Thomas Wroth*, Knight, Maiſter *Wilbraham*, then Recorder of *London*, and Maiſter *Peter Oſborne*, the Treſorers Remembrancer in the *Exchequer*, and ſo can alſo the Lieuetenaunt of the *Towre*, as touchyng any Torture.

Extracted out of D. Stories *Confeſſions.*

ix. *December.* 1570.

I *Ohn Story*, the Day and Yere aboue written being examined, ſaith, that *John Preſtall* dyd wryte a Letter to the ſayde *John Story*, of three Sydes of a Sheete of Paper, as he remembreth, and directed to the ſayde *Story*, which Letter was incloſed in a Letter, wrytten to one *Hamelton*, a *Scot*, that lay at *Bruxels*, for hym to peruſe and ſeale the ſame, and then to delyuer it to the ſayd *Story*. And the ſame Letter the ſayde *Hamelton* read, and ſealed it vp, and told this Examinat the Effect therof, and he bad hym open it, and reade it; and ſo the ſayde *Hamelton* dyd, vntyll he came to a Word, *Boy* or *Chylde*, meanyng the King of *Scottes*, to be made away, as the ſaid *Story* tooke it.

xii. *December.* 1570.

Item, He ſayth, that *Hamelton* tolde hym, that *Preſtall* had written, that the Matter which *Preſtall* had tolde *Story*, and the ſayd *Hamelton*, that an *Engliſhe* Man nowe in *Irelande* coulde do, woulde not be done without a great Summe of Money, whiche Matter was to make the Kyng of *Scottes* away; for *Preſtall* had told this Examinat and *Hamelton*, that the *Scottes* woulde hardlye be reduced to Obedience, as long as the Queene of *Scottes* was without an Huſbande, and no Man of Eſtimation woulde haue her, ſo long as the Boy lyued; and yf he were dead, he hoped the Emperours Brother woulde haue her, and wyſhed he myght be an Entreater in that Matter. And further *Preſtall* ſaid, that the ſaid Man, nowe in *Irelande*, had tolde the *Pooles*, and hym, the very Month, the Daye, and Houre, that the Queene of *Englande* ſhoulde be in Hazarde of her Lyfe, and that the ſame *Engliſhe* Man could diſpatch the King of *Scottes* for Money: And beyng aſked what the ſame *Engliſhe* Mans Name was, *Story* ſayth of trouth he knoweth not, but hath forgotten it, yet *Preſtall* told it him; but whither he is in *Irelande*, or of what Eſtate, Degree, or Condition he is of, he knoweth not. And further, that *Preſtall* tolde him, he coulde do much with that *Engliſhe* Man in *Irelande*, wherein this Examinat diſcouraged hym. And the ſayde *Story* ſayth, he thynketh of his Conſcience that *Preſtall* would do all the Harme that he coulde to this Realme of *Englande*.

And further ſayth, that *Preſtall* tolde hym, he woulde take any Thyng in Hand to inuade *Englande*, ſo he might haue good Aſſiſtance, and not to be vſed as an Vnderlyng. But *Preſtall* neuer tolde hym by what Deuice *Englande* ſhoulde be inuaded.

And more he ſayth, that *Jenny* and *Markenfelde* hath made Suite to *Courteuile*, and to *Northcarne*, as *Northcarnes* Secretarie tolde hym, for the Reliefe of the *Nortons* and *Neuyls*; and after this, *Courteuile* called this Examinat, wyllyng hym to byd *Markenfelde* to come to hym that Day, at Two of the Clocke, and then this Examinat prayed, that yf he ſhoulde come about the Money, for the Reliefe of the *Nortons*, and others, that then one *Parkar* myght be payed for theyr Charges, and ſo it myght be delyuered to *Parkar*.

He ſayth, he wrote a Letter to the elder *Norton* from *Bruxels*, and ſhewed the ſayde elder *Norton*, that he woulde be glad to do for hym, euen the beſt that lay in the ſayde *Stories* Power to do, and that he woulde rather ſtay his owne Suites to the Duke, then not to do the beſt he could for hym, and this was all the Effecte of his Letter to the ſayde eldeſt *Norton*; but, afterwarde he called to Remembrance, he wrote vnto him, that he was glad, that he and his Company were ſo well come into the Catholyke Realme, and ſafely arryued there. He ſayth, he doth not remember, that he wrote to the ſayde *Nortons*, and the reſte, that where they were before but worſhipfull, they were nowe worthy double Honor; but he ſayth it may be he dyd write ſo, becauſe he thought ſo; and thynkes he dyd wryte vnto them, that he woulde come ſhortly to *Antwerpe*, and geue them their Welcome, becauſe he meant ſo to do.

After *Markenfelde*, and *Jenny* came ouer, and one *Leedes* with hym, and firſt they came to *Parkars* Houſe, where the ſayde *Jenny* declared openly at the Boorde, in the Preſence of this Examinat, and others, the Order of the ſayde late Rebellion.

And hereupon this Examinat made Reporte to *Northcarnes* Secretarie, that the ſayde *Jenny* was a Frende to the Catholykes, and the Earles,

Earles, and is a very truſty Frende, and hath ventured his Lyfe for the Catholykes. But afterwarde, this Examinat perceauyng the contrary of *Ienny* by a *Scotte*, he gaue *Northcarnes* Secretarie Warning to take Heede of *Ienny*.

Shortly after this, the ſayde *Story* came to *Antwerpe* to *Parkars* Houſe, where ſyttyng at Dynner, the ſayde elder *Norton* and ſome other of his Company came in from the Churche, and one ſaide, this is *Norton*, and thereupon this Examinat roſe, and gaue hym Place, and bad him Welcome; and ſo the elder *Norton* ſate downe in the ſaid *Stories* Place.

After old *Norton* ſhyfted his Lodging, and this Examinat, with one *Shawe*, *Nortons* Sonne in Lawe, went to the ſayde olde *Nortons* Lodging to Dyner, and there dined with hym; and that Day all their Talke was of the Suſpition that *Norton* had of *Iennys* firſte Commyng to the Rebelles in *Englande*, from the Earle of *Suſſex*, and ſo he tooke hym ſtyl but a Spye, and to couer hym ſelfe with, to the Duke, with labouryng for them.

He ſayth, that he hearde by *Markenfeldes* Report, that the ſayde *Nortons* and *Newyls*, and their Company, had two-hundred Crownes geuen them from the Duke, at their firſt Commyng, and ſhoulde haue two-hundred Crownes more afterwarde.

More he ſayth, That, before the Dukes laſt Commyng to *Antwerpe*, the ſaide *Story* and Sir *Iames Shelley*, beyng at *Louain*, were there ſent for to come to D. *Saunders*, to heare a certayne Booke read (of the Reaſons that the Bull late ſent over into *Englande* ſhould be obeyed, as he ſuſpected) and thither the ſayde *Story* promiſed to come, but that after Noone he was dryuen to go to *Bruxels*; and ſo Sir *Iames Shelley* went thyther, and brought Worde to this Examinat, being with one *Leedes* at Dyner, That, yf he had come, he ſhoulde haue hearde goodly Reaſons, that he would haue wel lyked, about the Booke that *Saunders* had made.

Further, the ſayde *Story* doth ſay, That he was neuer ſworne to King *Philip*, nor to the Duke of *Alua*, nor neuer by any Meanes was made Kyng *Philippes* Subiecte or Denizen, or otherwyſe naturalized to be Kyng *Philippes* Subiect, but remaynes only ſtyll a Subiect to the Queene of *Englande*.

Thus ſubſcribed, though he ſayd otherwyſe at *Tyborne*,

Iohn Story.

xx. *December*, 1570.

The ſayde *Iohn Story*, this xx. Day of *December*, beyng examined, ſayth, That about two Yeres ſence he dyd deale by Wrytyng with *Courteuile*, ſhewyng vnto hym, that the Catholykes in *Englande* dyd dayly decay, and the Sciſmatykes dyd there daylye encreaſe; and therfore, yf the King of *Spayne* had any Meanyng to wryte to the Queene of *Englande*, or otherwiſe to helpe to reſtore Religion in *Englande*, he ſhoulde do it betyme, or els it woulde be to late. And eyther he dyd wryte further, or ſayde by Mouth to the ſayde *Courteuile*, That, yf the Kyng of *Spayne* dyd but come into the *Low Countreys* out of *Spayne*, with a Number of Shyppes, the Catholykes of *Englande* would thynke, as this Examinat thought, that he were come to reſtore Religion, and would take the Kyng of *Spaynes* Part. And the ſaid *Story* confeſſeth, that he wrote to *Courteuile*, That, if about the Realme of *Englande* there might go a Number of Shyppes, as Men went about *Ierico*, then the Catholykes of *Englande* woulde take Courage to prepare Entry for them that went ſo about with the ſaid Shyppes. To which Ende of Entry by the Kyng of *Spaynes* Power into *England*, the ſaide *Story* dyd write to *Courteuile* many Tymes by his Letters and Perſwaſions therein, hopyng thereby, that either the King of *Spayne* woulde write to the Queene of *Englande* to reſtore the Catholyke Religion, or els woulde make ſome Entry into *Englande*, and reſourme Religion, according as he was bounde by his Title of *Catholyke King*, as the ſayde *Story* thought.

Further the ſayde *Story* ſayth, That *Iohn Preſtall*, at ſuch Tyme as he talked with *Hamelton* and this Examinat about the Death of the Kyng of *Scottes*, as is aforeſayde, when *Preſtall* had tolde hym, as aforeſayde, That the *Engliſhe* Man, that fledde into *Irelande*, had tolde the ſayde *Preſtall* of the Tyme and Houre the Queenes Maieſtie ſhould be in Peryll of her Death, as is aforeſayde, then *Preſtall* ſayd, That, yf the ſayde *Engliſhe* Man in *Irelande* myght be plyed, he could bryng the Queenes Hyghnes to Death in Deede, and ſayde he thought ſurely he coulde do it; and then this Examinat ſayde, That was to be done by Necromancie.

Subſcribed,

Iohn Story.

It is here to be conſydered alſo, howe lykely it is, that the Thynges whiche he ſpake at *Tiborne* for his Purgation were true, when at the ſame Tyme he woulde haue had, by his earneſt Speeches then vſed, all the Hearers beleue, that he vſed neuer any Crueltie, in Queen *Maries* Time, againſt any that were then burnt for Religion, but, as he ſayde, he dyd but only chyde them; and that he was no Cauſe of the Death of any, but that the Biſhoppes dyd procure the Sentences of Death. And howe vntrue this Speeche of his was in that Behalfe, as to excuſe hym ſelfe, a Number of Witneſſes lyuyng, that manifeſtly ſaw his extreme Cruelties, and ſome that felt thereof, are very plenteous. And what his Hart was towards the Queenes Maieſtie may playnly appeare by his traytorous Wordes in the Parliament Houſe, where he ſayde, That, yf his Counſel had ben folowed, the Root ſhould haue ben ſtryken downe, and not the Branches.

And howe horrible, traytorous, and monſtruous a Meanyng he had to refuſe to anſwere at his Arraignement, by refuſyng his naturall Allegeaunce to the Queenes Maieſtie and this Crowne (from which no Lawe in the Worlde coulde ſeparate hym) and by auowyng that he was a Subiecte to the Kyng of *Spayne*, it may appeare, in that he ſayde at his Arraignement, for Defence of his traitorous Refuſall of his Obedience: That Kinges were choſen at the firſt by the People for their Neceſſitie, and not the People for their Kynges; and therfore the People myght leaue their Kynges, when they hadde no more Neede of them. And ſo the Concluſion, in his Opinion, ſerued for hym, that he myght refuſe his naturall Liege Lady and Queene; and ſo, conſequently, by that monſtruous Reaſon, all Kynges may be depriued of their Subiectes, or of as many as woulde enter into that traytorous and monſtruous Error, at their Pleaſure: A Thyng, of it ſelfe, worthy of ſome monſtruous Death, accordyng to the Monſtruouſnes of the Treaſon.

Otherwyſe, to remember the Vnworthynes of this D. for his long lewde Lyfe in all Tymes paſt, is not conuenient, becauſe he is dead; of whom alſo nothyng ſhould be now in this Sort written, but that, by his craftye traytorous Doynges at his Arraignement, and by his Vntruethes vttered at his Death, Trueth it ſelfe ſhoulde take Harme by Miſtakyng and Miſreportyng; and only in Fauour of Trueth haue I collected the Premiſſes, and for no other Purpoſe; and ſo, I pray you, vſe it accordyng as you ſhal thynke meete. For al thoſe Thynges, which are before recited, are manyfeſtly to be proued, partly by the very Wrytynges extant, and in no Worde altered, and the reſt by ſufficient Witneſſes, whereof I haue hadde good Regarde, euen for the Truethes Sake, knowyng that Almyghtie God is the Auenger of all Vntrueth.

4 *Iunii*, 1571.

God ſaue the Queene.

A ſhort View of the Life and Death of *George Villiers*, Duke of *Buckingham*. Written by Sir *Henry Wotton*, Knight, late Provoſt of *Eaton* College. *London*, printed for *William Sheares*, 1642. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages.

I Determine to write the Life, and the End, the Nature, and the Fortunes of *George Villiers*, late Duke of *Buckingham*, which yet I have not undertaken out of any wanton Pleaſure in mine own Pen; nor, truly, without often pondering with myſelf before-hand what Cenſures I might incur; for I would not be ignorant, by long Obſervation, both Abroad and at Home, that every where all Greatneſs of Power and Favour is circumveſted with much Prejudice. And that it is not eaſy for Writers to reſearch with due Diſtinction, as they ought, in the Actions of eminent Perſonages, both how much many have

been

been blemiſhed by the Envy of others, and what was corrupted by their own Felicity, unleſs, after the Period of their Splendor, which muſt needs dazzle their Beholders, and, perhaps, oftentimes themſelves, we could, as in ſome Scenes of the fabulous Age, excite them again, and confer a While with their naked Ghoſts. However, for my Part, I have no ſervile or ignoble End in my preſent Labour, which may, on either Side, reſtrain or embaſe the Freedom of my poor Judgment; I will, therefore, ſteer as evenly as I can, and deduce him from his Cradle through the deep and lubrick Ways of State and Court, till he was ſwallowed in the Gulf of Fatality.

I find him born in the Year of our Saviour 1592, on the 28th of *Auguſt*, at *Brookſby* in *Leiceſterſhire*, where his Anceſtors had chiefly continued about the Space of four-hundred Years, rather without Obſcurity, than with any great Luſtre, after they had long before been ſeated in *Kinalton* in the County of *Nottingham*; he was the third Son of *George Villiers*, Knight, and *Mary*, late Counteſs of *Buckingham*, and Daughter to *Anthony Beaumont*, of *Coleorton*, Eſq; Names on either Side well known of ancient Extraction. And yet I remember there was one, who, in a wild Pamphlet which he publiſhed, beſides other pitiful Malignities, would ſcarce allow him to be a Gentleman. He was nurtured, where he had been born, in his firſt Rudiments, till the Years of ten; and, from thence, ſent to *Billiſden* School in the ſame County, where he was taught the Principles of Muſick, and other ſlight Literature, till the Thirteenth of his Age, at which Time his Father died. Then his beautiful and provident Mother, for thoſe Attributes will not be denied her, took him Home to her Houſe at *Goodby*, where ſhe had him in eſpecial Care; ſo as he was firſt, as we may ſay, domeſtick Favourite: But finding him, as it ſhould ſeem, by Nature, little ſtudious and contemplative, ſhe choſe rather to endue him with converſative Qualities and Ornaments of Youth, as Dancing, Fencing, and the like; not, without perchance, even then, though far off, at a Courtier's Life: To which Leſſons he had ſuch a dexterous Proclivity, as his Teachers were fain to reſtrain his Forwardneſs, to the End that his Brothers, who were under the ſame Training, might hold Pace with him. About the Age of Eighteen he travelled into *France*, where he improved himſelf well in the Language, for one that had ſo little Grammatical Foundation, but more in the Exerciſes of that Nobility, for the Space of three Years; and yet came Home in his natural Plight, without affected Forms, the ordinary Diſeaſe of Travellers. After his Return, he paſſed again one whole Year, as before, at *Goodby*, under the Wing and Counſels of his Mother; and then was forward to become a Suitor, at *London*, to Sir *Roger Aſhton*'s Daughter, a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to King *James*, and Maſter of his Robes; about which Time, he falls into intrinſical Society with Sir *John Graham*, then one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Privy-chamber; who, I know not upon what Luminaries he eſpied in his Face, diſſuaded him from Marriage, and gave him rather Encouragement to wooe Fortune in Court, which Advice ſunk well into his Fancy; for, within a While, the King had taken, by certain Glances (whereof the firſt was at *Apthorpe* in a Progreſs) ſuch Liking of his Perſon, that he reſolved to make him a Maſter-piece, and to mould him, as it were, *Platonically* to his own Idea. Neither was his Majeſty content only to be the Architect of his Fortune, without putting his gracious Hand likewiſe to ſome Part of the Work itſelf: Inſomuch as it pleaſed him to deſcend and to veil his Goodneſs, even to the Giving of his aforeſaid Friend, Sir *John Graham*, ſecret Directions how, and by what Degrees, he ſhould bring him into Favour. But this was quickly diſcovered by him, who was then, as yet, in ſome Poſſeſſion of the King's Heart. For there is nothing more vigilant, nothing more jealous, than a Favourite, eſpecially towards the Waining-time and Suſpicion of Satiety, ſo as many Arts were uſed to diſcuſs the Beginnings of new Affliction (which lie out of my Road, being a Part of another Man's Story.) All which notwithſtanding, for I omit Things intervenient, there is conveyed to Mr. *Villiers* an Intimation of the King's Pleaſure to wait, and to be ſworn his Servant: And, ſhortly after, his Cup-bearer at large; and, the Summer following, he was admitted in ordinary. After which Time Favours came thick upon him (liker main Showers, than ſprinkling Drops or Dews) for, the next St. *George*'s Day, he was knighted, and made Gentleman of the King's Bed-chamber; and, the very ſame Day, had an annual Penſion given him, for his better Support, of one-thouſand Pounds out of the *Court of Wards*. At *New-year's-tide* following,

the

the King chose him Master of the Horse. After this, he was installed of the most Noble Order. And, in the next *August*, he created him Baron of *Whaddon*, and Viscount *Villiers*. In *January* of the same Year, he was advanced Earl of *Buckingham*, and sworn here of his Majesty's Privy-Council, as if a Favourite was not so before; the *March* ensuing, he attended the King into *Scotland*, and was likewise sworn a Counsellor in that Kingdom, where (as I have been instructed by unpassionate Men) he did carry himself with singular Sweetness and Temper, which I held very credible, for it behoved him, being new in Favour, and succeeding one of their own, to study a moderate Stile amongst those generous Spirits. About *New-year's-tide*, after his Return from thence (for those Beginnings of Years were very propitious unto him, as if Kings did choose remarkable Days to inaugurate their Favours, that they may appear Acts as well of the Times, as of the Will) he was created Marquis of *Buckingham*, and made Lord Admiral of *England*, Chief Justice in *Eyre* of all the Parks and Forests on the South-side of *Trent*, Master of the *King's-Bench Office* (none of the unprofitablest Places) Head Steward of *Westminster*, and Constable of *Windsor*-Castle.

Here I must breathe a While, to satisfy some that, perhaps, might otherwise wonder at such an Accumulation of Benefits, like a Kind of Embroidering, or Listing of one Favour upon another. Certainly the Hearts of great Princes, if they be considered, as it were, in Abstract, without the Necessity of States and Circumstances of Time, being besides their natural Extent; moreover, once opened and dilated with Affection, can take no full and proportionate Pleasure in the Exercise of any narrow Bounty. And, altho' at first they give only upon Choice and Love of the Person, yet, within a While, themselves likewise begin to love their Givings, and to foment their Deeds, no less than Parents do their Children; but let us go on.

For these Offices and Dignities already rehearsed, and these of the like Nature, which I shall after set down in their Place, were, as I am ready to say, but the Facings or Fringes of his Greatness, in Comparison of that Trust, which his last most gracious Master did cast upon him, in the one and twentieth Year of his Reign, when he made him the chief Concomitant of his Heir Apparent, and only Son, our dear Sovereign: Now being in a Journey of much Adventure, and which, to shew the Strength of his Privacy, had been before not communicated with any other of his Majesty's most reserved Counsellors at Home, being carried with great Closeness, liker a Business of Love than State; as it was in the first Intendment. Now, because the whole Kingdom stood in a zealous Trepidation of the Absence of such a Prince, I have been the more desirous to research, with some Diligence, the several Passages of the said Journey, and the particular Accidents of any Moment in their Way. They began their Motion in the Year 1623, on *Tuesday*, the Eighteenth of *February*, from the Marquis's House of late Purchase, at *Newhall* in *Essex*; setting out with disguised Beards, and with borrowed Names of *Thomas* and *John Smith*; and then attended with none, but Sir *Richard Graham*, Master of the Horse to the Marquis, and of inward Trust about him. When they passed the River against *Gravesend*, for Lack of Silver they were fain to give the Ferry-man a Piece of two and twenty Shillings, which struck the poor Fellow into such a melting Tenderness, that so good Gentlemen should be going, for so he suspected, about some Quarrel beyond Sea, as he could not forbear to acquaint the Officers of the Town, with what had befallen him, who sent presently Post for their Stay at *Rochester*, through which they were passed before any Intelligence could arrive. On the Brow of the Hill beyond that City, they were somewhat perplexed, by espying the *French* Ambassador, with the King's Coach and others attending him; which made them baulk the beaten Road, and teach Post-hacknies to leap Hedges. At *Canterbury*, whether some Voice, as it should seem, was run on before, the Mayor of the Town came himself to seize on them, as they were taking fresh Horses, in a blunt Manner, alledging first a Warrant to stop them from the Council, next from Sir *Lewis Lewkner*, Master of the Ceremonies, and lastly, from Sir *Henry Manwaring*, then Lieutenant of *Dover* Castle. At all which confused Fiction, the Marquis had no Leisure to laugh, but thought best to dismask his Beard, and so told him, that he was going covertly with such slight Company, to take a secret View (being Admiral) of the Forwardness of his Majesty's Fleet, which was then in Preparation on the narrow Seas: This, with much a-do, did somewhat

ſomewhat handſomely heal the Diſguiſement. On the Way afterwards, the Baggage Poſt-boy, who had been at Court, got, I know not how, a Glimmering who they were; but his Mouth was eaſily ſhut. To *Dover*, through bad Horſes, and thoſe pretty Impediments, they came not before Six at Night; where they found Sir *Francis Cottington*, then Secretary to the Prince, now Baron of *Hanwart*, and Mr. *Endimion Porter*, who had been ſent before, to provide a Veſſel for their Tranſportation. The foreſaid Knight was enjoined, for the Nearneſs of his Place, on the Prince's Affairs, and for his long Reſidence in the Court of *Spain*, where he had gotten ſingular Credit, even with that cautious Nation, by the Temper of his Carriage. Mr. *Porter* was taken in, not only as a Bed-chamber Servant of Confidence to his Highneſs, but likewiſe as a neceſſary and uſeful Inſtrument for his natural Skill in the *Spaniſh* Tongue. And theſe five were, at the firſt, the whole Parade of this Journey. The next Morning, for the Night was tempeſtuous, on the Sixteenth of the foreſaid Month, taking Ship at *Dover*, about Six o'Clock, they landed the ſame Day at *Boulogne* in *France*, near two Hours after Noon; reaching *Monſtreuel* that Night, like Men of Diſpatch; and *Paris* the ſecond Day after, being *Friday* the Twenty-firſt; but about three Poſts before, they had met with two *German* Gentlemen, that came newly from *England*, where they had ſeen at *Newmarket* the Prince and the Marquis taking Coach together with the King, and retained ſuch a ſtrong Impreſſion of them, that they now bewrayed ſome Knowledge of their Perſons; but were out-faced by Sir *Richard Graham*, who would needs perſuade them they were miſtaken, which in Truth is no very hard Matter; for the very Strangeneſs of the Thing itſelf, and almoſt the Impoſſibility to conceive ſo great a Prince, and Favourite, ſo ſuddenly metamorphoſed into Travellers, with no greater Train, was enough to make any Man living unbelieve his five Senſes. And this I ſuppoſe, next the Aſſurance of their own well reſolved Carriage, againſt any new Accident, to have been their beſt Anchor, in all ſuch Incounters. At *Paris* the Prince ſpent one whole Day, to give his Mind ſome Contentment, in viewing of a famous City and Court, which was a Neighbour to his future Eſtates; but for the better Veiling of their Viſages, his Highneſs, and the Marquiſs, bought each of them a Perriwig, ſomewhat to overſhadow their Foreheads. Of the King they had got Sight, after Dinner, in a Gallery where he was ſolacing himſelf with familiar Pleaſures. And of the Queen's Mother, as ſhe was at her own Table; in neither Place deſcried, no not by Monſ. *Cadinet*, who ſaw them in both, one that hath been lately Ambaſſador in *England*. Towards Evening, by a mere Chance, in Appearance, though underlined with a Providence, they had a full Sight of the Queen *Infanta*, and of the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, with other great Ladies, at the Practice of a Maſquing Dance, which was then in Preparation; having overheard two Gentlemen, who were tending towards that Sight, after whom they preſſed, and were let in by the Duke *de Mont Baſon*, the Queen's Lord Chamberlain, out of Humanity to Strangers, when divers of the *French* went by. Note here, even with a Point of a Diamond, by what oblique Steps and imaginable Preparatives, the high Diſpoſer of Princes Affections ſometimes contrives the Secrets of his Will; for by this caſual Curioſity it fell out, that when afterwards the Marriage came in Motion, between our Sovereign Lord and the aforeſaid moſt amiable Princeſs, it muſt needs be, howſoever unknown, no ſmall Spur to the Treaty, that ſhe hath not before been altogether a Stranger to his Eye.

From the next Day, when they departed at Three o' Clock in the Morning, from *Paris*, being the Twenty-third of *February*, were ſpent ſix Days to *Bayonne*, the laſt Town of *France*, having before, at *Bourdeaux*, bought them five Riding-coats, all of one Colour and Faſhion in a Kind of noble Simplicity, where Sir *Francis Cottington* was employed, in a fair Manner, to keep them from being entertained by the Duke *de Eſpernon*, telling him they were Gentlemen of mean Degree, and formed yet to little Courtſhip, who, perchance, might otherwiſe, being himſelf no ſuperficial Man in the Practices of the World, have pierced ſomewhat deeper than their Outſide.

They were now entered into the deep Time of *Lent*, and could get no Fleſh in their Inns. Whereupon fell out a pleaſant Paſſage, if I may inſert it by the Way among more ſerious: There was near *Bayonne* a Herd of Goats with their young ones, upon which Sight, the ſaid

Sir

Sir *Richard Graham* tells the Marquis, he would ſnap one of the Kids, and make ſome Shift to carry him cloſe to their Lodging; which the Prince over-hearing, Why, *Richard*, ſays he, do you think you may practiſe here your old Tricks again upon the Borders? Upon which Words they firſt gave the Goat-herd good Contentment; and then while the Marquis and his Servant, being both on Foot, were chacing the Kid about the Stack, the Prince from Horſeback killed him in the Head, with a *Scottiſh* Piſtol; let this ſerve for a Journal Parentheſis, which yet may ſhew how his Highneſs, even in ſuch flight and ſportful Damage, had a noble Senſe of juſt Dealing.

At *Bayonne*, the Count *de Gramont*, Governor of that jealous Kay, took an exquiſite Notice of their Perſons and Behaviour, and opened himſelf to ſome of his Train, that he thought them to be Gentlemen of much more Worth, than their Habits bewrayed, yet he let them courteouſly paſs. And, four Days after, they arrived at *Madrid*, being *Wednesday*, the Fifth of *March*. Thus have I briefly run over Tranſcurſions, as if my Pen had been poſting with them; which done, I ſhall not need to relate the Affluence of our Nobles and others from hence into *Spain*, after the Voice of our Prince's being there had been quickly noiſed, and at length believed; neither will I ſtay to conſider the Arts of *Rome*, where now all Engines were whetted, though by the Divine Bleſſing very vainly, when they had gotten a Prince of *Great-Britain*, upon *Catholick Ground*, as they uſe to call it.

This, and the whole Matter of Negotiation there, the open Entertainments, the ſecret Working, the Apprehenſions on both Sides, the Appearence on neither; and, in Sum, all the Circumſtances and Reſpect of Religion and State, intermixed together in that Commixture, will better become a Royal Hiſtory, or a Council-Table, than a ſingle Life, yet I cannot omit ſome Things which intervened, at the Meeting of two *Pleiades*, methinks, not unlike that, which Aſtrologers call, a *Conjunction* of Planets, of no very benign Aſpect, the one to the other; I mean the Marquis of *Buckingham*, and the Conde *d'Olivers*: They had ſome ſharper, and ſome milder Differences, which might eaſily happen, in ſuch an Intervention of Grandees; both vehement on the Parts which they ſwayed. But the moſt remarkable was upon a Suppoſition of the Condee's, as Fancies are cheap, that the Marquis had intimated unto her ſome Hopes of the Prince's Converſion; which coming into Debate, the Marquis ſo roundly diſavowed this gilded Dream, as *Olivers* alledged he had given him *la Mentida*, and thereupon forms a Compliment to the Prince himſelf; which *Buckingham* denying, and yet *Olivers* perſiſting in the ſaid Compliment, the Marquis, though now in ſtrange Hands, yet ſeeing both his Honour and the Truth at Stake, was not tender likewiſe to engage his Life, but replied with ſome Heat, that the Condee's Aſſeveration, would force him to do that which he had not done before, for now he held himſelf tied, in Terms of a Gentleman, to maintain the Contrary to his Affirmative, in any Sort whatſoever. This was the higheſt and the harſheſt Point that occurred between them; which that it went ſo far, was not the Duke's Fault, nor his Fault, neither, as it ſhould ſeem, that it went no farther.

There was another memorable Paſſage one Day of gentler Quality, and yet eager enough: The Conde *d' Olivers* tells the Marquis of a certain flying Noiſe, That the Prince did plot to be ſecretly gone. To which the Marquis gave a well-tempered Anſwer: That, though Love had made his Highneſs ſteal out of his own Country, yet Fear would never make him run out of *Spain*, in other Manner than ſhould become a Prince of his royal and generous Virtues. In *Spain* they ſtaid near eight intire Months; during all which Time, Who but *Buckingham* lay at Home under Millions of Maledictions? Which yet, at the Prince's ſafe Arrival in the *Weſt*, *did die and vaniſh* here and there into Praiſes and Eulogies, according to the contrary Motion of popular Waves. And now, to ſum up the Fruit of the Journey, Diſcourſes ran thus among the cleareſt Obſervers: It was ſaid, That the Prince himſelf, without any imaginable Stain of his Religion, had, by the Sight of foreign Courts, and Obſervations of the different Natures of People, and Rules of Government, much excited and awaked his Spirit, and corroborated his Judgment. And, as for the Marquis, there was Notice taken of two great Additions which he had gained: Firſt, he was returned with Increaſe of Title, having there been made Duke, by Patent ſent him, which was the higheſt

higheſt Degree whereof an *Engliſh* Subject could be capable. But the other was far greater, though cloſer; for, by ſo long, and ſo private, and ſo various Conſociation with a Prince of ſuch excellent Nature, he had now gotten, as it were, two Lives in his own Fortune and Greatneſs, whereas, otherwiſe, the State of a Favourite is at the beſt but a Tenant at Will, and rarely tranſmitted. But, concerning the *Spaniſh* Commiſſion, which in publick Conceit was the main Scope of the Journey, that was left in great Suſpenſe, and, after ſome Time, utterly laid aſide; which threw the Duke amongſt free Wits (whereof we have a rank Soil) under divers Cenſures. The moſt Part were apt to believe, that he had brought down ſome deep Diſtaſte from *Spain*, which exaſperated his Counſels; neither were there wanting ſome others, that thought him not altogether void of a little Ambition to ſhew his Power, either to knit, or diſſolve. Howſoever, the whole Scene of Affairs was changed from *Spain* to *France*; there now lay the Proſpective; which Alteration being generally liked, and all Alterations of State being ever attributed to the Powerfulleſt under Princes (as the Manner is, where the Eminency of one obſcureth the reſt) the Duke became ſuddenly and ſtrangely gracious among the Multitude, and was even in Parliament highly exalted; ſo that he did ſeem, for a Time, to have overcome that natural Incompatibility, which, in the Experience of all Ages, hath been noted between the Vulgar and Sovereign Favour: But this was no more than a mere Bubble or Blaſt, and like an ephemeral Fit of Applauſe, as ſhortly will appear in the Sequel and Train of his Life. I had almoſt forgotten, that, after his Return from *Spain*, he was made Lord-warden of the *Cinque-Ports* (which is, as it were, a ſecond Admiralty) and Steward likewiſe of the Manor of *Hampton-court*, Dignities and Offices ſtill growing, of Truſt or Profit, and the King now giving, not only out of a beneficent Diſpoſition, but a very habitual and confirmed Cuſtom. One Year, ſix Months, and two Days after the joyful Reception of the Prince his Son from *Spain*, King *James*, of immortal Memory among all the Lovers and Admirers of divine and human Sapience, accompliſhed at *Theobalds* his own Days upon Earth; under whom the Duke had run a long Courſe of calm and ſmooth Proſperity; I mean long for the ordinary Life of Favour, and the more notable, becauſe it had been without any viſible Eclipſe or Wane in himſelf, amidſt divers Variations in others.

The moſt important and preſſing Care of a new and vigorous King was his Marriage, for mediate Eſtabliſhment of the Royal Line; wherein the Duke having had an eſpecial Hand, he was ſent to conduct hither the moſt lovely and virtuous Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, youngeſt Daughter to the great *Henry* of *Bourbon*, of whom his Majeſty, as hath been ſaid, had an ambulatory View in his Travels, like a ſtolen Taſte of ſomething that provoketh Appetite. He was accompanied with none of our Peers, but the Earl of *Montgomery*, now Lord Chamberlain, a noble Gentleman, of truſty, free, and open Nature, and truly no unſuitable Aſſociate, for that he himſelf likewiſe, at the Beginning of King *James*'s Reign, had run his Circle in the wheeling Viciſſitude of Favour.

And here I muſt crave Leave, in ſuch of high Quality, or others of particular Note, as ſhall fall under my Pen (whereof this is the firſt) not to let them paſs, without their due Character, being Part of my profeſſed Ingenuity.

Now this Ambaſſy, though it had a private Shew, being charged with more Formality than Matter (for all the eſſential Conditions were before concluded) could, howſoever, want no Ornaments or Bravery to adorn it; among which, I am near thinking it worthy of a little Remembrance, That the Duke, one ſolemn Day, gorgeouſly clad in a Suit all over-ſpread with Diamonds, and having loſt one of good Value, perchance as he might be dancing after his Manner with lofty Motion, it was ſtrangely recovered again the next Morning, in a Court full of Pages: Such a diligent Attendant was Fortune every-where, both Abroad and at Home.

After this fair Diſcharge, all Civil Honours having ſhowered on him before, there now fell out great Occaſions to draw forth his Spirits into Action, a Breach firſt with *Spain*, and not long after with *France* itſelf, notwithſtanding ſo ſtreight an Affinity ſo lately treated with the one, and actually accompliſhed with the other; as if indeed, according to that pleaſant Maxim of State, Kingdoms were never married. This muſt of Neceſſity involve the Duke in Buſineſs enough to have overſet a leſſer Veſſel, being the next Commander, under the Crown, of Ports and Ships.

But he was noted willingly to embrace thoſe Overtures of publick Employment; for at the Parliament at *Oxford*, his Youth and Want of Experience, in maritime Service, had been ſomewhat ſhrewdly touched, even before the Sluices and Flood-gates of popular Liberty were yet ſet open; ſo as, to wipe out that Objection, he did now mainly attend his Charge, by his Majeſty's untroubled and ſerene Commands, even in a tempeſtuous Time. Now the Men fell a Rubbing of Armour, which a great While had lain oiled; the Magazines of Ammunition are viewed; the Officers of Remains called to Account, frequent Councils of War, as many private Conferences with expert Seamen, a Fleet in Preparation for ſome Attempt upon *Spain*.

The Duke himſelf perſonally employed to the States-General: And with him joined in full Commiſſion the Earl of *Holland*, a Peer both of ſingular Grace and Solidity, and of all ſweet and ſerviceable Vertue for publick Uſe.

Theſe two Nobles, after a dangerous Paſſage from *Harwich*, wherein three of their Ships were foundered, arrived the fifth Day at the *Hague* in *Holland*; here they were to enter a Treaty, both with the States themſelves, and with the Miniſters of divers allied and confederate Princes, about a common Diverſion, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, where the King's only Siſter's Dowry had been raviſhed by the *German* Eagle, mixed with *Spaniſh* Feathers; a Princeſs reſplendent in Darkneſs, and whoſe Virtues were borne within the Chance, but without the Power of Fortune. Here, it were injurious to overſlip a noble Act in the Duke, during this Employment, which I muſt, for my Part, celebrate above all his Expences; there was a Collection of certain rare Manuſcripts, exquiſitely written in *Arabick*, and ſought in the moſt remote Parts, by the Diligence of *Erpenius*, the moſt excellent Linguiſt; theſe had been left to the Widow of the ſaid *Erpenius*, and were upon Sale to the Jeſuits at *Antwerp*, licoriſh Chapmen of ſuch Ware. Whereof the Duke getting Knowledge, by his worthy and learned Secretary, Dr. *Maſon*, interverted the Bargain, and gave the poor Widow for them five-hundred Pounds, a Sum above their Weight in Silver, and a mixed Act, both of Bounty and Charity, the more laudable, being much out of his natural Element. Theſe were they, which, after his Death, were as nobly preſented, as they had been bought, to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, by the Ducheſs-Dowager, as ſoon as ſhe underſtood, by the aforeſaid Dr. *Maſon*, her Huſband's Intention, who had a Purpoſe likewiſe, as I am well inſtructed, to raiſe in the ſaid Univerſity, whereof he was Chancellor, a fair Caſe for ſuch Monuments, and to furniſh it with other choice Collections from all Parts of his own Charge, perchance in ſome Emulation of that famous Treaſury of Knowledge at *Oxford*, without Parallel in the Chriſtian World. But let me reſume the File of my Relation, which this Object of Books, beſt agreeable to my Courſe of Life, hath a little interrupted: The aforeſaid Negotiation, though proſecuted with Heat and probable Appearance of great Effects, took up a Month before the Duke's Return from his Excentricity, for ſo I account Favourites Abroad, and then at Home he met with no good News of the *Cadiz* Attempt: In the Preparation thereof, though he had ſpent much Sollicitude, *ex officio*, yet it principally failed, as was thought, by late Setting out, and by ſome Contrariety of Weather at Sea; whereby the particular Deſign took Vent before-hand, a Point hardly avoidable in Actions of Noiſe, eſpecially where the great *Indian* Key to all Cabinets is working. Not long after this, the King, pondering in his Wiſdom the Weight of his foreign Affairs, found it fit to call a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; this was that Aſſembly, where there appeared a ſudden and marvellous Converſion in the Duke's Caſe, from the moſt exalted, as he had been, both in another Parliament, and in common Voice before, to the moſt depreſſed now, as if his Condition had been capable of no Mediocrities. And it could not but trouble him the more, by happening when he was ſo freſhly returned out of the *Low-Countries*, out of a meritorious Employment, in his inward Conceit and Hope; which being the ſingle Example, that our Annals have yielded, from the Time of *William de la Pool*, Duke of *Suffolk*, under *Henry the Sixth*, of ſuch a Concurrence of two Extremes, within ſo ſhort Time, by moſt of the ſame Commenders and Diſprovers, like the natural Breath of Man, that can both heat and cool, would require no ſlight Memorial of the particular Motives of ſo great a Change, but that the whole Caſe was diſperſed by the Knights of Shires, and Burgeſſes of Towns,

Towns, through all the Veins of the Land, and may be taken by any at Pleaſure, out of the Parliament Regiſters: Beſides that, I obſerve it not uſual amongſt the beſt Patterns, to ſtuff the Report of particular Lives, with Matters of publick Record, but rather to dive, as I ſhall endeavour, before I wipe my Pen, into ſecret and proper Afflictions; howſoever ſomewhat I muſt note in this ſtrange *Phænomenon:* It began from a travelled Doctor of Phyſick, of bold Spirit, and of able Elocution; who, being returned one of the Burgeſſes, which was not ordinary in any of his Coat, fell by a metaphorical Alluſion, tranſlated from his own Faculty, to propound the Duke as a main Cauſe of divers Infirmities in the State, or near that Purpoſe; being ſure enough of Seconds, after the firſt On-ſet, in the Lower Houſe. As for any cloſe Intelligence, that they had beforehand, with ſome in the Higher, though that likewiſe was ſaid, I want Ground to affirm or believe it more than a general Conceit, which perhaps might run of the Working of Envy amongſt thoſe that were neareſt the Object, which we ſee ſo familiar, both in natural and moral Cauſes; the Duke's Anſwers to his Impeachments, in Number thirteen, I find very diligently and civilly couched; and though his Heart was big, yet they all ſavour of an humble Spirit one Way, equitable Conſideration, which could not poſſeſs every vulgar Conceit, and ſomewhat allay the whole Matter, that in the Bolting and Sifting of near fourteen Years of ſuch Power and Favour, all that came out could not be expected to be pure and white, and fine Meal, but muſt needs have withal among it a certain Mixture of Padar and Bran, in this lower Age of human Frailty; howſoever this Tempeſt did only ſhake, and not rend his Sails; for his Majeſty conſidering that almoſt all his Impeachments were without the Compaſs of his own Reign; and moreover, that nothing alledged againſt him had, or could be proved by Oath, according to the Conſtitution of the Houſe of Commons, which the Duke himſelf did not forget in the Preface of his Anſwers: And *laſtly*, having had ſuch Experience of his Fidelity and Obſervance Abroad, where he was chief in Truſt, and in the Participation of all Hazards, found himſelf engaged in Honour, and in the Senſe of his own natural Goodneſs, to ſupport him at Home, from any further Inquietude, and too dear buy his higheſt Teſtimony of divers important Imputations, whereof the Truth is beſt known to his Majeſty while he was Prince. The Summer following this Parliament, after an Embark of our trading Ships, in the River of *Bourdeaux*, and other Points of Sovereign Affront, there did ſucceed the Action of *Rhee*, wherein the Duke was perſonally employed on either Element, both as Admiral and General, with Hope, in that Service, to recover the publick Good-will, which he ſaw, by his own Example, might quickly be won and loſt. This Action, as I hear, hath been delivered by a noble Gentleman of much Learning and active Spirits, himſelf the fitter to do it Right, which, in Truth, he greatly wanted, having found more honourable Cenſure even from ſome of the *French* Writers, than it had generally amongſt ourſelves at Home. Now, becauſe the ſaid Work is not yet flowing into the Light, I will but ſweep the Way with a few Notes, and there only touching the Duke's own Deportment in that Iſland, the proper Subject of my Quill; for, in the general Survey of this Action, there was Matter of Glory and Grief ſo equally diſtributed on both Sides, as if Fortune had meaned we ſhould be quickly Friends again, wherein let their Names, that were bravely loſt, be rather memoriſed in the full Table of Time; for my Part, I love no ambitious Pains in an eloquent Deſcription of Miſeries. The Duke's Carriage was ſurely noble throughout to the Gentlemen of fair Reſpect, bountiful to the Soldier, according to any ſpecial Value which he eſpied in any, tender and careful of thoſe that were hurt, of unqueſtionable Courage in himſelf, and rather fearful of Fame, than Danger. In his Countenance, which is the Part that all Eyes interpret, no open Alteration, even after the Succours, which he expected, did fail him; but, the leſs he ſhewed without, the more it wrought intrinſically, according to the Nature of ſuppreſſed Paſſions: For certain it is, that to his often-mentioned Secretary, Dr. *Maſon*, whom he laid in a Pallet near him, for natural Ventilation of his Thoughts, he would, in the Abſence of all other Ears and Eyes, break out into bitter and paſſionate Eruptions, proteſting, That never his Diſpatches to divers Princes, nor the great Buſineſs of a Fleet, of an Army, of a Siege, of a Treaty, of War, of Peace, both on Foot together, and all of them in his Head at a Time, did not ſo much break his

Repoſe, as a Conceit, that ſome at Home, under his Majeſty, of whom he had well deſerved, were now content to forget him; but, whom he meant, I know not, and am loth to rove at Conjectures. Of their two Forts, he could not take the one, and he would not take the other; but, in the general Town, he maintained a Seizure and Poſſeſſion of the Whole, three full Months and eighteen Days; and, at the firſt Deſcent on Shore, he was not immured within a wooden Veſſel, but he did countenance the Landing in his Long Boat, where ſucceeded ſuch a Defeat of near two-hundred Horſe, and theſe not, by his Gueſs, mounted in Haſte, but the moſt Part Gentlemen of Family, and great Reſolution, ſeconded with two-thouſand Foot, as, all Circumſtances well balanced on either Side, may ſurely endure a Compariſon with any of the braveſt Impreſſions in ancient Time. In the Iſſue of the whole Buſineſs, he ſeems charged in Opinion with a Kind of improvident Conſcience, having brought off that with him to Camp, perchance, too much from a Court, where Fortune had never deceived him. Beſides, we muſt conſider him yet but rude in the Profeſſion of Arms, though greedy of Honour, and zealous in the Cauſe. At his Return to *Plymouth*, a ſtrange Accident befel him, perchance not ſo worthy of Memory for itſelf, as for that it ſeemeth to have been a Kind of a Prelude to his final Period.

The now Lord *Goring*, a Gentleman of true Honour, and of vigilant Affections for his Friend, ſends to the Duke, in all Expedition, an Expreſs Meſſenger, with Adviſement to aſſure his own Perſon, by declining the ordinary Road to *London*, for that he had credible Intelligence of a Plot againſt his Life to be put in Execution upon him in his ſaid Journey towards the Court. The Duke, meeting the Meſſenger on the Way, read the Letter, and, ſmothering it in his Pocket without the leaſt imaginable Apprehenſion, rides forwards; his Company being about that Time not above ſeven or eight in Number, and thoſe no otherwiſe provided for their Defence than with ordinary Swords. After this, the Duke had not advanced three Miles before he met with an old Woman near a Town in the Road, who demanded, Whether the Duke was in the Company? And, bewraying ſome eſpecial Occaſion to be brought to him, was led to his Horſe's Side, where ſhe told him, That, in the very next Town where he was to paſs, ſhe had heard ſome deſperate Men vow his Death; and, thereupon, would have directed him about by a ſurer Way: This old Woman's caſual Acceſs, joined with that deliberate Advertiſement which he had before from his noble Friend, moved him to participate both the Tenor of the ſaid Letter and all the Circumſtances, with his Company, who were jointly upon Conſent, that the Woman had adviſed him well: Notwithſtanding all which Importunity, he reſolved to wave his Way upon this Reaſon, perhaps more generous than provident, that, if, as he ſaid, he ſhould but once by ſuch a Diverſion make his Enemy believe he was afraid of Danger, he ſhould never live without. Hereupon his young Nephew, Lord Viſcount *Fielding*, being then in his Company, out of a noble *Spirit*, beſought him, that he would, at leaſt, honour him with his Coat and blew Ribband through the Town; pleading, that his Uncle's Life, whereon lay the Property of his whole Family, was, of all Things under Heaven, the moſt precious unto him; and, undertaking ſo to geſture and muffle up himſelf in his Hood, as the Duke's Manner was to ride in cold Weather, that none ſhould diſcern him from him, and ſo he ſhould be at the more Liberty for his own Defence: At which ſweet Propoſition, the Duke caught him in his Arms and kiſſed him; yet would not, as he ſaid, accept of ſuch an Offer in that Caſe from a Nephew, whoſe Life he tendered as much as himſelf; and ſo liberally rewarded the poor Creature for her Good-will. After ſome ſhort Directions to his Company how they ſhould carry themſelves, he rode on without Perturbation of *his Mind*. He was no ſooner entered into the Town, but a ſcambling Soldier clapped Hold of his Bridle, who thought it was in a begging, or, perchance, ſomewhat worſe, in a drunken Faſhion; yet, a Gentleman of his Train, that rode a pretty Diſtance behind him, conceiving, by the Premiſſes, it might be a Beginning of ſome miſchievous Intent, ſpurred up his Horſe, and, with a violent Ruſh, ſevered him from the Duke; who, with the reſt, went on quickly through the Town; neither, for aught I can hear, was there any further Inquiry into that Practice; the Duke, peradventure, thinking it Wiſdom not to reſerve Diſcontentments too deep. At his Return to the Court, he found no Change in Fates, but ſmothered Murmurings for the Loſs of ſo many

gallant

gallant Gentlemen; againſt which his Friends did oppoſe, in their Diſcourſes, the Chance of War, together with a gentle Expectation for Want of Supply in Time. After the Complaints in Parliament, and the unfortunate Iſſue at *Rhee*, the Duke's Fame did ſtill remain more and more in Obloquy amongſt the Maſs of People, whoſe Judgments are only reconciled with good Succeſſes; ſo, as he ſaw plainly, that he muſt go Abroad again to rectify, with his beſt Endeavours under the publick Service, his own Reputation: Whereupon, new Preparatives were in Hand, and, partly, Reparatives of the former beaten at Sea. And, in the mean While, he was not unmindful, in his civil Courſe, to caſt an Eye upon the Ways to win unto him ſuch as have been of principal Credit in the Lower Houſe of Parliament, applying Lenitives, or ſubducting from that Part where he knew the Humours were ſharpeſt; amidſt which Thoughts, he was ſurpriſed with a fatal Stroke, written in the black Book of Neceſſity.

There was a younger Brother, of mean Fortunes, born in the County of *Suffolk*, by Name *John Felton*, by Nature of a deep melancholy, ſilent, and gloomy Conſtitution, but bred in the active Way of a Soldier, and, thereby, raiſed to the Place of Lieutenant to a Foot-Company in the Regiment of Sir *James Ramſey*; this was the Man that, cloſely within himſelf, had conceived the Duke's Death. But what may have been the immediate, or greateſt Motive of that felonious Conception, is even yet in the Clouds.

It was ſaid at firſt, that he had been ſtung with a Denial of his Captain's Place, who died in *England*; whereof thus much indeed is true: That the Duke, before he would inveſt him in the ſaid Place, adviſing firſt, as his Manner was, with his Colonel, he found him to intercede for one *Powel* his own Lieutenant, a Gentleman of extraordinary Valour; and, according to Military Cuſtom, the Place was good, that the Lieutenant of the Colonel's Company might well pretend to the next vacant Captainſhip under the ſame Regiment, which *Felton* acknowledged to be in itſelf very uſual and equitable, beſides the eſpecial Merit of the Perſon; ſo that the aforeſaid Conceit of ſome Rancour harboured, upon this Denial, had no true Ground. There was another Imagination, that, between a Knight of the ſame County, whom the Duke had lately taken into ſome good Degree of Favour, and the ſaid *Felton*, there had been ancient Quarrels not yet well healed, which might, perhaps, lie feſtering in his Breaſt, and, by a certain Inflammation, produce this Effect; but it carries ſmall Probability that *Felton* would ſo deface his own Act, as to make the Duke no more than an oblique Sacrifice, to the Fumes of his private Revenge upon a third Perſon; therefore, the Truth is, that, either to honeſt a Deed after it was done, or to ſlumber his Conſcience in the Doing, he ſtudied other Incentives, alledging, not three Hours before his Execution, to Sir *Richard Greſham*, two only Inducements thereof; The Firſt, as he made it in Order, was a certain libellous Book, written by one *Eggleſton*, a *Scottiſh* Phyſician, which made the Duke one of the foulеſt Monſters upon the Earth, and, indeed, unworthy not only of Life in a Chriſtian Court, and under ſo virtuous a King, but of any Room within the Bounds of all Humanity, if his prodigious Predictions had the leaſt Semblance of Truth.

The Second was the Remonſtrance itſelf of the Lower Houſe of Parliament againſt him, which, perchance, he thought the faireſt Cover; ſo he put in the ſecond Place, whatſoever were the true Motive, which, I think, none can determine, but the Prince of Darkneſs itſelf; he did thus proſecute the Effect: In a bye Cutlers's Shop on *Tower-hill*, he bought a Tenpenny Knife (ſo cheap was the Inſtrument of this great Attempt, and the Sheath thereof he ſewed to the Lining of his Pocket) that he might at any Moment draw forth the Blade alone with one Hand, for he had maimed the other: This done, he made Shift, partly, as it is ſaid, on Horſeback, and partly on Foot, to get to *Portſmouth*, for he was indigent and low in Money, which, perhaps, might have a little edged his Deſperation. At *Portſmouth*, on *Saturday*, being the Twenty-third of *Auguſt*, of that current Year, he preſſed, without any Suſpicion, in ſuch a Time of ſo many Pretenders to Employment, into an inward Chamber, where the Duke was, at Breakfaſt (the laſt of his Repaſts in this World) accompanied with Men of Quality and Action, with Monſieur *de Soubes*, and Sir *Thomas Fryer*, and there, a little before the Duke's Riſing from the Table, he went and ſtood expecting till he ſhould paſs through a Kind of Lobby between that Room and the

next,

next, where were divers attending him; towards which Paſſage, as I conceive ſomewhat darker than the Chamber, which he avoided, while the Duke came with Sir *Thomas Fryer* cloſe at his Ear, in the very Moment as the ſaid Knight withdrew himſelf from the Duke, the Aſſaſſin gave him with a back Blow a deep Wound into his Left Side, leaving the Knife in his Body, which the Duke himſelf pulling out, on a ſudden Effuſion of Spirits, he ſunk down under the Table in the next Room, and immediately expired. Certain it is, that, a good While before, Sir *Clement Throckmorton*, a Gentleman then living, of grave Judgment, had, in a private Conference, adviſed him to wear a privy Coat; whoſe Counſel the Duke received very kindly, but gave him this Anſwer, That, againſt any popular Fray, a Shirt of Mail would be but a ſilly Defence, and, as for a ſingle Man's Aſſault, he took himſelf to be in no Danger: So dark is Deſtiny.

One Thing in this enormous Accident is, I muſt confeſs, to me beyond all Wonder (as I received it from a Gentleman of judicious and diligent Obſervation, and one whom the Duke well favoured) That, within the Space of not many Minutes after the Fall of the Body, and Removal thereof into the firſt Room, there was not a living Creature in either of the Chambers, no more than if it had lain in the Sands of *Ethiopia*; whereas commonly, in ſuch Caſes, you ſhall note every where a great and ſudden Conflux of People unto the Place, to hearken and to ſee: But it ſhould ſeem the very Horror of the Fact had ſtupified all Curioſity, and ſo diſperſed the Multitude, that it is thought even the Murderer himſelf might have eſcaped, for who gave the Blow none could affirm, if he had not lingered about the Houſe below, not by any confuſed Arreſt of Conſcience, as hath been ſeen in like Examples, but by very Pride in his own Deed, as if, in Effect, there were little Difference between being remembered by a virtuous Fame, or an illuſtrious Infamy.

Thus died this great Peer, in the thirty-ſixth Year of his Age complete, and three Days [illegible]; in a Time of great Recourſe unto him, and Dependence upon him; the Houſe and Town full of Servants and Suitors; his Ducheſs in an upper Room, ſcarce yet out of her Bed; and the Court, at that Time, not above ſix or nine Miles from him, which had been the Stage of his Greatneſs.

I have ſpent ſome Inquiry, whether he had any ominous Preſagement before his End; wherein, though both ancient and modern Stories have been infected with much Vanity, yet, oftentimes, Things fall out of that Kind, which may bear a ſober Conſtruction; whereof I will glean two or three in the Duke's Caſe.

Being to take his Leave of my Lord's Grace of *Canterbury*, then Biſhop of *London*, whom he knew well planted in the King's unchangeable Affection, by his own great Abilities, after Courteſies of Courage had paſſed between them: My Lord (ſays the Duke) I know your Lordſhip hath very worthily good Acceſſes unto the King our Sovereign; let me pray you to put his Majeſty in Mind to be good, as I no Way diſtruſt, to my poor Wife and Children. At which Words, or at his Countenance in the Delivery, or at both, my Lord Biſhop, being ſomewhat troubled, took the Freedom to aſk him, Whether he had never any ſecret Bodements in his Mind? No (replied the Duke) but I think ſome Adventure may kill me, as well as another Man.

The very Day before he was ſlain, feeling ſome Indiſpoſition of Body, the King was pleaſed to give him the Honour of a Viſit, and found him in his Bed; where, after much ſerious and private Diſcourſe, the Duke, at his Majeſty's Departing, embraced him in a very unuſual and paſſionate Manner, and did in like Sort to his Friend the Earl of *Holland*, as if his Soul had divined he ſhould ſee them no more: Which Infuſions towards fatal Ends had been obſerved by ſome Authors of no light Authority.

On the very Day of his Death, the Counteſs of *Denbigh* received a Letter from him; whereunto all the While ſhe was writing her Anſwer, ſhe bedewed the Paper with her Tears; and, after a moſt bitter Paſſion (whereof ſhe could yield no Reaſon, but, That her deareſt Brother was to be gone) ſhe fell down in a Swoon. Her ſaid Letter endeth thus:

'I will pray for your happy Return, which 'I look at with a great Cloud over my Head, 'too heavy for my poor Heart to bear without 'Torment; but I hope the great God of Hea'ven will bleſs you.'

The Day following, the Biſhop of *Ely*, her devoted Friend, who was thought the fitteſt Preparer

Preparer of her Mind to receive ſuch a doleful Accident, came to viſit her; but, hearing ſhe was at Reſt, he attended till ſhe ſhould awake of herſelf; which ſhe did with the Affrightment of a Dream: 'Her Brother ſeeming to 'paſs through a Field with her in her Coach; 'where, hearing a ſudden Shout of the 'People, and aſking the Reaſon, it was an-'ſwered to be for Joy that the Duke of *Buck-'ingham* was ſick.' Which natural Impreſſion ſhe ſcarce had related unto her Gentlewoman, before the Biſhop was entered into her Bed-chamber for a choſen Meſſenger of the Duke's Death.

This is all that I dare preſent of that Nature to any of Judgment, not unwillingly omitting certain Prognoſtick Anagrams and ſuch Strains of Fancy.

He took to Wife, eight Years and two Months before his Death, the Lady *Catharine Manners*, Heir-general to the Noble Houſe of *Rutland*, who, beſides a ſolid Addition to his Eſtate, brought him three Sons, and a Daughter, called the Lady *Mary*, his Firſt-born. His eldeſt Son died at Nurſe before his Journey to *Rhee*, and his third, the Lord *Francis*, was born after his Father's Death; ſo that neither his firſt, nor his laſt, were participant of any Senſe of his Misfortunes, or Felicities. His ſecond Son, now Duke of *Buckingham*, was born to chear him after his Return from that unlucky Voyage.

For theſe ſweet Pledges, and no leſs for the unqueſtionable Virtues of her Perſon and Mind, he loved her dearly, and well expreſſed his Love in an Act and Time of no Simulation, towards his End, bequeathing her all his Manſion-houſes during her natural Life, and a Power to diſpoſe of his whole perſonal Eſtate, together with a fourth Part of his Lands in Jointure. He left his elder Brother of the ſame Womb a Viſcount, and his younger an Earl. Sir *Edward Villiers*, his Half-brother on the Father's Side, he either preferred, or removed (call it how you will) from his Step-mother's Eye to the Preſidentſhip, where he lived in ſingular Eſtimation for his Juſtice and Hoſpitality, and died with as much Grief of the whole Province, as ever any Governor did before, his religious Lady, of ſweet and noble Direction, adding much to his Honour. The eldeſt of the Brethren, and Heir of the Name, was made a Baronet, but abſtained from Court, enjoying, perhaps, the greater Greatneſs of Self-fruition.

He left his Mother a Counteſs by Patent in her own Perſon, which was a new leading Example, grown before ſomewhat rare ſince the Days of Queen *Mary*. His Siſter of *Denbigh* (that right Character of a good Lady) he moſt humbly recommended to the Queen, who, after a Diſcharge of ſome *French* in her Court, that were to return, took her into three ſeveral Places of Honour and Truſt.

In ſhort, not to inſiſt upon every particular Branch of thoſe private Preferments, he left all his Female Kindred, of the intire or half Blood, deſcending of the Name of *Villeirs*, or *Beaumont*, within any near Degree, either matched with Peers of the Realm actually, or hopefully, with Earls Sons and Heirs, or at leaſt with Knights, or Doctors of Divinity, and of plentiful Condition. He did not much ſtrengthen his own Subſtance in Court, but ſtood there on his own Feet; for the Truth is, the moſt of his Allies rather leaned upon him, than ſhoared *him* up.

His familiar Servants, either about his Perſon in ordinary Attendance, or about his Affairs of State, as his Secretaries; or of Office, as his Steward; or of Law, as that worthy Knight whom he long uſed to ſollicit his Cauſes, he left all both in good Fortune, and, which is more, in good Fame: Things very ſeldom conſociated in the Inſtruments of great Perſonages.

A Let-

A Letter of Advice to his Excellency Lord General *Monk*. *London*, printed in the Year 1660. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

My Lord,

THE Government of this Nation, for theſe many Years till of late, hath been mixed, partly Monarchical, partly Ariſtocratical, and partly Democratical; in which the Power alſo was fatally divided between King, Lords, and Commons; whereby, every State therein having diſtinct Aims, and ſometimes contrary ones, the Nation was impotent and weak, and wanted that Harmony, which is to be found in all the Parts of a well-ordered Government: Yet, under this Form, did *England* enjoy many good Days, and great Liberties and Privileges, and alſo met with not a few Oppreſſions. Thoſe good Days I cannot but aſſign (whether truly, or no, I leave to your Lordſhip's ſounder Judgment) to the Democratical Part of the Government, which was the conſtant Bulwark of *Engliſh* Liberties, and procured us thoſe excellent Laws, which our Kings, by their Good-wills, otherwiſe would never have paſſed, and which yet (ſuch is the Blindneſs of many Men) it is thought, in moſt good Companies, we ſhall never be able to retain, without the Reſtoration of Monarchy. On the other Side, the Exorbitancies and Oppreſſions of the late Government the Houſe of Commons, in the Reigns of the two late Kings, imputed to the Prerogative and Power of the King; which at laſt ſeemed ſo heavy and grievous to the People, that, incited by the famous Long Parliament, they took up Arms againſt the King, to deveſt him of the Militia, and Negative Voice, and ſome other Rights he claimed, of which an *Engliſh* King being ſtripped could be nothing but an heroick Monarch; and, in this Senſe, they fought againſt Monarchy itſelf. In this War, the Royaliſts, having loſt no ſmall Quantity of their beſt Blood, were vanquiſhed, and with the Death of the late King, Monarchy itſelf for a Time expired. And now this poor Nation, not meeting with the Felicity of being put immediately into the Form of an equal Commonwealth, yet met with the beſt Expedient, being governed by the Members of Parliament that continued to ſit after the King's Death; who, through their Wiſdom, put the Nation in ſuch a Poſture, as was a great Refreſhment to the harraſſed Country; and, through their Victories, more increaſed our Territories, and were more ſucceſsful in Arms, than all the martial Princes that reigned in this Iſle ſince the Conqueſt; approving themſelves to the whole World prudent, active, and courageous Stateſmen, and ſuch as minded the Intereſt of their Country. What Good, what Benefits, what Felicities might we not juſtly expect from theſe worthy Patriots, but this only, namely, a good Government? And, if this alſo is not expected, it is not becauſe their good Intentions to the Nation are at all queſtioned, but becauſe they, being too many, are not capable of performing it. But, as they were too many to frame a good Government, ſo alſo they were, and ſtill are, looked on, by wiſe Men, as too few to make a Popular Council. Being but a Piece of a Houſe of Commons, and neceſſitated to ſit ſo many Years, and to lay heavy Taxes and Burdens on the People, General *Cromwell*, during his Time, tutored them out of Doors, and then called a ſelect Senate; which, being packed by him, plaid his Game, at laſt reſigning into his Hands the Power. He, rejecting the Title of King, aſſumed to himſelf the Government, and a greater Power, than the *Engliſh* Kings formerly had, with the Conſent of a great Part of the People, who, like affrighted Children, thought they ſhould be ſafe, being hid under the Gown of this Great Man. Yet failed he in his Deſign of erecting a durable Monarchy, who, probably, was able to have brought to paſs any Thing elſe in this Nation. With Difficulty, whilſt he lived, he made a Shift to keep himſelf in the Saddle, which his Son loſt, preſently after he

was

was mounted. The Government then devolved into the Hands of this preſent Parliament, who kept it not long, before they were ejected by their Army; but now again, this third Time, are they riſen from the Dead, and reſtored, through the Fidelity and Courage of your Excellency, to the Exerciſe of their *Truſt*.

Thus hath this poor Nation, within theſe few Years, tried all Sorts of Government, but an equal Commonwealth. We have experienced Monarchy in the old Line, and in the two Protectors, a ſelect Senate, an Oligarchy, the Government of an Army, What not? And have not as yet met with the Ends of a good Government. Like a drowning Man, this Nation hath laid hold of every Thing that came in its Way; but all Things have proved but Straws, and helpleſs Twigs, that will not bear it above Water.

And now, Sir, Can any Thing elſe ſave us, but an equal Commonwealth? Which in Truth is no more than a free and full Parliament, but a free and full Parliament more truly elected, and better formed. You having been bred up in the beſt School of Experience, and being acquainted by Hiſtory with ancient, and by your Travels and Employment, with modern Patterns of Government, out of which your exact Judgment will readily gather whatever is excellent, or agreeable to this Nation; I ſhall not preſume to diſcourſe particularly of the Framing of a Government to your Excellency, whom God, I hope, hath raiſed to be the Legiſlator of *England*. Only give *me* Leave to remember you, that it *is the* Judgment of the Oracle in the Politicks, grounded on notable Examples, Experience and Reaſon, and approved by modern Writers, that the Legiſlator of a Nation muſt be but one Man; who, whatſoever extraordinary Actions he attempteth, or whatſoever Power he aſſumeth to himſelf for the Accompliſhing of ſo worthy an End, as the Settling of a Commonwealth will prove to be, deſerves not only Excuſe, but alſo Honour. Conſider, Sir, the preſent State of Affairs, and ſee if you are able to diſcern the Foot, on which our preſent *Commonwealth*, ſo called, now ſtands, ſo narrow is it become: Or, if it hath a Foot, Is it not like that of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Image, Part of Iron, and Part of miry Clay, which will not cleave together? It is already fractioned and crumbled into a ſmall Handful, which, though ſo ſmall, is not well knit, but affords daily Cauſe of Jealouſy; that like the little Church or Sect, which, conſiſting, as *Barclay* relates, of but three Men, came at laſt to be three ſeveral Churches: *Sic de anguſtâ Eccleſia, & trium hominum numero definita, tres quoque Eccleſiæ natæ ſunt*; this Party will break, till they have not Number enough to make up a Family. And do you think ſo weak a Defence, as this Party is, will be able to repel the violent Rage of that increaſed Multitude, which, like a mighty Sea, threatens to overbear it? But, Sir, either you look on the Parliament, not only as willing, but alſo as able to ſettle us a good Government, or elſe you would never, I conceive, ſtand by it, and own it. If you look on the Parliament as able to perform it, we have new Cauſe to eſteem and love our Country, after a more extraordinary Manner, that can produce one or two-hundred able and ſufficient Legiſlators, when *Rome*, *Sparta*, *Athens*, or *Iſrael*, can boaſt of but one a-piece.

But, my Lord, the Opinions of ſo many Men met together muſt be various, and, like a Multitude of Phyſicians, will indanger, if not deſtroy their languiſhing Patient. Let *England*, therefore, my Lord, have but one Phyſician, and ſuch an one as they eſteem and love; which will facilitate its Recovery. Your Excellency, being eſteemed and loved by your Country, crowned with Victory, celebrated for martial Skill, for your undaunted Courage, your politick Conduct, and alſo having the Militia's of the three Nations at your Back, is that Phyſician that may make us as happy, or as miſerable as you pleaſe.

But alas! whilſt the Ship, that we are all embarked in, is toſſed in a high Sea, you, Sir, ſeem to ſleep, notwithſtanding the loud Noiſe of all Degrees of People, crying out to you, Save us, or we periſh. Behold, what a Chaos *England*, your native Country, is become; be you to it, as *Moſes* was to *Aaron*, inſtead of a God; reduce the jarring Elements into their Places; ſet a new and beautiful Face on your deformed Country, and, by beſtowing on it an equal Commonwealth, make it a Paradiſe, wherein we may paſs our Days happily, and chearfully, bleſſing God for ſo worthy and heroick a Perſon, as you thereby will approve yourſelf

England, when an equal Commonwealth, will be as wise as *Venice*, as rich as *Holland*, as virtuous and military as *Rome*. Believe it, Sir, no Legislator hitherto hath had so large Territories, to settle a mighty and glorious Commonwealth on, as *England* affords. All Manner of Materials are made ready for erecting the most beautiful Structure; there only wants an able Workman. Can you see any Obstacle in your Way? You yourself have affirmed, that the Foundation of Monarchy is gone. And what Nobility is there to oppose you, but a titular and impotent one? What Army hath *England*, but what is at your Command? Multitudes of People, indeed, like Children, who must have a Baby to play with, and something to glitter in their Eyes, cry for a King; but, when they shall once view the Glory and Splendor, and enjoy the Felicity of an equal Commonwealth, they will cry out with the ravished Apostle at the Transfiguration of our blessed Saviour, It is good for us to be here, let us build us Tabernacles. At worst, if this Kind of Government prove so good for the Nation, as is promised, these fond People will not, nor indeed can they, make any Person more than a Prince in the Commonwealth.

What should hinder you then from Settling such a Government? Or what Encouragements are wanting? Do it, and you make this People glorious and blessed; you will infinitely please them, and thereby attain to the highest Step of Honour, becoming the Founder of a potent State; a Legislator, that shall be commended by a learned Age, the Father of your Country, and *Princeps perpetuus*. *Et quo sis alacrior ad tutandam remp. sic habeto: Omnibus qui patriam conservaverint, adjuverint, auxerint, certum esse in Cœlo, ac definitum locum, ubi beati ævo sempiterno fruantur.* Cic. de Som. Scip.

The Chancellor's Examination and Preparation for a Trial. Printed for *W. Cademan*, 1689. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

As the long Imprisonment of George, *Lord* Jefferies, *the High Chancellor of* England, *has given him ample Leisure for a full and serious Consideration of his State, his Examination of his fatal Circumstances, and Preparation for his Trial, with all other necessary and due Reflexions, previous as well to the Appearance not only before so great a Tribunal here, but also a greater and more terrible one to come, have induced him to this timely Provision of his last Will and Testament.*

IN the Name of *Ambition*, the only God of our Setting up and Worshiping, together with *Cruelty*, *Treachery*, *Perjury*, *Pride*, *Insolence*, &c. his ever-adored Angels and Archangels, cloven-footed, or otherwise. *Amen.*

I *George*, sometimes Lord, but always *Jeffe-ries*, being in intire bodily Health (my once great Heart, at present dwindled to the diminutive Dimensions of a *French* Bean, only excepted) and in found and perfect Memory of High Commissions, *Quo Warranto's*, Regulations, Dispensations, Pillorisations, Floggings, Gibbetations, Barbarity, Butchery, Tyranny, together with the Bonds and Ties of Right, Justice, Equity, Law, and Gospel; as also those of Liberty, Property, *Magna Charta*, &c. not only at divers and sundry times, but at all Times, by me, religiously broken: And being reminded by a Halter before me, and my Sins behind me, do make my last Will and Testament in Manner and Form following:

Imprimis, Because it has always been the modish Departure of great Men, and greater Sinners, to leave some Legacy to pious Uses, I give and bequeath one thousand Pounds towards the Building of a Shrine and a Chapel to St. *Coleman*, for the particular Devotion of a late very great *English* Zealot, for whose Glory I further order my Executors to bear Half Charges in

in inserting and Registering the sacred Papers and Memoirs of the said Saint, in those Divine Legends, *The Lives of the Saints*, by the Hand of his reverend, and no less industrious, Successor Father *Peters*; that so the never-dying Renown of the long-swore meritorious, though unfortunate, Vengeance against the *Northern* Heresy (in which once hopeful Vineyard I have been no small Labourer) may be transmitted to Posterity by so pious a Recorder.

Item, As a Legacy to her late Consort-Majesty of *Great-Britain*, my sometimes Royal Patroness, I do bequeath two-thousand Crowns to holy Mother Church, to purchase, through his Holiness, and the good Lady of *Loretto's* Intercession, the same Benediction to the *French* Waters of *Spa*, they once vouchsafed to the *English* ones of *Bath*, to give her Majesty the Conception of a Duke of *York* to her Prince of *Wales*; humbly, with my dying Breath, requesting, for the future Silencing of Malice, and Confutation of Infidelity, that her said Majesty would, in due Prudence, graciously please to select out, for her next Labour, but half as able Witnesses, and reeking Spectators of her Delivery, as myself, there being, in her late Case, no Person in the World a more experimentally substantial Evidence of a male Child born of the Body of a Queen, at full Growth at eight Months, when it is so notoriously known, that my own first female Child, of my Wife's, was at the like full Growth born at five Months.

Item, In Tenderness and hearty Good-will to my sometime Friends and Allies on the other Side the Herring-pond, I think *fit*, as a small Mite to the great Cause, to order my Executors, out of my late Son-in-Law's Estate, saved by my own *Chancery* Decree from the *Salisbury* Creditors, as much Money to be remitted over to the true and trusty *Tyrconnel*, as will purchase new Liveries of the best *Irish* Frize, completely to rig a whole Regiment of his new-raised Teagues; as also the like Quantity for the Rigging of another Regiment of *French* Dragoons, now sending over to his Excellency's Succour; his *Gallick* Majesty having long since ordered the Edict of *Nants*, and all other the *Parliamentary* Heretick-Records of *France* to be given them *gratis*, to make them Taylors Measures of, in Imitation of the *English Magna Charta*, sometime since designed for the same Use.

But, above all, to take Care for my own decent Funeral, lest my Executors, to save the Charges of Christian Burial, should drop me under Ground, as slovenly as my old great Master, at *Westminster*, I think fit to order the Rites and Ceremonies of my Obsequies as follows:

Imprimis, I desire that my funeral Anthems be all set to the Tune of *Old Lilliburlero*, that never to be forgotten *Irish Shiboleth*, in Commemoration not only of two-hundred-thousand Hereticks, that formerly danced off to the said musical Notes, but also of the second Part to the same Tune, lately designing, setting, and composing by a great Master of mine, and myself. The said Anthem to be sung by a Train of seven or eight-hundred of my own Making in the *West*; who, in their native Rags, a Livery likewise of my own Donation, as a Dress fittest for the sad Cavalcade, will, I am assured, be no Way wanting in their readiest and ablest Melody, suitable to the Occasion.

Item, I order two-hundred *Jacobus's* to be laid out in Myrrh, Frankincense, and other necessary Perfumes, to be burnt at my Funeral, to sweeten, if possible, some little Stink I may, probably, leave behind me.

Item, I order an Ell and a Half of fine Cambrick to be cut out into Handkerchiefs, for Drying up all the wet Eyes at my Funeral, together with Half a Pint of burnt Claret, for all the Mourners in the Kingdom.

Item, For the more decent Interment of my Remains, I will and require, for the Re-cementing of my own unhappy politick Head to my Shoulders again (provided always I have the Honour of the Axe, as it is much questioned) that a Present of a Diamond Ring be made to Madam *Labadie*, for the Use of the same Needle, and a Skain of the same Thread, once used on a very important Occasion, for the Quilting of a certain notable Cushion of famous Memory.

To conclude: For avoiding all *Chancery* Suits about the Disposal of my aforesaid Legacies, that the Contents of this my last Will may be made Publick, I order my Executors to take Care that this may be printed.

A brief Diſcourſe concerning the Power of the Peers and Commons of Parliament, in Point of Judicature. Written by a lerned Antiquary, at the Requeſt of a Peer of this Realm. Printed in the Year 1640. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

SIR,

TO give you as ſhort an Account of your Deſires, as I can, I muſt crave Leave to lay before you, as a Ground, the Frame or firſt Model of this State.

When, after the Period of the *Saxon* Time, *Harold* had lifted himſelf into the Royal Seat, the great Men, to whom but lately he was no more than equal, either in Fortune or Power, diſdaining this Act of Arrogancy, called in *William*, then Duke of *Normandy*, a Prince more active than any in theſe Weſtern Parts, and renowned for many Victories he had fortunately atchieved againſt the *French* King, then the moſt potent Monarch in *Europe*.

This Duke led along with him, to this Work of Glory, many of the younger Sons of the beſt Families of *Normandy*, *Picardy*, and *Flanders*, who, as Undertakers, accompanied the Undertaking of this fortunate Man.

The Uſurper ſlain, and the Crown by War gained, to ſecure certain to his Poſterity what he had ſo ſuddenly gotten, he ſhared out his Purchaſe, retaining in each County a Portion to ſupport the Dignity Sovereign, which was ſtiled, *Demenia Regni*, now the *Ancient Demeſnes*; and aſſigning to others his Adventurers ſuch Portions as ſuited to their Quality and Expence, retaining to himſelf Dependency of their Perſonal Service, except ſuch Lands as, in free Alms, were the Portion of the Church: Theſe were ſtiled *Barones Regis*, the King's immediate Freeholders, for the Word *Baro* imported then no more.

As the King to theſe, ſo theſe to their Followers, ſubdivided Part of their Shares into Knights Fees, and their Tenants were called *Barones*, *Comites*, or the like; for we find, as in the King's Writ, in their Writs, *Baronibus ſuis & Francois & Anglois*, the ſovereign Gifts for the moſt Part extending to whole Counties or Hundreds, an Earl being Lord of the one, and a Baron of the inferior Donations to Lords of Townſhips or Manors.

As thus the Land, ſo was all Courſe of Judicature divided, even from the meaneſt to the higheſt Portion; each ſeveral had his Court of Law, preſerving ſtill the Manner of our Anceſtors the *Saxons*, who *jura per pagos reddebant*; and theſe are ſtill termed *Court-Barons*, or the *Freeholders Court* (twelve uſually in Number) who, with the *Thane*, or chief Lord, were Judges.

The Hundred was next, where the *Hundredus*, or *Aldermanus*, Lord of the Hundred, with the chief Lord of each Townſhip within their Limits judged; God's People obſerved this Form, in the Publick. *Centuriones & decem judicabant plebem omni tempore.*

The County, or *Generale Placitum*, was the next; this was ſo to ſupply the Defect, or remedy the Corruption of the inferior, *Ubi Curiæ Dominorum prohibentur defeciſſe, pertinet ad Vicecomitem Provinciarum.* The Judges here were *Comites, Vicecomites & Barones Comitatus, qui liberas in hoc terras habebant.*

The laſt and ſupreme, and proper to our Queſtion, was *Generale Placitum apud London, univerſalis Synodus*, in Charters of the *Conqueror*; *Capitalis Curia* by *Glanville*; *Magnum & Commune Concilium coram Rege & Magnatibus ſuis.*

In the Rolls of *Henry the Third* it is not ſtative, but ſummoned by Proclamation: *Ediciter Generale Placitum apud London*, ſaith the Book of *Abingdon*; whither *Epiſcopi*, *Duces principes*,

principes, Satrapæ Rectores, & Cauſidici ex omni parte confluxerunt ad Illam Curiam, ſaith *Glanville*: Cauſes were referred, *propter aliquam dubitationem, quæ emergit in Comitatu, cum Comitatus neſcit dijudicare.* Thus did *Ethelwold*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, transfer his Suit againſt *Leoſtine*, from the County *ad Generale Placitum*; in the Time of King *Ethelred*, Queen *Edgine* againſt *Goda*, from the County, appealed to King *Etheldred* at *London*. *Congregatis principibus & ſapientibus Angliæ*, a Suit between the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Durham*, in the Time of St. *Edward*: *Coram Epiſcopis & Principibus Regni, in præſentia Regis ventilata & finita.* In the tenth Year of the *Conqueror*, *Epiſcopi*, *Comites*, & *Barones Regni poteſtate adverſis provinciis ad univerſalem Synodum pro cauſis audiendis & tractandis convocati*, ſaith the Book of *Weſtminſter*. And this continued all along, in the ſucceeding Kings Reign, until towards the End of *Henry the Third*.

As this great Court or Council, conſiſting of the King and Barons, ruled the great Affairs of State, and controlled all inferior Courts; ſo there were certain Officers, whoſe tranſcendent Power ſeemed to be ſet to bound in the Execution of Princes Wills, as the Steward, Conſtable, and Marſhal, fixed upon Families in Fee for many Ages. They, as Tribunes of the People, or *Ephori* among the *Athenians*, grown, by manly Courage, fearful to Monarchy, fell at the Feet and Mercy of the King, when the daring Earl of *Leiceſter* was ſlain at *Eveſham*.

This Chance, and the dear Experience *Henry the Third* himſelf had made at the Parliament at *Oxford*, in the fortieth Year of his Reign, and the Memory of the many Streights his Father was driven unto, eſpecially at *Runnymead* near *Staines*, brought this King wiſely to begin what his Succeſſor fortunately finiſhed, in leſſening the Strength and Power of his great Lords; and this was wrought by Searching into the Regality they had uſurped over their peculiar Sovereigns, whereby they were, as the Book of St. *Albans* termeth them, *Quot Domini tot Tyranni*: And by the Weakening that Hand of Power which they carried in the Parliaments, by commanding the Service of many Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes to that great Council.

Now began the frequent Sending of Writs to the Commons; their Aſſent was not only uſed in Money, Charge, and Making Laws, for, before, all Ordinances paſſed by the King and Peers, but their Conſent in Judgments of all Natures, whether Civil or Criminal: In Proof whereof I will produce ſome few ſucceeding Precedents out of Record.

When *Adamor*, that proud Prelate of *Wincheſter*, the King's half Brother, had grieved the State by his daring Power, he was exiled by joint Sentence of the King, Lords, and Commons; and this appeareth expreſly by the Letter ſent to Pope *Alexander the Fourth*, expoſtulating a Revocation of him from Baniſhment, becauſe he was a Church-man, and ſo not ſubject to any Cenſure; in this the Anſwer is, *Si Dominus Rex & Regni majores hoc vellent*, meaning his Revocation, *Communitas tamen ipſius ingreſſum in Angliam jam nullatenus ſuſtineret.* The Peers ſubſign this Anſwer with their Names, and *Petrus de Mountford, vice totius Communitatis*, as Speaker or Proctor of the Commons.

For by that Style Sir *John Tiptoft*, Prolocutor, affirmeth under his Arms the Deed of Intail of the Crown by King *Henry the Fourth*, in the eighth Year of his Reign, for all the Commons.

The Baniſhment of the two *Spencers*, in the Fifteenth of *Edward the Second*, *Prelati Comites & Barones & les autres Peeres de la terre & Communes de Roialme* give Conſent and Sentence to the Revocation and Reverſement of the former Sentence; the Lords and Commons accord, and ſo it is expreſſed in the Roll.

In the Firſt of *Edward the Third*, when *Eliſabeth*, the Widow of Sir *John de Burgo*, complained in Parliament, that *Hugh Spencer* the Younger, *Robert Baldock*, and *William Cliff*, his Inſtruments, had, by Durance, forced her to make a Writing to the King, whereby ſhe was deſpoiled of all her Inheritance; Sentence is given for her in theſe Words, *Pur ceo que avis eſt al Eveſques, Counts, & Barones & autres grandes & a tout Communalte de la terre, que le dit eſcript eſt fait contre ley, & tout manere de raiſon ſi fuiſt le dit eſcript per agard del Parliam. dampue elloques al livre a la dit Eliſ.*

In *An.* 4 *Edw.* III, it appeareth by a Letter to the Pope, that, to the Sentence given againſt the Earl of *Kent*, the Commons were Parties, as well as the Lords and Peers; for the King directed their Proceedings in theſe Words, *Comitibus, Magnatibus, Baronibus, & aliis de Communitate*

Communitate dicti Regni ad Parliamentum illud congregatis injunximus, ut ſuper his diſcernerent & judicarent quod rationi & juſtitiæ conveniret, habere præ oculis ſolum Deum, qui eum concordi unanimi ſententia tanquam reum criminis læſæ majeſtatis morti adjudicarent ejus ſententia, &c.

When, in the fiftieth Year of *Edward the Third*, the Lords had pronounced the Sentence againſt *Richard Lions*, otherwiſe than the Commons agreed, they appealed to the King, and had Redreſs, and the Sentence entered to their Deſires.

When, in the firſt Year of *Richard the Second*, *William Weſton* and *John Jennings* were arraigned in Parliament, for Surrendering certain Forts of the Kings, the Commons were Parties to the Sentence againſt them given, as appeareth by a *Memorandum*, annexed to that Record. In the Firſt of *Henry the Fourth*, although the Commons refer, by Proteſtation, the Pronouncing of the Sentence of Depoſition againſt King *Richard the Second* unto the Lords, yet are they equally intereſted in it, as it appeareth by the Records; for there are made Proctors or Commiſſioners for the whole Parliament, one Biſhop, one Abbot, one Earl, one Baron, and two Knights, *Gray* and *Erpingham*, for the Commons; and to infer that, becauſe the Lords pronounced the Sentence, the Point of Judgment ſhould be only theirs, were as abſurd as to conclude, that no Authority was veſted in any other Commiſſioner of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, than in the Perſon of that Man ſolely, that ſpeaketh the Sentence.

In 2 *Hen.* V, the Petition of the Commons importeth no leſs than a Right they had to act and aſſent to all Things in Parliament, and ſo it is anſwered by the King; and, had not the Journal Roll of the Higher Houſe been left to the ſole Entry of the Clerk of the Upper Houſe, either out of a Neglect to obſerve due Form, or out of Purpoſe to obſcure the Commons Right, and to flatter the Power of thoſe he immediately ſerved, there would have been frequent Examples of all Times to clear this Doubt, and to preſerve a juſt Intereſt to the Commonwealth; and how conveniently it ſuits with Monarchy to maintain this Form, leſt others of that well-framed Body, knit under one Head, ſhould ſwell too great and monſtrous, it may be eaſily thought; for Monarchy again may ſooner groan under the Weight of an Ariſtocracy, as it once did, than under a Democracy, which it never yet either felt or feared.

Errata in the four laſt Sections of the Travels of three *Engliſh* Gentlemen, *&c. Number* V. *Vol.* VIII. *of the* HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

FOR *therein, ſome Parts*, read *there, in ſome Parts*, Page 214. Col. 2. Line 14, 15. For *our Arrival from* Cracow, read *our Arrival, from* Cracow, p. 216. col. 1. l. 15. For *devout*, read *fervent*, ibid. l. 43. For *Porcellane*, read *Porcelane*, ibid. col. 2. l. 15. For *to* Africa, read *into* Africa, p. 217. col. 1. l. 44. For *thirty eight*, read *eight*, p. 221, col. 2. l. 42. For *Four-hundred*, read *four hundred Men*, p. 222. col. 1. l. 14. For *fineſt*, read *beſt*, p. 222. col. 2. l. 15. For *Seldam*, read *Seldau*, p. 223. col. 1. l. 28. For *meet*, read *met*, p. 226. col. 1. l. 51. Inſert after the Words *Payn*, *Pein*, or *Peina*, p. 230 col. 2. l. 45, the following Sentence: *This Poſt we traverſed Part of the Biſhoprick of* Hildeſheim. It muſt likewiſe be expunged from the Place where it now ſtands. For *eight* read *ſeven*, p. 231. col. 1. l. 45. For *conſiſtent with himſelf*, read *conſiſtent with himſelf throughout*, p. 231. col. 2. l. 46. For *Neither is this to be wondered at, ſince their chief Seats in this Duchy are*, &c. read *Their chief Seats in this Duchy are ſaid to be*, &c. p. 235. col. 1. l. 21, 22, 23.

An

An ALPHABETICAL INDEX

To the EIGHTH VOLUME of the HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

A.

Abuſes in the Court of Equity 403
Abbreviations of *Oliver*'s Arguments againſt Government by a ſingle Perſon 581
Admiralty Laws ſettled in Council, 18 *Feb.* 1632 365
Admiralty Laws, their Excellency 361
Admiralty, how anciently ſettled 358
——— ſhamefully negligent 485
——— Juriſdiction, Reaſons for ſettling it 358
Adolphus (Guſtavus) invades *Germany* for Affronting his Ambaſſadors 145
Advantage of Diſpenſing with publick Oaths 13
Affidavits, Charges and Abuſes of them 402
Altena near *Hamburgh* deſcribed 238
Ambaſſadors of *Spain* propoſe a Marriage with *England* 1
Amſterdam, its Curiarities in Trade 351
Anabaptiſts, their Riſe and Hiſtory at *Munſter* 252
Antoninus Pius, his Character 57
Apes, their miſchievous Fondneſs 380
Aphoriſm among the *Hollanders* 124
Apparel or Clothing diſcuſſed 40
Apothecaries make their Advantage of the Phyſicians Neglecting the Study of Pharmacy 443
Apprentices of *London*, their Petition to both Houſes of Parliament, in 1642 570
Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Speech at his Beheading, in 1644 576
Archduke's Part of the *Netherlands* deſcribed 351
Argyle (Marquis of) his Laſt Will and Teſtament 26
——— his Character 29
Arms, when, and in what Caſe it is lawful for the People to take them up 66
Arius, the Heretick, his End 75
Articles of Agreement in Favour of the *Iriſh* Papiſts 475
Aſſignment of Bills, Bonds, &c. why to be allowed 556
Attornies, their great Number very hurtful 530
Auguſtine (St.) his great Character 79
Auſſig, or *Auſtria*, in *Bohemia*, deſcribed, &c. 214

B.

Beauty, a Diſſertation on it 34
Bell-man wanted a Clapper 369
Benefiting and Unthankfulneſs compared 44
Benefit of mending the Law 552
Berlin in *Pruſſia* deſcribed 223
Bibliotheca Fanatica 69
Bills of Credit, how to be negotiated 311
Biſhops had no Temporal Authority, till the Time of *Conſtantine* 506
Bonham (Sir *John*) *London*'s fifth Worthy 423
——— is made General of the *Danes*, and overthrows *Solyman*, Emperor of the *Turks* 434
Book-debts, why they ſhould not be payable after three Years 557
Brill and *Flſhing* pawned to Queen *Eliſabeth* 349

Brill,

Brill, taken by the *Dutch* Admiral 130
Brunſwick in *Germany* deſcribed 230
Buildings (that are new) hurtful to the Commonwealth 529
Burnet (Dr.) his Account of Capt. *Vratz*, who was hanged for the Murder of Eſquire *Thynne* 190
——— Account of all the Murderers of Eſquire *Thynne* 185

C.

Camilton's Diſcovery of the deviliſh Deſigns of the Jeſuits 165
Caroloſtadius, his Character 77
Catalogue of the Nine Worthies of *London* 423
——— of Place-men 488
Caverley (Sir *Hugh*) *London*'s eighth Worthy 423
——— his Exploits in *Poland*, &c. 439
Cerinthus the Heretick, his End 75
Character of Biſhop *King*'s Hiſtory of the Proteſtants in *Ireland* 410
——— of King *James* II's Government in *England* *ib.*
——— of the People in the Moon, extraordinary good 345
——— of a certain great Ducheſs 212
Charitable Collections no publick Benefit 502
Charlottenburgh in *Brandenburgh* deſcribed 222
Childley (*Thomas*) his Letter to *T. Andrews*, Lord Mayor of *London*, againſt Puniſhing Perſons with Death for Theft 459
Chineſe have as many Tongues, or Languages, as Provinces 346
Church in *France*, the State of it 353
Churches in *Prague*, how adorned 169
Clergymen ought not to have Secular Juriſdiction 505
Coal-trade, a Propoſal for its Management 558
Cold Springs, that turn Leather, *&c.* into Stone 321
Commiſſioners of the Poſt-Office highly accuſed 486
——— of the Navy accuſed *ibid.*
——— for ſick and wounded Seamen impeached 485
Commons the Right of the common People 564
Complaint againſt Putting Men to Death for ſimple Theft 455
Conference between the Kings of *France* and *Spain* 209
Confeſſion, *&c.* of Lieutenant *Stern*, for the Murder of Eſquire *Thynne* 184
——— of *George Borosky*, for the Murder of Eſquire *Thynne* 208
Conſtantine firſt gives the Clergy Secular Power 512
Converſion of an *Engliſh* Courteſan 379
Copy of the Great *Turk*'s Letter to the States General of the United Provinces 394
——— of the *Turk*'s Commiſſary-General's Letter to the States-General 395
——— of the *Turk*'s Chief Judge's Letter to the States-General 398
Cornwallis (Sir *Charles*) his Account of the *Spaniſh* Marriages propoſed for the Prince of *England* 3
Court of *Chancery*'s expenſive Proceedings 10
Criminalneſs of inconſiſtent Oaths 10
Criminals not to be puniſhed with Death for ſmall Thefts 504
Croker (Sir *Chriſtopher*) *London*'s ſixth Worthy 423
——— his great Atchievements in *France* and *Spain* 436
Cromwell (*Oliver*) ſolemnly denies his Knowing that Col. *Joyce* was gone to ſeize the King at *Holmby*, &c. 293
——— his Anſwer to Col. *Joyce*'s Lieutenant 296
——— (*Richard*) made Ranger of *Finchley Park* 294

D.

Dancing, its evil Effects ſet forth 39
Day-Fatality, or a Diſcourſe upon lucky and unlucky Days 297
Delawar (Lord) made Ranger of *Finchley Park*, and keeps all the Profits 294
Denmark, how it raiſes its publick Money 496
Deportment of Captain *Vratz*, Lieutenant *Stern*, and *George Borosky*, Murderers of Eſquire *Thynne* 184
Deſcription, how Ambaſſadors are admitted into the Great *Turk*'s Preſence 392
Deſcription of the Jeſuits Colleges 167
Devils ſeen and heard, by a *Dutch* Sailor, in *Aſcenſion* Iſland 289
Diary of the Siege of *Luxembourgh* 104
Diſcourſe of the Power of the Peers and Commons in Parliament, in Point of Judicature 604
Diſpenſatory of *London*, its Character 447
Diſputation between a He-Foyſt and a She-Foyſt 370
Diſſimulation remarkable in the *Scots* 29
Diviſion our Deſtruction 176
Dominion of the Sea explained 151
Domingo Gonſales, his Voyage to the Moon 333
———, meets with Devils, *&c.* in his Paſſage 339
Dragons of *Armenia*, their Nature 73
Dreſden in *Saxony* deſcribed, with all its Rarities 215
Dreſs of Servants, way beyond their Station 553
Dutch invade *England* 138
——— ſtrike degrading Medals, *&c.* againſt the *Engliſh* 144
——— ſtand Godfather, and make great Preſents to Prince *Henry* 156
——— are allowed to fiſh in the *Britiſh* Seas *ib.*
——— ſubmit to pay one Shilling *per* Ton, for Leave to fiſh, in 1636 157
——— appropriate one Staple Commodity to every Town of Note 551
———, their prudent Management 485

E.

Effects (ill Ones) of Wearing foreign Manufactures 555

England's grand Concern explained 524
———'s Method of Taxation 496
———'s Tears for the preſent Wars 240
———'s Dominion over the Sea immemorially acknowledged 153
———'s ancient Right to the Compliment of the Flag at Sea 145
——— compared to a Lion 210
Engliſh deſcended from the *Teutonick* Nation in *Germany* 91
Envy, Malice, Diſſimulation and Guile, their Natures 42
Eſſay on a War againſt *France*, and Paying the publick Debts, and new Coining the Money 304
Exciſe, where moſt uſed, *&c.* 504
Expedient for Innocence and Peace 9
Extravagancy in Cloaths, often ruinous to Families 553
Extraordinary Events, happening on *October* 14, in ſundry Years 301, 302

F.

Fame and *Clio*'s Journey 425
Fame's Speech to the Muſes, upon the Top of Mount *Parnaſſus* 424
Fairfax's (Sir *Thomas*) Letter to *William Lenthal*, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, upon his Diſcovering what he called an *Iriſh* Plot 469
Fanatick Library 70
Fees in Offices, their Miſchief 502
Fiſhing-Trade, a Propoſal for its Encouragement 558
Florence, its Trade and Taxes, *&c.* 496
Florins of *Auſtria* and *Saxony*, their different Value 215
Fluſhing revolts from *Spain*, and its Reaſons 349
Fondneſs of Parents the Child's frequent Ruin 382
France, its impolitick Government 494, 495
———, its Method of Taxation 495
———, in what conſiſts its Strength *and* Weakneſs 354
Free Gifts in States, prejudicial to the Subjects 502
French Faction, its Hiſtory 176
Frenchmen, their Character 357
Friars, *&c.* at *Munſter*, own they had preached falſe Doctrine 251
Friendſhip, how far it may affect in Love-Affairs 383

G.

Gentleneſs and Affability conſidered 45
Gentry in *France*, their State and Condition 353
Germany, its Taxes and Cauſes of its Poverty 494
Ghoſt of St. *Edward*, or *Anti-Normaniſm* 89
Gomer, *Japhet*'s eldeſt Son, the firſt King in *Europe* 91
Gonſales's Eſcape from Shipwreck 337
Government of *Holland*, deſcribed and praiſed 350
——— *France*, deſcribed 352, 354
Grand Deſign of Papiſts againſt King *Charles* I. 265
Greeks, their hard Fate 93
Gulf of *Venice* deſcribed 152

H.

Habit, why it ſhould be reſtrained 552
Haga (Cornelius) his Ambaſſy to *Conſtantinople*, in 1612 389
Hamburgh (City of) deſcribed 235
Hanover (The City of) deſcribed 231
Harburgh, in *Lunenburgh*, deſcribed 235
Hardſhips of young Tradeſmen 555
Haukwood (Sir *John*) *London*'s ſeventh Worthy 423
——— his famous Acts in *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain* 438
Heavy Bodies do not fall to the Center of the Earth 338
Helena (St.) an Iſland in the *Ethiopian* Ocean, now poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company, deſcribed 330
Henry the Fourth of *France*, what he did for the Country 356
Herenhauſen (near *Hanover*) deſcribed 233
Holland and *Zealand* revolt from *Spain*, &c. 349
———, its Government deſcribed *ib.*
———, its Wealth and Taxes 494
Hollanders offer to ſubmit themſelves to Queen *Eliſabeth*, and are refuſed 132
——— deny themſelves to be Chriſtians at *Japan* 126
Horneck (Dr.) his Account of Eſq; *Thynne*'s Murderers 191
Hot-Springs, a Diſſertation on them 320

I.

Jagoſinski, the *Ruſſian* Ambaſſador at *Berlin*, a prodigious Drinker 228
Jeſuits, their Care to conceal their ſecret Plots 167
———, their many Ways of Diſguiſing themſelves 168
———, their Skill in various Sorts of Poiſons 174
Jews, why they ſhould be perſonally taxed 504
Intereſt, the publick Deity of moſt Men 12
Invocation to Peace, in the Perſon of *Anglia* 246
John of *Leyden* beheads one of his Queens or Wives 260
——— is himſelf executed 265
Journey from *Prague* to *Dreſden* 213
——— *Dreſden* to *Berlin* 218
——— *Berlin* to *Hanover* 229
——— *Hanover* to *Hamburgh* 234
Joyce (Colonel) his Quarrels with *Oliver Cromwell* 294
——— ——— is ſworn againſt falſly, and impriſoned 295
Ireland's natural Advantage for a Fiſhery over *England* 536
———, the cheapeſt Place in *Europe* to live in *ib.*
Iſle of *Ely*, by whom firſt named and founded 86

Judges, what they were, among the *Jews* 509
Juriſdiction of the Admiralty-Court, ſettled in 1632 365
Juſtification of the *Engliſh* War againſt the *Netherlands* 123

K.

King *James* I's Speech to his firſt Parliament, *Monday, March* 19, 1603 26
Kings of *England*, what will make them great and happy 66
King of *Pruſſia* characteriſed 224
King of *France*'s abſolute Power 352
——— how, and when he became abſolute *ib.*
King *Charles* I's Commiſſion to the Earl of *Glamorgan*, to treat with the *Iriſh* Papiſts 477
Knights Templars, why deſtroyed 169
Knipperdoling's mad Behaviour at *Munſter* 256

L.

Labienus, *Cæſar*'s Friend, killed by *Nennius* the *Briton* 88
Laws unfit for the Study of a Divine 510
Law, how monſtrouſly abuſed 402
Laws and Manner of Impoſing Taxes in different Nations 495
Leiceſter (Earl of) made Stadtholder and Governor of all the United Provinces 136
Leipſick, and its Univerſity, deſcribed 219
Let me ſpeak too, or eleven Queries 560
Letter of Advice to General *Monk*, in 1660 600
Letter from the Earl of *Strafford* to King *Charles* I. 574
Letters from the Earl of *Glamorgan* to the Lord *Culpepper* 481
Letters ſent by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons 470
Letter from Archbiſhop *Laud* to King *Charles* I. about a Plot 273
Letter by a Student in the Law, concerning D. *Storie* 583
Letter from *And. ab Habernfield* to Archbiſhop *Laud*, concerning a Plot 268
Letter from Sir *William Boſwell* to Archbiſhop *Laud* concerning a Plot 267
Letter from *Julius Cæſar* to *Caſſibellane*, King of *Britain* 86
——— *Caſſibellane* to *Julius Cæſar*, in Anſwer thereto 87
Letter to Lord *Fairfax*, and his Council of War 564
Leyden (*John* of) his extraordinary Behaviour at *Munſter* 255
Library of the Jeſuits deſcribed 171
Licences to fiſh in the *Britiſh* Seas, ordered to be taken out 156
Lieutenant *John Stern*'s Papers, relating to the Murder of Eſq; *Thynne* 197
——— Account of his own Life 205
Life and Death of *George Villiers*, Duke of *Buckingham* 589
Linnen-Trade, its Beneficialneſs to the Publick 359
Locuſts come from the Moon 342
Love not to be ſmothered 382
Lucca, its Extent and Strength, *&c.* 499
Lucky and unlucky Days, a Treatiſe of them 297
Ludgate, its Original 86
Lunenburgh (The Duchy of) deſcribed 235
Luxembourgh deſcribed 104

M.

Machiavel, his Character 319
Magick-glaſs, a very extraordinary one 171
Maidens, what they ought to do 381
Maleverer (Sir *Henry*) *London*'s ninth Worthy 423
——— his Exploits at *Jeruſalem* 440
Meiſſen, or *Miſnia*, deſcribed 218
Militia, a Diſcourſe upon it 47
Mineral and Medicinal Springs diſcourſed on 322
Mirrour of worldly Fame 31
Miſers worſe than Thieves 505
Mock-Majeſty; or, the Siege of *Munſter* 248
Money, who are the Sufferers by raiſing it beyond its true Value 503
——— its true and intrinſick Value *ib.*
Monopolies in a State hurtful *ib.*
Montecuculi invades *Holland* in 1629 137
Moon deſcribed 341
Morgan (Sir *Thomas*) aſſiſts the Dutch at *Fluſhing* 132
Motion of the Earth proved 349
Moulton (Captain) his Letter to the Admiralty in 1645, with a Packet about an *Iriſh* Plot 481
Muſcovy, its Trade and Taxes, *&c.* 496

N.

Narrative of *Oliver Cromwell*'s Quarrel with Lieutenant-Colonel *Joyce* 293
Nennius the ancient noble *Briton*'s Encouragement to defend their Country againſt Invaders, *&c.* 85
Nobility, a Diſcourſe upon it 36
——— impowered to call Parliaments in Interregnums 81
Normaniſm complained of and deſpiſed 89
Nuns at *Hamburgh* deſcribed 237

O.

Oaths impoſed, or forced, the Evil of them 12
Oath, its Definition by *Procopius* 560
Obſervations on ſundry Proverbs 380
——— the Trials of *Spencer Cowper*, *Mr. Marſon*, &c. for the Murder of *Sarah Stout* 414
Officers in the Parliamentary Army characteriſed 80
Old Phariſee; or, the Presbyterians detected 71
Opinions of the Anabaptiſts at *Munſter* 257
Ordinances againſt Organs, Images, *&c.* in Churches 101
Overbury (Sir *Thomas*) his Obſervations on the ſeventeen Provinces of *Holland*, &c. 349

P.

Palace at *Berlin* deſcribed 226
——— of *Pylonas* deſcribed 342
Papiſts and Presbyterians compared 73

Parlia-

Parliament of *England* banish the Pope's Authority 300
——— *France* their Use and Authority 352
——— in 1697 accused of great Neglect 486
Parliaments of *England* their Honour and Courage in the Time of Queen *Elisabeth* 16
——— their Power and Authority vindicated 48
——— their great Usefulness and Safety to the People 57
Peace preferable to War 245
Peal of new Villanies rung out 369
People of the *Moon* described 342
——— *France*, their miserable Condition 353
People's Power to choose Sheriffs, Constables, &c. 83
Perfumes discoursed of 41
Perjury both publick and private, its Heinousness 15
Perrot (Sir *John*) natural Son of King *Henry* VIII, dies of Grief in the *Tower* of *London* 298
Persians hate Ingratitude 31
Petition of the Merchants, &c. to settle the Admiralty-Jurisdiction 367
Physick, its bad State and Practice in *London* 442
——— the Honour paid to it in *London* 443
Physicians, their Neglect of Pharmacy a great Fault 443
Pike *Teneriffe* how far seen at Sea 337
Pipe to smoke in of a very curious and extraordinary Invention 217
Pirna, in *Saxony*, described 215
Pitchard (Sir *Henry*) *London*'s second Worthy, his noble Actions 428
Play-houses, &c. ought to be taxed 504
Plot against King *Charles* I, &c. discovered 275
Poll-money an unreasonable Tax 502
Polybius, the Historian, his fine Character 319
Poor, what they stand the Publick in *per* Month 559
Popery, King *James* I. his Opinion and Declaration about it 26
Porter of the *Jesuits* College, an Account of him 167
Portugal, its Taxes and political Government 494
Posts between *Berlin* and *Hanover* 231
——— *Dresden* and *Berlin* 223
Potsdam, in *Brandenburgh*, described 222
Prayers of Archbishop *Laud* at his Execution in 1644 579
Preamble to an Act of Subsidy, &c. 5 *Eliz.* 16
——— 8 — 18
——— 23 — *ib.*
——— 29 — 19
——— 31 — 20
——— 35 — 21
——— 39 — 22
——— 43 — 24
Pretences of the *French* Invasion examined and fully answered 408
Pride, its hateful Nature and Effects 38
Proposals for Paying off the publick Debts in 1673 525
Protestants in *France* under *Henry* IV. 355
Prynne's Prescription to recover the Nation 80

Q.

Quantum and Duration of Taxes discoursed on 495
Queen of *Prussia* characterised 224
Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reasons for Reforming her base and course Monies 67
——— assists, and greatly befriends the *Dutch* 132
Queries, eleven, put to the Officers of the Army in 1650 561
——— relating to the *Norman* Conquest 567
——— *Oliver*'s Arguments against Government by a single Person 582

R.

Reasons against Increasing the Number of Buildings in or near *London* 528
——— Delays and Expences in Suits of Law and Equity 400
——— publick or State Oaths 11
——— Punishing Theft with Death 460
——— why Increasing of Buildings round the City is hurtful to it 529
——— Physicians should be sent for instead of the Apothecary 444
——— make up their own Medicines 443
——— for and against the Dominion of the Seas 160
——— Prohibiting Mum, Brandy, Chocolate, &c. 536
——— Naturalising foreign Protestants 532
——— a publick Registry of Estates, &c. in each County 530
——— Importing of *Irish* Cattle into *England* 534
——— for Liberty of Conscience especially to foreign Protestants 533
——— to restrain the Gentry's Leaving the Country 528
Rebellion and Tyranny compared 412
Relation of the Marriages proposed between the Prince of *England*, and the two Infanta's of *Spain* 1
——— a *Dutch* Sailor's being put on Shore in the uninhabited Island of *Ascension* 285
Religion, how abused by Fanaticks and Mechanicks 245
Remarks on the 14th Day of *October*, King *James* II's Birth-day 297
Repentance (true) what it consists in 10
Rivers, their Original 319
Romans, their Art of Government 493
——— the first that paid Armies Wages *ib.*
Rowzee (Dr.) his Account of *Tunbridge*-Wells 316

S.

Sailors, their hard Treatment and cruel Usage 485
Sea the Original of Springs and Rivers 319

Sea overflows ſeveral Cities, &c. 319
Serpents of *Caria*, their Nature 73
Sevenoake (Sir *William*) *London*'s third Worthy, his Birth, Life, and Character 430
Sheriffs choſe by the People, and thoſe nominated by the King rejected 82
——— Fees, a great Abuſe of them 402
Simon Magus, his End 75
Sleidan's Account of the Anabaptiſts in *Germany* 250
Soldiery of *Holland* characteriſed 350
——— a Character of them by Lieutenant *John Stern* 203
Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Seas belongs to *England*, &c. 148
——————— Sea, what it is 151
Spain, its Method of Taxation 495
——— bad political Government 494
——— propoſes that the Prince of *Wales* ſhould turn Papiſt to marry his younger Daughter 7
Spandau, in *Brandenbough*, deſcribed 229
Spaniſh Evaſions about Marrying the *Spaniſh* Infanta with the Prince of *England* 4
Speech of the Deputies ſent by the diſtreſſed States of the United *Netherlands* to Queen *Eliſabeth*, *July* 9, 1585, at *Greenwich* 134
Springs, their Originals 318
Spunging-houſes, their exorbitant Expence 401
Stages between *Prague* and *Dreſden* 215
Stories relating to Pickpockets, &c. 374
Story (Dr.) his Confeſſion 586
Strange Properties of three Sorts of precious Stones 345
Summary of *Engliſh* Hiſtory 243
Sweden, its Method of Taxes 496

T.

Taxes no Charge 491
——— the different Reaſons of their Impoſitions 497
——— who pay the greateſt Part of them *ib.*
——— what Uſe is made of them, and how they circulate *ib.*
Teutones, or *Teutonicks*, their Original and Character 91
Thieves falling out, true Men come by their Goods 369
Titles of the King of *Poland*'s eldeſt Son and Grandſon 217
Trade with *France* deſtructive to *England* 498
——— how it differently affects different Kingdoms 497
——————— is improved by Taxes *ib.*
——— its extraordinary Character 484
——— the Cauſe of its Ruin and Decay 485
——— and Slavery inconſiſtent 410
Traffick, how advantageous to the *Hollanders* 350
Travels of three *Engliſhmen* continued 212
Treaſures of the Jeſuits at *Gratz* 69
Tricks of Bailiffs and Stewards of Eſtates 529
——— Land-brokers and Jobbers 531
Tunbridge-Water, a Diſcourſe upon it, and the Wells, called the *Queen's-Wells* 323
——————— what Diſeaſes fit for 324
——————— how and when to be taken 326
Turk's Reception of, and Grants to the *Dutch* Ambaſſador in 1612 389

V.

Venice, its Wealth and Taxes 494
Venetians, their great Care of the Dominion or Sovereignty of the Gulf 153
——— refuſe the *Spaniards* Leave to carry the Queen of *Hungary* through their Dominions *ib.*
Vindication of the Parliament againſt King *Charles*, in 1642 46
Virgin's Honour, what 381
Viſitation of the Jeſuits by their Provincial, how performed 172
Uncertainty of human Pleaſures 33
Uncle's Advice to his wanton Niece 380
United Provinces, an Account of them by Sir *Thomas Overbury* 348
Vratz (Capt.) his Opinion of Hell, and Dr. *Horneck*'s likewiſe 194
Uſefulneſs and Advantage of laying aſide publick Oaths 9
Uſurers and Miſers, their Prejudice to a State 499

W.

Wages of Handicrafts, why raiſed in *London* 555
Walworth (Sir *William*) *London*'s firſt Worthy 423
——————— his Hiſtory and famous Acts 425
Wanton Wife reformed 384
Watch-word to wanton Maidens 380
Water, its Excellency and Uſe 316
———, its Varieties and Differences 317
Waters, ſome that have ſtrange Natures and Effects 320
White (Sir *Thomas*) *London*'s fourth Worthy's Account of himſelf 432
Whores, their great Aſcendency over their Lovers 378
——— their brief Characters 379
Wickedneſs, how improved 9
William (ſirnamed *The Conqueror*) no Conqueror of *England* 96
Wine-cellar in *Hamburgh* deſcribed 299
Winſtanly (*William*) his Levelling Doctrine 564
Wittenberg, or *Wirtenberg*, in *Saxony*, deſcribed 221
Women excel Men in Lewdneſs 369
Worthies of *London* (Nine) 422
Writs of Error, how abuſed 401

Y.

Youth, its Character 34

Z.

Zell (the City of) deſcribed 234

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